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A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

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BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES

VOLUME THE FIFTEENTH.

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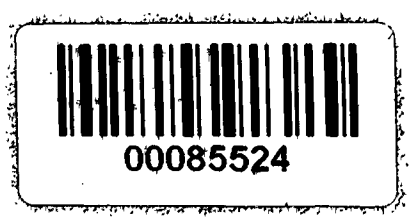

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIFTEENTH VOLUME.

Page

A Voyage to Abyssinia, by Father Jerome Lobo - - - - - - - - - - - - 1

Poncet's Journey to Abyssinia - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 61

Browne's Journey to Darfur - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 108

Pococke's Travels in Egypt - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 163

Addison's Account of West Barbary - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 403

Windhus's Journey to Mequinez - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 442

Shaw's Travels in Barbary - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 499

Lempriere's Tour to Morocco - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 681

Abd Allatif's Relation respecting Egypt - - - - - - - - - - - - - 802

LIST OF THE PLATES IN VOLUME XV.

		Page
1	PART of the new City of Alexandria, with the Light-house, - -	168
2	The Town of Adowé - - - - - -	96
3	View near Tetuan in Barbary - - - - - -	449
4	The Pyramids from Old Cairo - - - - - -	197
5	Mountains, east of Tetuan, Barbary - - - - -	447
6	An Arabian Summer-house, upon antique Fragments, on the Canal of Menouf	293
7	Mountains of Samayut, Abyssinia - - - - -	3
8	Principal Square, in Grand Cairo, with Murad Bey's Palace -	183
9	View of a Temple at Thebes, from Kournow - - - -	239
10	Temple of Apollinopolis Magna at Edfow - -	259
11	View of the Island of Philoe, Upper Egypt - -	265
12	Djébélein, or the Two Mountains, Upper Egypt - -	200
13	View of the Aqueduct which conveys the Water of the Nile to Cairo -	186
14	Ruins of one of the Temples of Elephantina, Upper Egypt - -	263
15	View of a Mosque near Rosetta, Lower Egypt - - - -	174
16	Genoeter, the Capital of Agowma - - -	To face the Title.

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

AFRICA.

A VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA,

By Father JEROME LOBO, a Portugueſe Jeſuit.

FROM THE FRENCH.*

THE PREFACE.

THE following relation is ſo curious and entertaining, and the diſſertations that accompany it ſo judicious and inſtructive, that the Tranſlator is confident his attempt ſtands in need of no apology, whatever cenſures may fall on the performance.

The Portugueſe traveller, contrary to the general vein of his countrymen, has amuſed his reader with no romantic abſurdities or incredible fictions, whatever he relates, whether true or not, is at leaſt probable; and he who tells nothing exceeding the bounds of probability, has a right to demand that they ſhould believe him who cannot contradict him.

He appears by his modeſt and unaffected narration to have deſcribed things as he ſaw them, to have copied nature from the life, and to have conſulted his ſenſes not his imagination; he meets with no baſiliſks that deſtroy with their eyes, his crocodiles devour their prey without tears, and his cataracts fall from the rock without deafening the neighbouring inhabitants.

The reader will here find no regions curſed with irremediable barrenneſs or bleſſed with ſpontaneous fecundity, no perpetual gloom or unceaſing ſunſhine, are the nations here deſcribed either devoid of all ſenſe of humanity, or conſummate in all

* Tranſlated by Dr. Johnſon.

[illegible] polity, or articulate [illegible] completely [illegible] in all sciences: he will discover what will always be discovered by a diligent and impartial enquirer, that wherever human nature is to be found, there is a mixture of vice and virtue, a contest of passion and reason, and that the Creator doth not appear partial in his distributions, but has balanced in most countries their particular inconveniences by particular favours.

In his account of the mission, where his veracity is most to be suspected, he neither exaggerates overmuch the merits of the Jesuits, if we consider the partial regard paid by the Portuguese to their countrymen, by the Jesuits to their society, and by the Papists to their church, nor aggravates the vices of the Abyssins: but if the reader will not be satisfied with a Popish account of a Popish mission, he may have recourse to the history of the church of Abyssinia, written by Dr. Geddes, in which he will find the actions and sufferings of the missionaries placed in a different light, though the same in which Mr. Le Grand, with all his zeal for the Roman church, appears to have seen them.

This learned dissertator, however valuable for his industry and erudition, is yet more to be esteemed for having dared so freely in the midst of France to declare his disapprobation of the Patriarch Oviedo's sanguinary zeal, who was continually importuning the Portuguese to beat up their drums for missionaries, who might preach the gospel with swords in their hands, and propagate by desolation and slaughter the true worship of the God of Peace.

It is not easy to so bear reflecting with how little reason these men profess themselves the followers of Jesus, who left this great characteristic to his disciples, that they should be known by loving one another, by universal and unbounded charity and benevolence.

Let us suppose an inhabitant of some remote and superior region, yet unskilled in the ways of men, having read and considered the precepts of the gospel, and the example of our Saviour, to come down in search of the true church: if he would not enquire after it among the cruel, the insolent, and the oppressive; among those who are continually grasping at dominion over souls as well as bodies; among those who are employed in procuring to themselves impunity for the most enormous villanies, and studying methods of destroying their fellow-creatures, not for their crimes but their errors; if he would not expect to meet benevolence, engage in massacres, or to find mercy in a court of inquisition, he would not look for the true church in the church of Rome.

Mr. Le Grand has given in one dissertation an example of great moderation, in deviating from the temper of his religion, but in the others, has left proofs that learning and honesty are often too weak to oppose prejudice. He has made no scruple of preferring the testimony of Father du Bernat, to the writings of all the Portuguese Jesuits, to whom he allows great zeal, but little learning, without giving any other reason then that his favourite was a Frenchman. This is writing only to Frenchmen and to Papists: a Protestant would be desirous to know why he must imagine that Father du Bernat [illegible] more knowledge; and why one man [illegible] mistaken than many agreeing in the same [illegible] biassed by any particular views [illegible] the Frenchman from the truth, [illegible] Portuguese, to make their mission seem more [illegible] the strongest light the differences [illegible]

Engraved by Permission from M. Sales Wood, by [illegible]

Mountains of Samayat

Roman church, but the [illegible] Ludolfus laying hold on the advantage, reduced these later writers to prove their conformity.

Upon the whole, the controversy seems of no great importance to those who believe the Holy Scripture sufficient to teach the way of salvation, but of whatever moment it may be thought, there are not proofs sufficient to decide it.

His discourses on indifferent subjects, will divert as well as instruct, and if either in these or in the relation of Father Lobo, any argument shall appear unconvincing, or description obscure, they are defects incident to all mankind, which, however, are not too rashly to be imputed to the authors, being, sometimes perhaps, more justly chargeable on the translator.

In this translation (if it may be so called) great liberties have been taken, which, whether justifiable or not, shall be fairly confessed; and let the judicious part of mankind pardon or condemn them.

In the first part the greatest freedom has been used, in reducing the narration into a narrow compass, so that it is by no means a translation but an epitome, in which whether every thing either useful or entertaining be comprised, the compiler is least qualified to determine.

In the account of Abyssinia, and the continuation, the authors have been followed with more exactness, and as few passages appeared either insignificant or tedious, few have been either shortened or omitted.

The dissertations * are the only part in which an exact translation has been attempted, and even in those, abstracts are sometimes given instead of literal quotations, particularly in the first; and sometimes other parts have been contracted.

Several memorials and letters, which are printed at the end of the dissertations to secure the credit of the foregoing narrative, are entirely left out.

It is hoped, that, after this confession, whoever shall compare this attempt with the original, if he shall find no proofs of fraud or partiality, will candidly overlook any failure of judgment.

A VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA.

CHAPTER I. — *The Author arrives after some Difficulties at Goa. Is chosen for the Mission of Abyssinia. The Fate of those Jesuits who went by Zeila. The Author arrives at the Coast of Melinde.*

I EMBARKED in March 1622, in the same fleet with the Count Vidigueira, to whom the King had conferred the viceroyship of the Indies, then vacant by the resignation of Alfonso Noronha, whose unsuccessful voyage in the foregoing year had been the occasion of the loss of Ormus †, which being by the miscarriage of that fleet [illegible] the successes necessary for its defence, was taken by the Persians and [illegible] the [illegible] of this voyage was very prosperous: we were neither annoyed with the sickness of the climate, nor distressed with bad weather, till we doubled

* [illegible]

† [illegible] wealth and commodious [illegible] in the Persian Gulf, since retaken by the [illegible]

the Cape of Good Hope, which was about the end of May. Here began our misfortunes: theſe coaſts are remarkable for the many ſhipwrecks the Portugueſe have ſuffered. The ſea is for the moſt part rough, and the winds tempeſtuous; we had here our rigging ſomewhat damaged by a ſtorm of lightning, which when we had repaired, we ſailed forward to Moſambique *, where we were to ſtay ſome time. When we came near that coaſt, and began to rejoice at the proſpect of eaſe and refreſhment, we were, on the ſudden, alarmed with the ſight of a ſquadron of ſhips, of what nation we could not at firſt diſtinguiſh, but ſoon diſcovered that they were three Engliſh and three Dutch, and were preparing to attack us. I ſhall not trouble the reader with the particulars of this fight, in which though the Engliſh commander ran himſelf a ground, we loſt three of our ſhips, and with great difficulty eſcaped with the reſt into the port of Moſambique.

This place was able to afford us little conſolation in our uneaſy circumſtances; the arrival of our company almoſt cauſed a ſcarcity of proviſions. The heat in the day is intolerable, and the dews in the night ſo unwholeſome that it is almoſt certain death to go out with ones head uncovered. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the malignant quality of the air, than that the ruſt will immediately corrode both the iron and braſs, if they are not carefully covered with ſtraw. We ſtaid however in this place from the latter end of July to the beginning of September, when having provided ourſelves with other veſſels, we ſet out for Cochim †, and landed there after a very hazardous and difficult paſſage, made ſo partly by the currents and ſtorms which ſeparated us from each other, and partly by continual apprehenſions of the Engliſh and Dutch, who were cruiſing for us in the Indian ſeas. Here the viceroy and his company were received with ſo much ceremony, as was rather troubleſome than pleaſing to us who were fatigued with the labours of the paſſage; and having ſtaid here ſome time, that the gentlemen who attended the viceroy to Goa ‡, might fit out their veſſels, we ſet ſail, and after having been detained ſome time at ſea, by calms and contrary winds, and ſomewhat harraſſed by the Engliſh and Dutch, who were now encreaſed to eleven ſhips of war, arrived at Goa, on Saturday the 16th of December, and the viceroy made his entry with great magnificence.

I lived here above a year, and completed my ſtudies in divinity; in which time ſome letters were received from the fathers in Æthiopia, with an account that Sultan Segued, Emperor of Abyſſinia, was converted to the church of Rome, that many of his ſubjects had followed his example, and that there was a great want of miſſionaries to improve theſe proſperous beginnings. Every body was very deſirous of ſeconding the zeal of our fathers, and of ſending them the aſſiſtance they requeſted; to which we were the more encouraged, becauſe the emperor's letters informed our provincial that we might eaſily enter his dominions by the way of Dancala §, but unhappily, the ſecretary wrote Zeila ‖ for Dancala, which coſt two of our fathers their lives.

* Moſambique, a city of Zanquebar, on the coaſt of Africa, in an iſland near the continent, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, which there falls into the Æthiopic ſea.

† A city of Aſia in the Eaſt Indies in the promontory of Malabar, a biſhoprick under the Archbiſhop of Goa, built by the Portugueſe in 1503.

‡ Goa, a city of Aſia, in the kingdom of Decan, in the peninſula on this ſide the Indus, in a ſmall iſland towards the mouth of the river Mandova, on the ſhores of the promontory of Cuncan, on the weſt ſhore of the Cape of Malabar.

§ Dancala, a city of Africa in the Upper Æthiopia, upon the river Nile, in the tract of Nubia, of which it is the capital.

‖ Zeila, a city in the kingdom of Adel, in Africa, at the mouth of the Red Sea, upon the outlet of a river of the ſame name, over againſt Adel.

We were, [illegible] given us by the emperor, sufficiently [illegible] to in this expedition, whether we went by [illegible] sea, we [illegible] the hazard we run of falling into the hands of the [illegible] not our lives, at least our liberty, and be for ever prevented from reaching the court of Æthiopia. Upon this consideration, our superiors divided the eight Jesuits chosen for this mission into two companies. Four they sent by sea, and four by land; I was of the latter number. The four first were the more fortunate, who though they were detained some time by the Turkish bassa, were dismissed at the request of the emperor, who sent him a zeura, or wild-ass, a creature of large size, and admirable beauty.

As for us, who were to go by Zeila, we had still greater difficulties to struggle with: we were entirely strangers to the ways we were to take, to the manners, and even to the names of the nations through which we were to pass. Our chief desire was to discover some new road by which we might avoid having any thing to do with the Turks. Among great numbers whom we consulted on this occasion, we were informed by some that we might go through Melinda *. These men painted that hideous wilderness in charming colours, told us that we should find a country watered with navigable rivers, and inhabited by a people that would either inform us of the way, or accompany us in it. These reports charmed us, because they flattered our desires; but our superiors finding nothing in all this talk that could be depended on, were in suspense, what directions to give us, till my companion and I upon this reflection, that since all the ways were equally new to us, we had nothing to do, but to resign our selves to the Providence of God, asked and obtained the permission of our superiors to attempt the road through Melinda. So of we who went by land, two took the way of Zeila, and my companion and I, that of Melinda.

Those who were appointed for Zeila embarked in a vessel that was going to Caxume †, where they were well received by the King, and accommodated with a ship, to carry them to Zeila, they were there treated by the check with the same civility which they had met with at Caxume. But the King being informed of their arrival, ordered them to be conveyed to his court at Auxa, to which place they were scarce come, before they were thrown by the King's command into a dark and dismal dungeon, where there is hardly any sort of cruelty that was not exercised upon them. The Emperor of Abyssinia endeavoured by large offers to obtain their liberty, but his kind offices had no other effect than to heighten the rage of the king of Zeila. This prince, besides his ill-will to Sultan Segued, which was kept up by some malcontents among the Abyssin nobility, who provoked at the conversion of their master, were plotting a revolt; entertained an inveterate hatred against the Portuguese for the death of his grandfather, who had been killed many years before, which he swore the blood of the Jesuits should repay. So after they had languished for some time in prison, their heads were struck off. A fate which had been likewise our own, had not God reserved us for longer labours!

Having provided every thing necessary for our journey, such as Arabian habits, and red caps, callicoes, and other trifles to make presents of to the inhabitants, and taking leave of our friends, as men going to a speedy death, for we were not insensible of the

* Melinda. The state of this country is now much changed; it is a kingdom of Africa upon the coast of Zanguebar, divided by the equator, with a city of the same name, subject to the Portuguese, who have (though the king is a Mahometan) churches for the exercise of their religion.

† Caxume, a city of Africa, and the capital of the kingdom of Tigremahon in Abyssinia, subject to the King of Abyssinia.

dangers

dangers we were likely to encounter, amongſt horrid deſarts, impaſſable mountains, and barbarous nations; we left Goa on the 26th day of January in the year 1624, in a Portugueſe gallior that was ordered to ſet us aſhore at Pate*, where we landed without any diſaſter in eleven days together, with a young Abyſſin, whom we made uſe of as our interpreter. While we ſtayed here, we were given to underſtand that thoſe who had been pleaſed at Goa to give us directions in relation to our journey, had done nothing but tell us lies. That the people were ſavage, that they had indeed began to treat with the Portugueſe, but it was only from fear, that otherwiſe they were a barbarous nation, who finding themſelves too much crouded in their own country, had extended themſelves to the ſea-ſhore, that they ravaged the country, and left every thing waſte, where they came, that they were man-eaters, and were on that account dreadful in all thoſe parts. My companion and I being undeceived by this terrible relation, thought it would be the higheſt imprudence to expoſe ourſelves both together to a death almoſt certain and unprofitable, and agreed that I ſhould go with our Abyſſin and a Portugueſe to obſerve the country; that if I ſhould prove ſo happy as to eſcape being killed by the inhabitants, and to diſcover a way, I ſhould either return, or ſend back the Abyſſin or Portugueſe. Having fixed upon this, I hired a little bark to Jubo, a place about forty leagues diſtant from Pate, on board which I put ſome proviſions, together with my ſacerdotal veſtments, and all that was neceſſary for ſaying maſs: in this veſſel we reached the coaſt, which we found inhabited by ſeveral nations: each nation is ſubject to its own king, theſe petty monarchies are ſo numerous, that I counted at leaſt ten; in leſs than four leagues.

CHAP. II.—*The Author lands: the Difficulty of his Journey. An Account of the Galles, and of the Author's Reception at the King's Tent; their manner of Swearing, and of letting Blood. The Author returns to the Indies, and finds the Patriarch of Æthiopia.*

ON this coaſt we landed, with an intention of travelling on foot to Jubo, a journey of much greater length and difficulty than we imagined. We durſt not go far from our bark, and therefore were obliged to a toilſome march along the windings of the ſhore, ſometimes clambering up rocks, and ſometimes wading through the ſands, ſo that we were every moment in the utmoſt danger of falling from the one, or ſinking in the other. Our lodging was either in the rocks or on the ſands, and even that incommoded by continual apprehenſions of being devoured by lions and tigers. Amidſt all theſe calamities our proviſions failed us; we had little hopes of a ſupply, for we found neither villages, houſes, nor any trace of a human creature; and had miſerably periſhed by thirſt and hunger had we not met with ſome fiſhermen's boats, who exchanged their fiſh for tobacco.

Through all theſe fatigues we at length came to Jubo, a kingdom of conſiderable extent, ſituated almoſt under the line, and tributary to the Portugueſe who carry on a trade here for ivory and other commodities. This region ſo abounds with elephants, that though the teeth of the male only are valuable, they load ſeveral ſhips with ivory every year. All this coaſt is much infeſted with ravenous beaſts, monkies and ſerpents, of which laſt here are ſome ſeven feet in length, and thicker than an ordinary man; in the head of this ſerpent is found a ſtone about the bigneſs of an egg, reſembling bezoar, and

* Pate an iſle and town on the coaſt of Zanquebar in Africa.

of great efficacy, as it is said, against all kinds of poiſon. I ſtaid here ſome time to inform myſelf whether I might, by purſuing this road, reach Abyſſinia; and could get no other intelligence, but that two thouſand Galles (the ſame people who inhabited Melinda), had encamped about three leagues from Jubo; that they had been induced to fix in that place by the plenty of proviſions they found there. Theſe Galles lay every thing where they come in ruin, putting all to the ſword without diſtinction of age or ſex; which barbarities, though their numbers are not great, have ſpread the terror of them over all the country. They chuſe a king, whom they call Lubo: every eighth year they carry their wives with them, and expoſe their children without any tenderneſs in the [illegible] it being prohibited on pain of death, to take any care of thoſe which are born in the camp. This is their way of living when they are in arms, but afterwards when they ſettle at home, they breed up their children. They feed upon raw cow's neſh; when they kill a cow, they keep the blood to rub their bodies with, and wear the guts about their necks for ornaments, which they afterwards give to their wives.

Several of theſe Galles came to ſee me, and as it ſeemed, they had never beheld a white man before, they gazed on me with amazement; ſo ſtrong was their curioſity that they even pulled off my ſhoes and ſtockings, that they might be ſatisfied whether all my body was of the ſame colour with my face. I could remark, that after they had obſerved me ſome time, they diſcovered ſome averſion from a white; however, ſeeing me pull out my handkerchief, they aſked me for it with a great deal of eagerneſs; I cut it into ſeveral pieces that I might ſatisfy them all, and diſtributed it amongſt them; they bound them about their heads, but gave me to underſtand that they ſhould have liked them better if they had been red: after this we were ſeldom without their company, which gave [illegible] to an accident, which though it ſeemed to threaten ſome danger at firſt, turned afterwards to our advantage.

As theſe [illegible] continually teazing us, our Portugueſe one day threatened in jeſt to kill one of them. The black ran in the utmoſt dread to ſeek his comrades, and we were in one moment almoſt covered with Galles, we thought it the moſt proper courſe to decline the firſt impulſe of their fury, and retired into our houſe. Our retreat inſpired them with courage, they redoubled their cries, and poſted themſelves on an eminence near at hand that overlooked us, there they inſulted us by brandiſhing their pieces and daggers. We were fortunately not above a ſtone's caſt from the ſea, and could therefore have retreated to our bark had we found ourſelves reduced to extremities, this made us not very ſolicitous about their menaces; but finding that they continued to hover about our habitation, and being wearied with their clamours, we thought it might be a good expedient to fright them away by firing four muſkets towards them, [illegible] that they might hear the bullets hiſs about two feet over their heads. [illegible] the effect we wiſhed, the noiſe and fire of our arms ſtruck them with ſo much terror that they fell upon the ground, and durſt not for ſome time ſo much as lift up their heads. They forgot immediately their natural temper, their ſelocity and haughtineſs were ſoftened into mildneſs and ſubmiſſion; they aſked pardon for their inſolence, and we were ever after good friends.

After our reconciliation we viſited each other frequently, and had ſome converſation about the journey I had undertaken, and the deſire had of finding a new paſſage into Ethiopia. It was neceſſary on this account to conſult their lubo or king; I found him in a ſtraw but ſomething [illegible] than thoſe of his ſubjects, ſurrounded by his courtiers who had each a ſtick in his hand, which is longer or ſhorter according to the quality of the perſon admitted into the King's preſence. The ceremony made uſ

after

of at the reception of a ſtranger is ſomewhat unuſual; as ſoon as he enters, all the courtiers ſtrike him with their cudgels till he goes back to the door; the amity then ſubſiſting between us, did not ſecure me from this uncouth reception, which they told me, upon my demanding the reaſon of it, was to ſhew thoſe whom they treated with, that they were the braveſt people in the world, and that all other nations ought to bow down before them. I could not help reflecting on this occaſion, how imprudently I had truſted my life in the hands of men unacquainted with compaſſion or civility, but recollecting at the ſame time that the intent of my journey was ſuch as might give me hopes of the divine protection, I baniſhed all thoughts but thoſe of finding a way into Æthiopia. In this ſtrait it occurred to me, that theſe people, however barbarous, have ſome oath which they keep with an inviolable ſtrictneſs; the beſt precaution therefore that I could uſe would be to bind them by this oath to be true to their engagements. The manner of their ſwearing is this; they ſet a ſheep in the midſt of them, and rub it over with butter, the heads of families who are the chief in the nation, lay their hands upon the head of the ſheep, and ſwear to obſerve their promiſe. This oath (which they never violate) they explain thus, the ſheep is the mother of them who ſwear, the butter betokens the love between the mother and the children, and an oath taken on a mother's head is ſacred. Upon the ſecurity of this oath, I made them acquainted with my intention, an intention they told me it was impoſſible to put in execution. From the moment I left them, they ſaid they could give me no aſſurance of either life or liberty, that they were perfectly informed both of the roads and inhabitants, that there were no fewer than nine nations between us and Abyſſinia, who were always embroiled amongſt themſelves, or at war with the Abyſſins, and enjoyed no ſecurity even in their own territories. We were now convinced that our enterprize was impracticable, and that to hazard ourſelves amidſt ſo many inſurmountable difficulties would be to tempt Providence; deſpairing therefore that I ſhould ever come this way to Abyſſinia, I reſolved to return back with my intelligence to my companion; whom I had left at Patè.

I cannot however leave this country without giving an account of their manner of blood-letting, which I was led to the knowledge of by a violent fever, which threatened to put an end to my life and travels together. The diſtreſs I was in may eaſily be imagined, being entirely deſtitute of every thing neceſſary. I had reſolved to let myſelf blood, though I was altogether a ſtranger to the manner of doing it, and had no lancet: but my companions hearing of a ſurgeon of reputation in the place, went and brought him. I ſaw, with the utmoſt ſurprize, an old Moor enter my chamber, with a kind of ſmall dagger, all over ruſty, and a mallet in his hand, and three cups of horn, about half a foot long. I ſtarted, and aſked what he wanted? He told me, to bleed me; and when I had given him leave, uncovering my ſide, applied one of his horn cups, which he ſtopped with chewed paper, and by that means made it ſtick faſt, in the ſame manner he fixed on the other two, and fell to ſharpening his inſtrument, aſſuring me that he would give me no pain. He then took off his cups, and gave in each place a ſtroke with his poignard, which was followed by a ſtream of blood. He applied his cups ſeveral times, and every time ſtruck his lancet into the ſame place; having drawn away a large quantity of blood, he healed the orifices with three lumps of tallow. I know not whether to attribute my cure to bleeding, or my fear, but I had from that time no return of my fever.

When I came to Patè, in hopes of meeting with my aſſociate, I found that he was gone to Mombaza, in hopes of receiving information: he was ſooner undeceived than I, and we met at the place where we parted in a few days; and ſoon afterwards left

Paſe to return to the Indies, and in nine-and-twenty days arrived at the famous fortreſs of Diou *. We were told at this place, that Alfonſo Mendes, patriarch of Æthiopia, was arrived at Goa from Liſbon. He wrote to us, to deſire that we would wait for him at Diou, in order to embark there for the Red Sea; but being informed by us that no opportunities of going thither were to be expected at Dion, it was at length determined that we ſhould meet at Bazaim; it was no eaſy matter for me to find means of going to Bazaim. However, after a very uneaſy voyage, in which we were often in danger of being daſhed againſt the rocks, or thrown upon the ſands by the rapidity of the current, and ſuffered the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of water, I landed at Daman †, a place about twenty leagues diſtant from Bazaim. Here I hired a câtre and four boys to carry me to Bazaim: theſe câtres are a kind of travelling couches, in which you may either lie or ſit, which the boys, whoſe buſineſs is the ſame with that of chairmen in our country, ſupport upon their ſhoulders by two poles, and carry a paſſenger at the rate of eighteen or twenty miles a day. Here we at length found the patriarch, with three more prieſts, like us, deſigned for the miſſion of Æthiopia. We went back to Daman, and from thence to Diou, where we arrived in a ſhort time.

CHAP. III.—*The Author embarks with the Patriarch, narrowly eſcapes Shipwreck near the Iſle of Socotora; enters the Arabian Gulf, and the Red Sea. Some Account of the Coaſt of the Red Sea.*

THE patriarch having met with many obſtacles and diſappointments in his return to Abyſſinia, grew in patient of being ſo long abſent from his church. Lopo Gomez d'Abreu had made him an offer at Bazaim of fitting out three ſhips at his own expence, provided a commiſſion could be procured him to cruize in the Red Sea. This propoſal was accepted by the patriarch, and a commiſſion granted by the viceroy. While we were at Diou, waiting for theſe veſſels, we received advice from Æthiopia, that the Emperor, unwilling to expoſe the patriarch to any hazard, thought Dagher, a port in the mouth of the Red Sea, belonging to a prince dependent on the Abyſſins, a place of the greateſt ſecurity to land at, having already written to that prince, to give him ſafe paſſage through his dominions. We met here with new delays; the fleet that was to tranſport us did not appear, the patriarch loſt all patience, and his zeal ſo much affected the commander at Diou, that he undertook to equip a veſſel for us, and puſhed the work forward with the utmoſt diligence. At length, the long expected ſhips entered the port, we were overjoyed, we were tranſported, and prepared to go on board. Many perſons at Diou, ſeeing the veſſels ſo well fitted out, deſired leave to go this voyage along with us, imagining they had an excellent opportunity of acquiring both wealth and honour. We committed however one great error in ſetting out, for having equipped our ſhips for privateering, and taken no merchandize on board, we could not touch at any of the ports of the Red Sea. The patriarch, impatient to be gone, took leave in the moſt tender manner of the governor and his other friends, recommended our voyage to the Bleſſed Virgin, and in the field, before we went on ſhipboard, made a ſhort exhortation, ſo moving and pathetic, that it touched the heart of all who heard it. In the evening we went on board, and early the next morning, being the 3d of April 1625, we ſet ſail,

* Diou, an iſland and town at the mouth of the river Indus.
† Daman, a port upon the coaſt of the Gulf of Cambaya.

After ſome days, we diſcovered about noon the iſland Socotora *, where we propoſed to touch. The ſky was bright, and the wind fair, nor had we the leaſt apprehenſion of the danger into which we were falling, but with the utmoſt careleſſneſs and jollity held on our courſe. At night, when our ſailors, eſpecially the Moors, were in a profound ſleep, (for the Mahometans, believing every thing forewritten in the decrees of God, and not alterable by any human means, reſign themſelves entirely to Providence) our veſſel ran aground upon a ſand-bank at the entrance of the harbour. We got her off, with the utmoſt difficulty, and nothing but a miracle could have preſerved us. We ran along afterwards by the ſide of the iſland, but were entertained with no other proſpect than of a mountainous country, and of rocks that jutted out over the ſea, and ſeemed ready to fall into it. In the afternoon, putting into the moſt convenient ports of the iſland, we came to anchor; very much to the amazement and terror of the inhabitants, who were not uſed to ſee any Portugueſe ſhips upon their coaſts, and were therefore under a great conſternation at finding them even in their ports. Some ran for ſecurity to the mountains, others took up arms to oppoſe our landing, but were ſoon reconciled to us, and brought us fowls, fiſh, and ſheep, in exchange for India callicoes, on which they ſet a great value. We left this iſland early the next morning, and ſoon came in ſight of Cape Gardafui, ſo celebrated heretofore under the name of the Cape of Spices, either becauſe great quantities were then found there, or from its neighbourhood to Arabia the Happy, even at this day famous for its fragrant products. It is properly at this Cape (the moſt eaſtern part of Africa) that the Gulf of Arabia begins, which at Babelmandel loſes its name, and is called the Red Sea. Here, though the weather was calm, we found the ſea ſo rough, that we were toſſed as in a high wind for two nights; whether this violent agitation of the water proceeded from the narrowneſs of the ſtrait, or from the fury of the late ſtorm, I know not, whatever was the cauſe, we ſuffered all the hardſhips of a tempeſt. We continued our coaſt towards the Red Sea, meeting with nothing in our paſſage but a gelve, or kind of boat, made of thin boards, ſewed together, with no other ſail than a mat. We gave her chaſe, in hopes of being informed by the crew, whether there were any Arabian veſſels at the mouth of the ſtrait: but the Moors, who all entertain diſmal apprehenſions of the Franks, plied their oars and ſail with the utmoſt diligence, and as ſoon as they reached land, quitted their boat, and ſcoured to the mountains. We ſaw them make ſignals from thence, and imagining they would come to a parley, ſent out our boat with two ſailors and an Abyſſin, putting the ſhips off from the ſhore, to ſet them free from any ſuſpicion of danger in coming down. All this was to no purpoſe, they could not be drawn from the mountain, and our men had orders not to go on ſhore, ſo they were obliged to return without information. Soon after we diſcovered the iſle of Babelmandel, which gives name to the ſtrait ſo called, and parts the ſea that ſurrounds it into two channels, that on the ſide of Arabia is not above a quarter of a league in breadth, and through this paſs almoſt all the veſſels that trade to or from the Red Sea. The other, on the ſide of Æthiopia, though much larger, is more dangerous, by reaſon of the ſhallows, which make it neceſſary for a ſhip, though of no great burthen, to paſs very near the iſland, where the channel is deeper and leſs embarraſſed. This paſſage is never made uſe of but by thoſe who would avoid meeting with the Turks who are ſtationed on the coaſt of Arabia, it was for this reaſon that we choſe it. We paſſed it in the night, and entered that ſea, ſo renowned on many accounts in hiſtory, both ſacred and profane.

* Socotora, an iſland near the mouth of the Streights of Babelmandel.

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In our deſcription of this famous ſea, an account of which may juſtly be expected in this place, it is moſt convenient to begin with the coaſt of Arabia, on which part at twelve leagues from the mouth ſtands the city of Moca, a place of conſiderable trade. Forty leagues farther is the Iſle of Camaram, whoſe inhabitants are annoyed with little ſerpents, which they call baſiliſks, which, though very poiſonous, and deadly, do not, as the ancients have told us, kill with their eyes, or, if they have ſo fatal a power, it is not at leaſt in this place. Sailing ninety leagues farther, you ſee the noted port of Jodda, where the pilgrims that go to Mecca and Medina, unlade thoſe rich preſents which the zeal of different princes is every day accumulating at the tomb of Mahomet. The commerce of this place, and the number of merchants that reſort thither from all parts of the world are above deſcription, and ſo richly laden are the ſhips that come hither, that when the Indians would expreſs a thing of ineſtimable price, they ſay, *It is of greater value than a ſhip of Jodda.* An hundred and eighteen leagues from thence lies Toro, and near it the ruins of an ancient monaſtery. This is the place, if the report of the inhabitants deſerves any credit, where the Iſraelites miraculouſly paſſed through the Red Sea on dry land; and there is ſome reaſon for imagining the tradition not ill grounded, for the ſea is here only three leagues in breadth. All the ground about Toro is barren for want of water, which is only to be found at a conſiderable diſtance, in one fountain, which flows out of the neighbouring mountains, at the foot of which there are ſtill twelve palm-trees. Near Toro are ſeveral wells which, as the Arabs tell us, were dug by the order of Moſes, to quiet the clamours of the thirſty Iſraelites. Suez lies in the bottom of the Gulf, three leagues from Toro, once a place of note, now reduced, under the Turks, to an inconſiderable village, where the miſerable inhabitants are forced to fetch water at three leagues diſtance. The ancient Kings of Egypt conveyed the waters of the Nile to this place by an artificial canal, now ſo choked with ſand, that there are ſcarce any marks remaining of ſo noble and beneficial a work.

The firſt place to be met with in travelling along the coaſt of Africa is Rondelo, ſituate over againſt Toro, and celebrated for the ſame miraculous paſſage. Forty-five leagues from thence is Cocir. Here ends that long chain of mountains that reaches from this place even to the entrance of the Red Sea. In this prodigious ridge, which extends three hundred leagues, ſometimes approaching near the ſea, and ſometimes running far up into the land, there is only one opening, through which all that merchandiſe is conveyed, which is embarked at Riſa, and from thence diſtributed through all the Eaſt. Theſe mountains, as they are uncultivated, are in ſome parts ſhaded with large foreſts, and in others dry and bare. As they are exceedingly high, all the ſeaſons may be here found together, when the ſtorms of winter beat on one ſide, on the other is often a ſerene ſky and a bright ſun-ſhine. The Nile runs here ſo near the ſhore, that it might without much difficulty be turned through this opening of the mountains into the Red Sea, a deſign which many of the Emperors have thought of putting in execution, and thereby making a communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, but have been diſcouraged either by the greatneſs of the expence, or the fear of laying great part of Egypt under water, for ſome of that country lies lower than the ſea.

Diſtant from Rondelo an hundred and thirty leagues is the Iſle of Suaquem, where the Baſſa of that country chuſes his reſidence, for the convenience of receiving the tribute with greater exactneſs, there being a large trade carried on here with the Abyſſins. The Turks of Suaquem have gardens on the firm land, not above a muſket ſhot from the iſland, which ſupply them with many excellent herbs and fruits, of which

 I doubt

I doubt whether there be not a greater quantity on this little ſpot, than on the whole coaſt of Africa beſides, from Melinda to Suez. For if we except the dates which grow between Suez and Suaquem, the ground does not yield the leaſt product; all the neceſſaries of life, even water is wanting. Nothing can ſupport itſelf in this region of barrenneſs but oſtriches, which devour ſtones, or any thing they meet with: they lay a great number of eggs, part of which they break to feed their young with. Theſe fowls, of which I have ſeen many, are very tame, and when they are purſued, ſtretch out their wings, and run with amazing ſwiftneſs. As they have cloven-feet, they ſometimes ſtrike up the ſtones when they run, which gave occaſion to the notion that they throw ſtones at the hunters, a relation equally to be credited with thoſe of their eating fire and digeſting iron. Thoſe feathers which are ſo much valued grow under their wings: the ſhell of their eggs powdered is an excellent remedy for ſore eyes.

The burning wind ſpoken of in the ſacred writings, I take to be that which the natives term arur, and the Arabs uri, which blowing in the ſpring, brings with it ſo exceſſive an heat, that the whole country ſeems a burning oven; ſo that there is no travelling here in this dreadful ſeaſon, nor is this the only danger to which the unhappy paſſenger is expoſed in theſe uncomfortable regions. There blows in the months June, July, and Auguſt, another wind, which raiſes mountains of ſand and carries them through the air: all that can be done in this caſe is when a cloud of ſand riſes, to mark where it is likely to fall, and to retire as far off as poſſible; but it is very uſual for men to be taken unexpectedly, and ſmothered in the duſt. One day I ſaw the dead body of a Chriſtian, whom I knew, upon the ſand; he had doubtleſs been a victim to theſe winds. I recommended his ſoul to the Divine Mercy and buried him. The ſea ſeemed to have been ſome time dead, yet the body had no ill ſmell. Theſe winds are called Sagita and are moſt deſtructive in Arabia the Deſart.

CHAP. IV. — *The Author's Conjecture on the Name of the Red Sea. An Account of the Cocoa-tree. He lands at Baylur.*

TO return to the deſcription of the coaſt: ſixty leagues from Suaquem is an iſland called Mazna, only conſiderable for its ports, which make the Turks reſide upon it, though they are forced to keep three barks continually employed in fetching water, which is not to be found nearer than at the diſtance of twelve miles. Forty leagues from hence is Dalacha, an iſland where many pearls are found, but of ſmall value. The next place is Baylur, forty leagues from Dalacha, and twelve from Babelmandel.

There are few things upon which a greater variety of conjectures has been offered, than upon the reaſons that induced the antients to diſtinguiſh this gulf, which ſeparates Aſia from Africa, by the name of the Red Sea, an appellation that has almoſt univerſally obtained in all languages. Some affirm that the torrents, which fall after great rains from the mountains, waſh down ſuch a quantity of red ſand as gives a tincture to the water; others tell us, that the ſun beams being reverberated from the red rocks, give the ſea, on which they ſtrike, the appearance of that colour. Neither of theſe accounts are ſatisfactory, the coaſts are ſo ſcorched by the heat that they are rather black than red: nor is the colour of this ſea much altered by the winds or rains. The notion generally received is, that the coral found in ſuch quantities at the bottom of the ſea, might communicate this colour to the water: an account merely chimerical. Coral is not to be found in all parts of this gulf, and red coral in very few. Nor does this water in fact differ from that of other ſeas. The patriarch and I have frequently amuſed ourſelves

ourſelves with making obſervations, and could never diſcover any redneſs, but in the ſhallows, where a kind of weed grew which they call goueſmon, which redneſs diſappeared as ſoon as we plucked up the plant. It is obſervable that St. Jerome, confining himſelf to the Hebrew, calls this ſea Jamſuf. Jam in that language ſignifies ſea, and ſuf is the name of a plant in Æthiopia, from which the Abyſſins extract a beautiful crimſon; whether this be the ſame with the goueſmon, I know not, but am of opinion that the herb gives to this ſea both the colour and the name.

The veſſels moſt uſed in the Red Sea, though ſhips of all ſizes may be met with there, are gelves, of which ſome mention hath been made already; theſe are the more convenient, becauſe they will not ſplit, if thrown upon banks, or againſt rocks. Theſe gelves have given occaſion to the report that out of the cocoa-tree alone, a ſhip may be built, fitted out with maſt, ſails, and cordage, and victualled with bread, water, wine, ſugar, vinegar, and oil. All this indeed cannot be done out of one tree, but may out of ſeveral of the ſame kind. They ſaw the trunk into planks, and ſew them together with thread which they ſpin out of the bark, and which they twiſt for the cables; the leaves ſtitched together make the ſails. This boat thus equipped may be furniſhed with all neceſſaries from the ſame tree. There is not a month in which the cocoa does not produce a bunch of nuts, from twenty to fifty. At firſt ſprouts out a kind of ſeed or capſula, of a ſhape not unlike the ſcabbard of a ſcimetar, which they cut, and place a veſſel under, to receive the liquor that drops from it; this drink is called ſoro, and is clear, pleaſant, and nouriſhing. If it be boiled, it grows hard, and makes a kind of ſugar much valued in the Indies; diſtil this liquor and you have a ſtrong-water, of which is made excellent vinegar. All theſe different products are afforded before the nut is formed, and while it is green it contains a delicious cooling water; with theſe nuts they ſtore their gelves, and it is the only proviſion of water which is made in this country. The ſecond bark which contains the water is ſo tender that they eat it. When this fruit arrives to perfect maturity, they either pound the kernel into meal, and make cakes of it, or draw an oil from it of a fine ſcent and taſte, and of great uſe in medicine; ſo that what is reported of the different products of this wonderful tree, is neither falſe nor incredible.

It is time we ſhould come now to the relation of our voyage. Having happily paſt the ſtraits at the entrance of the Red Sea, we purſued our courſe, keeping as near the ſhore as we could, without any farther apprehenſions of the Turks. We were however under ſome concern that we were entirely ignorant in what part of the coaſt to find Baylur, a port where we propoſed landing, and ſo little known, that our pilots, who had made many voyages in this ſea, could give us no account of it. We were in hopes of information from the fiſhermen, but found that as ſoon as we came near, they fled from us in the greateſt conſternation; no ſignals of peace or friendſhip could prevail on them to ſtay, they either durſt not truſt, or did not underſtand us. We plied along the coaſt in this uncertainty two days, till on the firſt of March having doubled a point of land, which came out a great way into the ſea, we found ourſelves in the middle of a fair large bay, which many reaſons induced us to think was Baylur; that we might be farther aſſured we ſent our Abyſſin on ſhore, who returning next morning confirmed our opinion. It would not be eaſy to determine whether our arrival gave us greater joy, or the inhabitants greater apprehenſions, for we could diſcern a continual tumult in the land, and took notice that the crews of ſome barks that lay in the harbour were unlading with all poſſible diligence, to prevent the cargo from falling into our hands, very much indeed to the diſſatisfaction of many of our ſoldiers, who having engaged in this expedition with no other view than of filling their pockets, were, before

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TO return to the deſcription of the coaſt: ſixty leagues from Suaquem is an iſland called Mazna, only conſiderable for its ports, which make the Turks reſide upon it, though they are forced to keep three barks continually employed in fetching water, which is not to be found nearer than at the diſtance of twelve miles. Forty leagues from hence is Dalacha, an iſland where many pearls are found, but of ſmall value. The next place is Baylur, forty leagues from Dalacha, and twelve from Babelmandel.

There are few things upon which a greater variety of conjectures has been offered, than upon the reaſons that induced the antients to diſtinguiſh this gulf, which ſeparates Aſia from Africa, by the name of the Red Sea, an appellation that has almoſt univerſally obtained in all languages. Some affirm that the torrents, which fall after great rains from the mountains, waſh down ſuch a quantity of red ſand as gives a tincture to the water; others tell us, that the ſun beams being reverberated from the red rocks, give the ſea, on which they ſtrike, the appearance of that colour. Neither of theſe accounts are ſatisfactory, the coaſts are ſo ſcorched by the heat that they are rather black than red: nor is the colour of this ſea much altered by the winds or rains. The notion generally received is, that the coral found in ſuch quantities at the bottom of the ſea, might communicate this colour to the water: an account merely chimerical. Coral is not to be found in all parts of this gulf, and red coral in very few. Nor does this water in fact differ from that of other ſeas. The patriarch and I have frequently amuſed ourſelves,

ourſelves with making obſervations, and could never diſcover any redneſs, but in the ſhallows, where a kind of weed grew which they call goueſmon, which redneſs diſappeared as ſoon as we plucked up the plant. It is obſervable that St. Jerome, confining himſelf to the Hebrew, calls this ſea Jamſuf. Jam in that language ſignifies ſea, and ſuf is the name of a plant in Æthiopia, from which the Abyſſins extract a beautiful crimſon; whether this be the ſame with the goueſmon, I know not, but am of opinion that the herb gives to this ſea both the colour and the name.

The veſſels moſt uſed in the Red Sea, though ſhips of all ſizes may be met with there, are gelves, of which ſome mention hath been made already; theſe are the more convenient, becauſe they will not ſplit, if thrown upon banks, or againſt rocks. Theſe gelves have given occaſion to the report that out of the cocoa-tree alone, a ſhip may be built, fitted out with maſt, ſails, and cordage, and victualled with bread, water, wine, ſugar, vinegar, and oil. All this indeed cannot be done out of one tree, but may out of ſeveral of the ſame kind. They ſaw the trunk into planks, and ſew them together with thread which they ſpin out of the bark, and which they twiſt for the cables; the leaves ſtitched together make the ſails. This boat thus equipped may be furniſhed with all neceſſaries from the ſame tree. There is not a month in which the cocoa does not produce a bunch of nuts, from twenty to fifty. At firſt ſprouts out a kind of ſeed or capſula, of a ſhape not unlike the ſcabbard of a ſcimetar, which they cut, and place a veſſel under, to receive the liquor that drops from it; this drink is called ſoro, and is clear, pleaſant, and nouriſhing. If it be boiled, it grows hard, and makes a kind of ſugar much valued in the Indies; diſtil this liquor and you have a ſtrong water, of which is made excellent vinegar. All theſe different products are afforded before the nut is formed, and while it is green it contains a delicious cooling water; with theſe nuts they ſtore their gelves, and it is the only proviſion of water which is made in this country. The ſecond bark which contains the water is ſo tender that they eat it. When this fruit arrives to perfect maturity, they either pound the kernel into meal, and make cakes of it, or draw an oil from it of a fine ſcent and taſte, and of great uſe in medicine; ſo that what is reported of the different products of this wonderful tree, is neither falſe nor incredible.

It is time we ſhould come now to the relation of our voyage. Having happily paſt the ſtraits at the entrance of the Red Sea, we purſued our courſe, keeping as near the ſhore as we could, without any farther apprehenſions of the Turks. We were however under ſome concern that we were entirely ignorant in what part of the coaſt to find Baylur, a port where we propoſed landing, and ſo little known, that our pilots, who had made many voyages in this ſea, could give us no account of it. We were in hopes of information from the fiſhermen, but found that as ſoon as we came near, they fled from us in the greateſt conſternation; no ſignals of peace or friendſhip could prevail on them to ſtay, they either durſt not truſt, or did not underſtand us. We plied along the coaſt in this uncertainty two days, till on the firſt of March having doubled a point of land, which came out a great way into the ſea, we found ourſelves in the middle of a fair large bay, which many reaſons induced us to think was Baylur; that we might be farther aſſured we ſent our Abyſſin on ſhore, who returning next morning confirmed our opinion. It would not be eaſy to determine whether our arrival gave us greater joy, or the inhabitants greater apprehenſions, for we could diſcern a continual tumult in the land, and took notice that the crews of ſome barks that lay in the harbour were unlading with all poſſible diligence, to prevent the cargo from falling into our hands, very much indeed to the diſſatisfaction of many of our ſoldiers, who having engaged in this expedition with no other view than of filling their pockets, were, before

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the return of our Abyſſin, for treating them like enemies, and taking them as a lawful prize. We were willing to be aſſured of a good reception in this port, the patriarch therefore ſent me to treat with them. I dreſſed myſelf like a merchant, and in that habit received the four captains of gelves which the chec ſent to compliment me, and ordered to ſtay as hoſtages, whom I ſent back, that I might gain upon their affections by the confidence I placed in their ſincerity; this had ſo good an effect, that the chec, who was tranſported with the account the officers gave of the civilities they had been treated with, came in an hour to viſit me, bringing with him a Portugueſe, whom I had ſent aſhore as a ſecurity for his return. He informed me, that the King his maſter was encamped not far off, and that a chec who was then in the company was juſt arrived from thence, and had ſeen the Emperor of Æthiopia's letters in our favour; I was then convinced that we might land without ſcruple, and to give the patriarch notice of it, ordered a volley of our muſkets to be fired, which was anſwered by the cannon of the two ſhips, that lay at a diſtance, for fear of giving the Moors any cauſe of ſuſpicion by their approach. The chec and his attendants, though I had given them notice that we were going to let off our guns in honour of the King their maſter, could not forbear trembling at the fire and noiſe. They left us ſoon after, and next morning we landed our baggage, conſiſting chiefly of the patriarch's library, ſome ornaments for the church, ſome images, and ſome pieces of calico, which were of the ſame uſe as money. Moſt of the ſoldiers and ſailors were deſirous of going with us, ſome from real principles of piety, and a deſire of ſharing the labours and merits of the miſſion, others upon motives very different, the hopes of raiſing a fortune. To have taken all who offered themſelves would have been an injury to the owners of the ſhips, by rendering them unable to continue their voyage, we therefore accepted only of a few.

CHAP. V. — *An Account of Dancali. The Conduct of Chec Furt. The Author wounded. They arrive at the Court of the King of Dancali. A Deſcription of his Pavilion, and the Reception they met with.*

OUR goods were no ſooner landed, than we were ſurrounded with a crowd of officers, all gaping for preſents; we were forced to gratify their avarice by opening our bales, and diſtributing among them ſome pieces of calico. What we gave to the chec might be worth about a piſtole, and the reſt in proportion.

The kingdom of Dancali, to which this belongs, is barren, and thinly peopled, the King is tributary to the Emperor of Abyſſinia, and very faithful to his ſovereign. The emperor had not only written to him, but had ſent a Moor and Portugueſe as his ambaſſadors, to ſecure us a kind reception; theſe in their way to this prince had come through the countries of Chumo-Salamay and Senaa, the utmoſt confines of Abyſſinia, and had carried thither the Emperor's orders concerning our paſſage.

On Aſcenſion Day we left Baylur, having procured ſome camels and aſſes to carry our baggage. The firſt day's march was not above a league, and the others not much longer. Our guides performed their office very ill, being influenced, as we imagined, by the Chec Furt, an officer, whom, though unwilling, we were forced to take with us. This man who might have brought us to the King in three days, led us out of the way through horrid deſarts deſtitute of water, or where what we found was ſo foul, nauſeous, and offenſive, that it excited a loathing and averſion which nothing but extreme neceſſity could have overcome.

Having travelled ſome days, we were met by the King's brother, to whom, by the advice of Chec Furt, whoſe intent in following us was to ſqueeze all he could from

us; we preſented ſome pieces of Chineſe workmanſhip, ſuch as caſes of boxes, a ſtandiſh, and ſome earthenware, together with ſeveral pieces of painted calico, which were ſo much more agreeable, that he deſired ſome other pieces inſtead of our Chineſe curioſities; we willingly made the exchange. Yet ſome time afterwards he aſked again for thoſe Chineſe goods which he had returned us, nor was it in our power to refuſe them. I was here in danger of loſing my life by a compliment which the Portugueſe paid the prince of a diſcharge of twelve muſkets; one being unſkilfully charged too high, flew out of the ſoldiers hand, and falling againſt my leg, wounded it very much; we had no ſurgeon with us, ſo that all I could do was to bind it hard with ſome cloth. I was obliged by this accident to make uſe of the Chec Furt's horſe, which was the greateſt ſervice we received from him in all our journey.

When we came within two leagues and an half of the King's court, he ſent ſome meſſengers with his compliments, and five mules for the chief of our company. Our road lay through a wood, where we found the ground covered over with young locuſts, a plague intolerably afflictive in a country ſo barren of itſelf. We arrived at length at the bank of a ſmall river, near which the King uſually keeps his reſidence, and found his palace at the foot of a little mountain. It conſiſted of about ſix tents and twenty cabins, erected amongſt ſome thorns and wild trees, which afforded a ſhelter from the heat of the weather. He received us the firſt time in a cabin about a muſket ſhot diſtant from the reſt, furniſhed out with a throne in the middle built of clay and ſtones, and covered with tapeſtry and two velvet cuſhions. Over againſt him ſtood his horſe with his ſaddle and other furniture hanging by him, for in this country, the maſter and his horſe make uſe of the ſame apartment, nor doth the King in this reſpect affect more grandeur than his ſubjects. When we entered, we ſeated ourſelves on the ground with our legs croſſed, in imitation of the reſt, whom we found in the ſame poſture. After we had waited ſome time, the King came in, attended by his domeſtics and his officers. He held a ſmall lance in his hand, and was dreſſed in a ſilk robe, with a turban on his head, to which were faſtened ſome rings of very neat workmanſhip, which fell down upon his forehead. All kept ſilence for ſome time, and the King told us by his interpreter, that we were welcome to his dominions, that he had been informed we were to come, by the Emperor his father, and that he condoled the hardſhips we had undergone at ſea. He deſired us not to be under any concern at finding ourſelves in a country ſo diſtant from our own, for thoſe dominions were ours, and he and the Emperor his father would give us all the proofs we could deſire of the ſincereſt affection. We returned him thanks for this promiſe of his favour, and after a ſhort converſation went away. Immediately we were teazed by thoſe who brought us the mules, and demanded to be paid the hire of them; and had advice given us at the ſame time, that we ſhould get a preſent ready for the King. The Chec Furt, who was extremely ready to undertake any commiſſion of this kind, would needs direct us in the affair, and told us, that our gifts ought to be of greater value, becauſe we had neglected making any ſuch offer at our firſt audience, contrary to the cuſtom of that country. By theſe pretences he obliged us to make a preſent to the value of about twenty pounds, with which he ſeemed to be pleaſed, and told us we had nothing to do but prepare to make our entry.

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CHAP. VI. — *The King refuſes their Preſent. The Author's Boldneſs. The Preſent is afterwards accepted. The People are forbidden to ſell them Proviſions. The Author remonſtrates againſt the Uſage. The King redreſſes it.*

BUT ſuch was either the hatred or avarice of this man, that inſtead of doing us the good offices he pretended, he adviſed the King to refuſe our preſent, that he might draw from us ſomething more valuable. When I attended the King in order to deliver the preſents, after I had excuſed the ſmallneſs of them, as being, though unworthy his acceptance, the largeſt that our profeſſion of poverty, and diſtance from our country, allowed us to make, he examined them one by one with a diſſatisfied look, and told me that however he might be pleaſed with our good intentions, he thought our preſent ſuch as could not be offered to a King without affronting him; and made me a ſign with his hand to withdraw, and take back what I had brought. I obeyed, telling him, that perhaps he might ſend for it again without having ſo much. The Chec Furt, who had been the occaſion of all this, coming to us afterwards, blamed us exceedingly for having offered ſo little, and being told by us, that the preſent was picked out by himſelf, that we had nothing better to give, and that what we had left would ſcarce defray the expences of our journey, he preſſed us at leaſt to add ſomething, but could prevail no farther than to perſuade us to repeat our former offer, which the King was now pleaſed to accept, though with no kinder countenance than before.

Here we ſpent our time and our proviſions, without being able to procure any more. The country indeed affords goats and honey, but nobody would ſell us any, the King as I was ſecretly informed, having ſtrictly prohibited it, with a view of forcing all we had from us. The patriarch ſent me to expoſtulate the matter with the King, which I did in very warm terms, telling him, that we were aſſured by the Emperor of a reception in this country far different from what we met with, which aſſurances he had confirmed by his promiſe and the civilities we were entertained with at our firſt arrival; but that inſtead of friends who would compaſſionate our miſeries, and ſupply our neceſſities, we found ourſelves in the midſt of mortal enemies that wanted to deſtroy us.

The King who affected to appear ignorant of the whole affair, demanded an account of the injuries I complained of, and told me that if any of his ſubjects ſhould dare to attempt our lives, it ſhould coſt him his own. We were not, replied I, in danger of being ſtabbed or poiſoned, but are doomed to a more lingering and painful death by that prohibition which obliges your ſubjects to deny us the neceſſaries of life; if it be Your Highneſs's pleaſure that we die here, we entreat that we may at leaſt be diſpatched quickly, and not condemned to longer torments. The King, ſtartled at this diſcourſe, denied that he had given any ſuch orders, and was very importunate to know the author of our intelligence, but finding me determined not to diſcover him, he ſent me away with a promiſe, that for the future we ſhould be furniſhed with every thing we wanted, and indeed that ſame day we bought three goats for about a crown, and ſome honey, and found ourſelves better treated than before.

CHAP. VII. — *They obtain Leave, with ſome Difficulty, to depart from Dancali. The Difficulties of their March. A Broil with the Moors. They arrive at the Plain of Salt.*

THIS uſage, with ſome differences we had with a Moor, made us very deſirous of leaving this country, but we were ſtill put off with one pretence or other, whenever we aſked leave to depart. Tired with theſe delays, I applied myſelf to his favourite miniſter, with a promiſe of a large preſent if he could obtain us an audience of leave; he came to us at night to agree upon the reward, and ſoon accompliſhed all we deſired, both getting us a permiſſion to go out of the kingdom, and procuring us camels to carry our baggage, and that of the Abyſſinian embaſſadors who were ordered to accompany us.

We ſet out from the kingdom of Dancali, on the fifteenth of June, having taken our leave of the King, who after many excuſes for every thing that had happened, diſmiſſed us with a preſent of a cow, and ſome proviſions, deſiring us to tell the Emperor of Æthiopia his father, that we had met with kind treatment in his territories, a requeſt which we did not at that time think it convenient to deny.

Whatever we had ſuffered hitherto, was nothing to the difficulties we were now entering upon, and which God had decreed us to undergo for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt. Our way now lay through a region ſcarce paſſable, and full of ſerpents, which were continually creeping between our legs, we might have avoided them in the day, but being obliged, that we might avoid the exceſſive heats, to take long marches in the night, we were every moment treading upon them. Nothing but a ſignal interpoſition of providence could have preſerved us from being bitten by them, or periſhing either by wearineſs or thirſt, for ſometimes we were a long time without water, and had nothing to ſupport our ſtrength in this fatigue but a little honey, and a ſmall piece of cows' fleſh dried in the ſun. Thus we travelled on for many days, ſcarce allowing ourſelves any reſt, till we came to a channel or hollow worn in the mountains by the winter torrents: here we found ſome coolneſs, and good water, a bleſſing we enjoyed for three days; down this channel all the winter runs a great river, which is dried up in the heats, or to ſpeak more properly, hides itſelf under ground. We walked along its ſide ſometimes ſeven or eight leagues without ſeeing any water, and then we found it riſing out of the ground, at which places we never failed to drink as much as we could, and fill our bottles.

In our march, there fell out an unlucky accident, which however did not prove of the bad conſequence it might have done. The maſter of our camels was an old Mahometan, who had conceived an opinion that it was an act of merit to do us all the miſchief he could; and in purſuance of his notion, made it his chief employment, to ſteal every thing he could lay hold on; his piety even tranſported him ſo far, that one morning he ſtole and hid the cords of our tents. The patriarch who ſaw him at the work, charged him with it, and upon his denial, ſhewed him the end of the cord hanging from under the ſaddle of one of his camels. Upon this we went to ſeize them, but were oppoſed by him and the reſt of the drivers, who ſet themſelves in a poſture of oppoſition with their daggers. Our ſoldiers had recourſe to their muſkets, and four of them putting the mouths of their pieces to the heads of ſome of the moſt obſtinate and turbulent, ſtruck them with ſuch a terror, that all the clamour was ſtilled in an inſtant: none received any hurt but the Moor who had been the occaſion of the tumult. He was knocked down by one of our ſoldiers, who had cut his throat, but

that the fathers prevented it: he then reſtored the cords, and was more tractable ever after. In all my dealings with the Moors, I have always diſcovered in them an ill natured cowardice, which makes them inſupportably inſolent, if you ſhew them the leaſt reſpect, and eaſily reduced to reaſonable terms, when you treat them with a high hand.

After a march of ſome days, we came to an opening between the mountains, the only paſſage out of Dancali into Abyſſinia. Heaven ſeems to have made this place on purpoſe for the repoſe of weary travellers, who here exchange the tortures of parching thirſt, burning ſands, and a ſultry climate, for the pleaſures of ſhady trees, the refreſhment of a clear ſtream, and the luxury of a cooling breeze. We arrived at this happy place about noon, and the next day at evening left thoſe fanning winds, and woods flouriſhing with unfading verdure, for the diſmal barrenneſs of the vaſt uninhabitable plains, from which Abyſſinia is ſupplied with ſalt. Theſe plains are ſurrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds which the ſun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into ſalt. Nothing can be more curious, than to ſee the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock, ſo exact andof ſuch admirable contrivance, that they ſeem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyſſinia are continually reſorting, to carry ſalt into all parts of the empire, which they ſet a great value upon, and which in their country is of the ſame uſe as money. The ſuperſtitious Abyſſins imagine, that the cavities of the mountains are inhabited by evil ſpirits which appear in different ſhapes, calling thoſe that paſs, by their names as in a familiar acquaintance, who, if they go to them, are never ſeen afterwards. This relation was confirmed by the Mooriſh officer who came with us, who, as he ſaid, had loſt a ſervant in that manner: the man certainly fell into the hands of the Galles, who lurk in thoſe dark retreats, cut the throats of the merchants, and carry off their effects.

The heat making it impoſſible to travel through this plain in the day time, we ſet out in the evening, and in the night loſt our way. It is very dangerous to go through this place, for there are no marks of the right road but ſome heaps of ſalt, which we could not ſee. Our camel drivers getting together to conſult on this occaſion, we ſuſpected they had ſome ill deſign in hand, and got ready our weapons; they perceived our apprehenſions, and ſet us at eaſe by letting us know the reaſon of their conſultation. Travelling hard all night, we found ourſelves next morning paſt the plain; but the road we were in was not more commodious, the points of the rocks pierced our feet; to encreaſe our perplexities we were alarmed with the approach of an armed troop, which our fear immediately ſuggeſted to be the Galles, who chiefly beſet theſe paſſes of the mountains, we put ourſelves on the defenſive, and expected them, whom upon a more exact examination, we found to be only a caravan of merchants come as uſual to fetch ſalt.

CHAP. VIII.—*They loſe their Way, are in continual Apprehenſions of the Galles. They come to Duan, and ſettle in Abyſſinia.*

ABOUT nine the next morning we came to the end of this toilſome and rugged path, where the way divided into two, yet both led to a well, the only one that was found in our journey. A Moor with three others took the ſhorteſt, without directing us to follow him; ſo we marched forwards we knew not whither, through woods and over rocks, without ſleep or any other refreſhment: at noon the next day we diſcovered that

we were near the field of ſalt. Our affliction and diſtreſs is not to be expreſſed; we were all fainting with heat and wearineſs, and two of the patriarch's ſervants, were upon the point of dying for want of water. None of us had any but a Moor, who could not be prevailed upon to part with it, at leſs than the weight in gold; we got ſome from him at laſt, and endeavoured to revive the two ſervants, while part of us went to look for a guide that might put us in the right way. The Moors who had arrived at the well, rightly gueſſing that we were loſt, ſent one of their company to look for us, whom we heard ſhouting in the woods, but durſt make no anſwer, for fear of the Galles. At length he found us, and conducted us to the reſt, we inſtantly forgot our paſt calamities, and had no other care than to recover the patriarch's attendants. We did not give them a full draught at firſt, but poured in the water by drops, to moiſten their mouths and throats, which were extremely ſwelled: by this caution they were ſoon well. We then fell to eating and drinking, and though we had nothing but our ordinary repaſt of honey and dryed fleſh, thought we never had regaled more pleaſantly in our lives.

We durſt not ſtay long in this place, for fear of the Galles who lay their ambuſhes more particularly near this well, by which all caravans muſt neceſſarily paſs. Our apprehenſions were very much encreaſed by our ſuſpicion of the camel-drivers, who, as we imagined, had advertiſed the Galles of our arrival. The fatigue we had already ſuffered, did not prevent our continuing our march all night: at laſt we entered a plain, where our drivers told us, we might expect to be attacked by the Galles; nor was it long before our own eyes convinced us, that we were in great danger, for we ſaw as we went along, the dead bodies of a caravan who had been lately maſſacred, a ſight which froze our blood, and filled us with pity and with horror. The ſame fate was not far from overtaking us, for a troop of Galles, who were detached in ſearch of us, miſſed us but an hour or two. We ſpent the next night in the mountains, but when we ſhould have ſet out in the morning, were obliged to a fierce diſpute with the old Moor, who had not yet loſt his inclination to deſtroy us; he would have had us taken a road, which was full of thoſe people we were ſo much afraid of: at length finding he could not prevail with us, that we charged the goods upon him as belonging to the Emperor, to whom he ſhould be anſwerable for the loſs of them, he conſented, in a ſullen way, to go with us.

The deſire of getting out of the reach of the Galles, made us preſs forward with great expedition, and indeed, fear having entirely engroſſed our minds, we were perhaps leſs ſenſible of all our labours and difficulties; ſo violent an apprehenſion of one danger, made us look on many others with unconcern; our pains at laſt found ſome intermiſſion at the foot of the mountains of Duan the frontier of Abyſſinia which ſeparates it from the country of the Moors, through which we had travelled.

Here we imagined we might repoſe ſecurely, a felicity we had long been ſtrangers to. Here we began to rejoice at the concluſion of our labours; the place was cool, and pleaſant, the water excellent, and the birds melodious; ſome of our company went into the wood to divert themſelves with hearing the birds, and frightening the monkies, creatures ſo cunning, that they would not ſtir if a man came unarmed, but would run immediately when they ſaw a gun. At this place our camel drivers left us, to go to the feaſt of St. Michael, which the Æthiopians celebrate the ſixteenth of June. We perſuaded them however to leave us their camels and four of their company to take care of them.

We had not waited many days, before ſome meſſengers came to us, with an account, that father Baradas, with the Emperor's nephew, and many other perſons of diſtinction, waited for us at ſome diſtance; we loaded our camels, and following the courſe of the river, came in ſeven hours to the place we were directed to halt at. Father Manuel

Baradas and all the company, who had waited for us a conſiderable time, on the top of the mountain, came down which they ſaw our tents, and congratulated our arrival. It is not eaſy to expreſs the benevolence and tenderneſs with which they embraced us, and the concern they ſhewed at ſeeing us worn away with hunger, labour, and wearineſs, our cloaths tattered, and our feet bloody.

We left this place of interview the next day, and on the 21ſt of June, arrived at Fremone the reſidence of the miſſionaries, where we were welcomed by great numbers of catholics, both Portugueſe and Abyſſins, who ſpared no endeavours to make us forget all we had ſuffered in ſo hazardous a journey, undertaken, with no other intention, than to conduct them in the way of ſalvation.

A DESCRIPTION OF ABYSSINIA.

CHAP. I. — *The Hiſtory of Abyſſinia. An account of the Queen of Sheba, and of Queen Candace. The Converſion of the Abyſſins.*

THE original of the Abyſſins like that of all other nations, is obſcure, and uncertain. The tradition generally received, derives them from Cham the ſon of Noah, and they pretend, however improbably, that from his time till now, the legal ſucceſſion of their Kings, hath never been interrupted, and that the Supreme Power hath always continued in the ſame family. An authentic genealogy, traced up ſo high, could not but be extremely curious; and with good reaſon might the Emperors of Abyſſinia boaſt themſelves the moſt illuſtrious and ancient family in the world. But there are no real grounds for imagining that Providence has vouchſafed them ſo diſtinguiſhing a protection, and from the wars with which this empire hath been ſhaken in theſe latter ages, we may juſtly believe, that like all others it has ſuffered its revolutions, and that the hiſtory of the Abyſſins is corrupted with fables. This empire is known by the name of the kingdom of Preſter-John. For the Portugueſe having heard ſuch wonderful relations of an ancient and famous Chriſtian ſtate called by that name, in the Indies, imagined it could be none but this of Æthiopia. Many things concurred to make them of this opinion: there was no Chriſtian kingdom or ſtate in the Indies, of which all was true which they heard of this land of Preſter-John: and there was none in the other parts of the world who was a Chriſtian ſeparated from the catholick church, but what was known, except this kingdom of Æthiopia. It has therefore paſſed for the kingdom of Preſter-John, ſince the time that it was diſcovered by the Portugueſe in the reign of King John the ſecond.

The country is properly called Abyſſinia, and the people term themſelves Abyſſins. Their hiſtories count an hundred and ſixty two reigns, from Cham to Faciladas or Baſilides; among which ſome women are remarkably celebrated. One of the moſt renowned is the Queen of Sheba, mentioned in Scripture, whom the natives call Nicaula or Macheda, and in their tranſlation of the goſpel, Nagiſta Azeb, which in their language is Queen of the ſouth. They ſtill ſhew the ruins of a city which appears to have been once of note, as the place where ſhe kept her court, and a village which from its being the place of her birth, they call the land of Saba. The Kings of Æthiopia draw their boaſted pedigree from Minilech the ſon of this Queen and Solomon. The other Queen, for whom they retain a great veneration, is Candace, whom they call Judith, and indeed if what they relate of her, could be proved, there never was, amongſt the

the moſt illuſtrious and beneficent ſovereigns, any to whom their country was more indebted, for it is ſaid, that ſhe being converted by Inda her Eunuch whom St. Philip baptiſed, prevailed with her ſubjects, to quit the worſhip of idols, and profeſs the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. This opinion appears to me without any better foundation, than another of the converſion of the Abyſſins to the Jewiſh rites, by the Queen of Sheba at her return from the court of Solomon. They however, who patroniſe theſe traditions, give us very ſpecious accounts of the zeal and piety of the Abyſſins at their firſt converſion. Many, they ſay, abandoned all the pleaſures and vanities of life for ſolitude, and religious auſterities; others devoted themſelves to God in an eccleſiaſtical life; they who could not do theſe, ſet apart their revenues for building churches, endowing chapels, and founding monaſteries, and ſpent their wealth in coſtly ornaments for the churches, and veſſels for the alters. It is true, that this people has a natural diſpoſition to goodneſs, they are very liberal of their alms, they much frequent their churches, and are very ſtudious to adorn them; they practiſe faſting and other mortifications, and notwithſtanding their ſeparation from the Roman church, and the corruptions which have crept into their faith, yet retain in a great meaſure the devout fervour of the primitive Chriſtians. There never were greater hopes of uniting this people to the church of Rome, which their adherence to the Eutichian hereſy has made very difficult, than in the time of Sultan Segued, who called us into his dominions in the year 1625, from whence we were expelled in 1634. As I have lived a long time in this country, and borne a ſhare in all that has paſſed, I will preſent the reader with a ſhort account of what I have obſerved, and of the revolution which forced us to abandon Æthiopia, and deſtroyed all our hopes of reuniting this kingdom with the Roman church.

The empire of Abyſſinia hath been one of the largeſt which hiſtory gives us an account of: it extended formerly from the Red Sea to the kingdom of Congo, and from Egypt to the Indian Sea. It is not long ſince it contained forty provinces; but is now not much bigger than all Spain, and conſiſts but of five kingdoms, and ſix provinces, of which, part is entirely ſubject to the Emperor, and part only pays him ſome tribute, or acknowledgement of dependance, either voluntarily or by compulſion. Some of theſe are of very large extent: the kingdoms of Tigre, Bagameder and Goiama, are as big as Portugal, or bigger; Amhara and Damote are ſomething leſs. The provinces are inhabited by Moors, Pagans, Jews, and Chriſtians: the laſt is the reigning and eſtabliſhed religion. This diverſity of people and religion is the reaſon that the kingdom in different parts is under different forms of government, and that their laws and cuſtoms are extremely various.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Amhara are the moſt civilized and polite; and next to them the natives of Tigre, or the true Abyſſins. The reſt, except the Damotes, the Gaſates, and the Agaus, which approach ſomewhat nearer to civility, are entirely rude and barbarous. Among theſe nations the Galles, who firſt alarmed the world in 1542, have remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by the ravages they have committed, and the terror they have raiſed in this part of Africa. They neither ſow their lands, nor improve them by any kind of culture; but, living upon milk and fleſh, encamp, like the Arabs, without any ſettled habitation. They practiſe no rites of worſhip, though they believe, that in the regions above, there dwells a Being that governs the world: whether by this Being they mean the ſun or the ſky is not known; or indeed, whether they have not ſome conception of the God that created them. This deity they call in their language Oul. In other matters they are yet more ignorant, and have ſome cuſtoms ſo contrary even to the laws of nature, as might almoſt afford reaſon to doubt whether they are endued with reaſon. The chriſtianity

profeſſed

profeſſed by the Abyſſins is ſo corrupted with ſuperſtitions, errors, and hereſies, and ſo mingled with ceremonies borrowed from the Jews, that little beſides the name of chriſtianity is to be found here; and the thorns may be ſaid to have choaked the grain. This proceeds in a great meaſure from the diverſity of religions which are tolerated there, either by negligence or from motives of policy; and the ſame cauſe hath produced ſuch various revolutions, revolts, and civil wars, within theſe later ages. For thoſe different ſects do not eaſily admit of an union with each other, or a quiet ſubjection to the ſame monarch. The Abyſſins cannot properly be ſaid to have either cities or houſes; they live either in tents, or in cottages made of ſtraw and clay; for they very rarely build with ſtone. Their villages, or towns, conſiſt of theſe huts; yet even of ſuch villages they have but few, becauſe the grandees, the viceroys, and the Emperor himſelf are always in the camp, that they may be prepared, upon the moſt ſudden ſummons, to go where the exigence of affairs demands their preſence. And this precaution is no more than neceſſary for a prince every year engaged either in foreign wars, or inteſtine commotions. Theſe towns have each a governor, whom they call gadare, over whom is the educ, or lieutenant, and both are accountable to an officer called the afamacon, or mouth of the King; becauſe he receives the revenues, which he pays into the hands of the relatina-fala, or grand maſter of the houſehold: ſometimes the Emperor creates a ratz, or viceroy, general over all the empire, who is ſuperior to all his other officers.

Æthiopia produces very near the ſame kinds of proviſions as Portugal; though, by the extreme lazineſs of the inhabitants, in a much leſs quantity: however, there are ſome roots, herbs, and fruits, which grow there much better than in other places. What the ancients imagined of the torrid zone being uninhabitable, is ſo far from being true, that this climate is very temperate: the heats, indeed, are exceſſive in Congo and Monomotapa, but in Abyſſinia they enjoy a perpetual ſpring, more delicious and charming than that in our country. The blacks here are not ugly like thoſe of the kingdoms I have ſpoken of, but have better features, and are not without wit and delicacy; their apprehenſion is quick, and their judgment ſound. The heat of the ſun, however it may contribute to their colour, is not the only reaſon of it; there is ſome peculiarity in the temper and conſtitution of their bodies, ſince the ſame men, tranſported into cooler climates, produce children very near as black as themſelves.

They have here two harveſts in the year, which is a ſufficient recompenſe for the ſmall produce of each *, one harveſt they have in the winter, which laſts through the months of July, Auguſt, and September, the other in the ſpring; their trees are always green, and it is the fault of the inhabitants, that they produce ſo little fruit, the ſoil being well adapted to all ſorts, eſpecially thoſe that come from the Indies. They have in the greateſt plenty raiſins, peaches, ſour pomgranates, and ſugar-canes, and ſome figs. Moſt of theſe are ripe about Lent, which the Abyſſins keep with great ſtrictneſs.

After the vegetable products of this country, it ſeems not improper to mention the animals which are found in it, of which here are as great numbers, of as many different ſpecies, as in any country in the world: it is infeſted with lions, of many kinds, among which are many of that which is called the lyon royal. I cannot help giving the reader on this occaſion, a relation of a fact which I was an eye-witneſs of. A lion having taken his haunt, near the place where I lived, killed all the oxen and cows,

* Une recolte ſe fait dans l'hiver, qui dure pendant les Mois de Juillet, Aouſt, et Septembre, et l'autre dans le printems.

and

and did a great deal of other miſchief, of which I heard new complaints every day. A ſervant of mine having taken a reſolution to free the country from this deſtroyer, went out one day with two lances, and after he had been ſome time in queſt of him, found him with his mouth all ſmeared with the blood of a cow he had juſt devoured; the man ruſhed upon him, and thruſt his lance into his throat with ſuch violence that it came out between his ſhoulders; the beaſt, with one dreadful roar, fell down into a pit, and lay ſtruggling, till my ſervant diſpatched him. I meaſured the body of this lion, and found him twelve feet between the head and the tail.

CHAP. II.—*The Animals of Abyſſinia; the Elephant, Unicorn, their Horſes and Cows; with a particular Account of the Moroc.*

THERE are ſo great numbers of elephants in Abyſſinia, that in one evening we met three hundred of them in three troops: as they filled up the whole way, we were in great perplexity a long time what meaſures to take; at length, having implored the protection of that Providence that ſuperintends the whole creation, we went forwards through the midſt of them, without any injury. Once we met four young elephants, and an old one that played with them, lifting them up with her trunk; they grew enraged on the ſudden, and ran upon us: we had no way of ſecuring ourſelves but by flight, which, however, would have been fruitleſs, had not our purſuers been ſtopped by a deep ditch. The elephants of Æthiopia are of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, that when I was mounted on a large mule, I could not reach with my hand within two ſpans of the top of their backs. In Abyſſinia is likewiſe found the rhinoceros, a mortal enemy to the elephant. In the province of Agaus, has been ſeen the unicorn, that beaſt ſo much talked of, and ſo little known: the prodigious ſwiftneſs with which this creature runs from one wood into another, has given me no opportunity of examining it particularly, yet I have had ſo near a ſight of it as to be able to give ſome deſcription of it. The ſhape is the ſame with that of a beautiful horſe, exact and nicely proportioned, of a bay colour, with a black tail, which in ſome provinces is long, in others very ſhort: ſome have long manes hanging to the ground. They are ſo timorous, that they never feed but ſurrounded with other beaſts that defend them. Deer and other defenceleſs animals often herd about the elephant, which, contenting himſelf with roots and leaves, preſerves thoſe beaſts that place themſelves, as it were, under his protection, from the rage and fierceneſs of others that would devour them.

The horſes of Abyſſinia are excellent; their mules, oxen, and cows are without number, and in theſe principally conſiſts the wealth of this country. They have a very particular cuſtom, which obliges every man that hath a thouſand cows, to ſave every year one day's milk, of all his herd, and make a bath with it for his relations, entertaining them afterwards with a ſplendid feaſt. This they do ſo many days each year, as they have thouſands of cattle, ſo that to expreſs how rich any many is, they tell you he bathes ſo many times. The tribute paid out of their herds to the King, which is not the moſt inconſiderable of his revenues, is one cow in ten every three years. The beeves are of ſeveral kinds; one ſort they have without horns, which are of no other uſe than to carry burthens, and ſerve inſtead of mules. Another twice as big as ours which they breed to kill, fattening them with the milk of three or four cows. Their horns are ſo large, the inhabitants uſe them for pitchers, and each will hold about five gallons. One of theſe oxen, fat and ready to be killed, may be bought at moſt for two crowns. I have purchaſed five ſheep, or five goats with nine kids, for a piece of calico worth about a crown.

The

The Abyſſins have many ſort of fowls both wild and tame; ſome of the former we are yet unacquainted with: there is one of wonderful beauty, which I have ſeen in no other place except Peru: it has inſtead of a comb, a ſhort horn upon its head, which is thick and round, and open at the top. The ſeitan ſavez, or devil's horſe, looks at a diſtance like a man dreſſed in feathers, it walks with abundance of majeſty, till it finds itſelf purſued, and then takes wing, and flies away. But amongſt all their birds, there is none more remarkable than the moroc, or honey-bird, which is furniſhed by nature with a peculiar inſtinct or faculty of diſcovering honey. They have here multitudes of bees of various kinds; ſome are tame, like ours, and form their combs in hives. Of the wild ones, ſome place their honey in hollow trees, others hide it in holes in the ground, which they cover ſo carefully, that though they are commonly in the highway, they are ſeldom found, unleſs by the moroc's help, which, when he has diſcovered any honey, repairs immediately to the road ſide, and when he ſees a traveller, ſings, and claps his wings, making many motions to invite him to follow him, and when he perceives him coming, flies before him from tree to tree, till he comes to the place where the bees have ſtored their treaſure, and then begins to ſing melodiouſly. The Abyſſin takes the honey, without failing to leave part of it for the bird, to reward him for his information. This kind of honey I have often taſted, and do not find that it differs from the other ſorts in any thing but colour; it is ſomewhat blacker. The great quantity of honey that is gathered, and a prodigious number of cows that is kept here, have often made me call Abyſſinia a land of honey and butter.

CHAP. III.—*The Manner of Eating in Abyſſinia, their Dreſs, their Hoſpitality, and Traffic.*

THE great lords, and even the Emperor himſelf, maintain their tables with no great expence. The veſſels they make uſe of are black earthernware, which, the older it is, they ſet a greater value on. Their way of dreſſing their meat, an European, till he hath been long accuſtomed to it, can hardly be perſuaded to like, every thing they eat ſmells ſtrong and ſwims with butter. They make no uſe of either linen or plates. The perſons of rank never touch what they eat, but have their meat cut by their pages, and put into their mouths. When they feaſt a friend they kill an ox, and ſet immediately a quarter of him raw upon the table, (for their moſt elegant treat is raw beef newly killed) with pepper and ſalt; the gall of the ox ſerves them for oil and vinegar; ſome, to heighten the delicacy of the entertainment, add a kind of ſauce, which they call manta, made of what they take out of the guts of the ox; this they ſet on the fire, with butter, ſalt, pepper, and onion. Raw beef, thus reliſhed, is their niceſt diſh, and is eaten by them with the ſame appetite and pleaſure as we eat the beſt partridges. They have often done me the favour of helping me to ſome of this ſauce, and I had no way to decline eating it, beſides telling them it was too good for a miſſionary.

The common drink of the Abyſſins is beer and mead, which they drink to exceſs, when they viſit one another; nor can there be a greater offence againſt good manners, than to let the gueſts go away ſober: their liquor is always preſented by a ſervant, who drinks firſt himſelf, and then gives the cup to the company, in the order of their quality.

The meaner ſort of people here dreſs themſelves very plain; they only wear drawers, and a thick garment of cotton, that covers the reſt of their bodies: the people of quality, eſpecially thoſe that frequent the court, run into the contrary extreme, and

ruin themſelves with coſtly habits. They wear all ſorts of ſilks, and particularly the fine velvets of Turkey.

They love bright and glaring colours, and dreſs themſelves much in the Turkiſh manner, except that their cloaths are wider, and their drawers cover their legs. Their robes are always full of gold and ſilver embroidery. They are moſt exact about their hair, which is long and twiſted, and their care of it is ſuch that they go bare-headed whilſt they are young for fear of ſpoiling it, but afterwards wear red caps, and ſometimes turbans after the Turkiſh faſhion.

The ladies' dreſs is yet more magnificent and expenſive; their robes are as large as thoſe of the religious, of the order of St. Bernard. They have various ways of dreſſing their heads, and ſpare no expence in ear-rings, necklaces, or any thing that may contribute to ſet them off to advantage. They are not much reſerved or confined, and have ſo much liberty in viſiting one another, that their huſbands often ſuffer by it: but for this evil there is no remedy, eſpecially when a man marries a princeſs, or one of the royal family. Beſides their cloaths, the Abyſſins have no moveables or furniture of much value, or doth their manner of living admit of them.

One cuſtom of this country deſerves to be remarked: when a ſtranger comes to a village, or to the camp, the people are obliged to entertain him and his company according to his rank. As ſoon as he enters a houſe (for they have no inns in this nation), the maſter informs his neighbours that he hath a gueſt; immediately they bring in bread and all kinds of proviſions; and there is great care taken to provide enough, becauſe if the gueſt complains, the town is obliged to pay double the value of what they ought to have furniſhed. This practice is ſo well eſtabliſhed that a ſtranger goes into a houſe of one he never ſaw with the ſame familiarity and aſſurance of welcome as into that of an intimate friend or near relation; a cuſtom very convenient, but which gives encouragement to great numbers of vagabonds throughout the kingdom.

There is no money in Abyſſinia, except in the eaſtern provinces, where they have iron coin: but in the chief provinces all commerce is managed by exchange. Their chief trade conſiſts in proviſions, cows, ſheep, goats, fowls, pepper, and gold, which is weighed out to the purchaſer, and principally in ſalt, which is properly the money of this country.

When the Abyſſins are engaged in a law-ſuit, the two parties make choice of a judge, and plead their own cauſe before him; and if they cannot agree in their choice, the governor of the place appoints them one, from whom there lies an appeal to the viceroy and to the Emperor himſelf. All cauſes are determined on the ſpot: no writings are produced. The judge ſits down on the ground in the midſt of the high road, where all that pleaſe may be preſent: the two perſons concerned ſtand before him, with their friends about them, who ſerve as their attornies. The plaintiff ſpeaks firſt, the defendant anſwers him; each is permitted to rejoin three or four times, then ſilence is commanded, and the judge takes the opinions of thoſe that are about him: if the evidence be deemed ſufficient, he pronounces ſentence, which in ſome caſes is deciſive and without appeal. He then takes the criminal into cuſtody till he hath made ſatisfaction; but if it be a crime puniſhable with death, he is delivered over to the proſecutor, who may put him to death at his own diſcretion.

They have here a particular way of puniſhing adultery: a woman convicted of that crime is condemned to forfeit all her fortune, is turned out of her huſband's houſe, in a mean dreſs, and is forbid ever to enter it again; ſhe has only a needle given her to get her living with. Sometimes her head is ſhaved, except one lock of hair, which is

left her, and even that depends on the will of her huſband, who has it likewiſe in his choice whether he will receive her again or not; if he reſolves never to admit her, they are both at liberty to marry whom they will. There is another cuſtom amongſt them yet more extraordinary, which is, that the wife is puniſhed whenever the huſband proves falſe to the marriage contract; this puniſhment indeed extends no farther than a pecuniary mulct, and what ſeems more equitable, the huſband is obliged to pay a ſum of money to his wife. When the huſband proſecutes his wife's gallant, if he can produce any proofs of a criminal converſation, he recovers, for damages, forty cows, forty horſes, and forty ſuits of cloaths, and the ſame number of other things; if the gallant be unable to pay him, he is committed to priſon, and continues there during the huſband's pleaſure, who, if he ſets him at liberty before the whole fine be paid, obliges him to take an oath, that he is going to procure the reſt, that he may be able to make full ſatisfaction. Then the criminal orders meat and drink to be brought out, they eat and drink together, he aſks a formal pardon, which is not granted at firſt; however, the huſband forgives firſt one part of the debt, and then another, till at length the whole is remitted.

A huſband that doth not like his wife, may eaſily find means to make the marriage void, and, what is worſe, may diſmiſs the ſecond wife with leſs difficulty than he took her, and return to the firſt; ſo that marriages in this country are only for a term of years, and laſt no longer than both parties are pleaſed with each other, which is one inſtance how far diſtant theſe people are from the purity of the primitive believers, which they pretend to have preſerved with ſo great ſtrictneſs. The marriages are in ſhort no more than bargains, made with this proviſo, that when any diſcontent ſhall ariſe on either ſide, they may ſeparate, and marry whom they pleaſe, each taking back what they brought with them.

CHAP. IV. — *An Account of the Religion of the Abyſſins.*

YET though there is a great difference between our manners, cuſtoms, civil government, and thoſe of the Abyſſins, there is yet a much greater in points of faith; for ſo many errors have been introduced, and ingrafted into their religion, by their ignorance, their ſeparation from the Catholic church, and their intercourſe with Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans, that their preſent religion is nothing but a kind of confuſed miſcellany of Jewiſh and Mahometan ſuperſtitions, with which they have corrupted thoſe remnants of Chriſtianity which they ſtill retain.

They have however preſerved the belief of our principal myſteries, they celebrate with a great deal of piety, the paſſion of our Lord, they reverence the croſs; they pay a great devotion to the Bleſſed Virgin, the angels, and the ſaints; they obſerve the feſtivals, and pay a ſtrict regard to the Sunday. Every month they commemorate the aſſumption of the Virgin Mary, and are of opinion, that no Chriſtians beſide themſelves, have a true ſenſe of the greatneſs of the mother of God, or pay her the honours that are due to her. There are ſome tribes amongſt them (for they are diſtinguiſhed like the Jews by their tribes), among whom the crime of ſwearing by the name of the Virgin is puniſhed with forfeiture of goods and even with loſs of life: they are equally ſcrupulous of ſwearing by St. George. Every week they keep a feaſt to the honour of the Apoſtles and Angels; they come to maſs with great devotion, and love to hear the word of God. They receive the ſacrament often, but do not always prepare themſelves by confeſſion. Their charity to the poor may be ſaid to exceed the proper bounds that prudence ought to ſet to it, for it contributes to encourage

great numbers of beggars, which are a great annoyance to the whole kingdom, and as I have often ſaid, afford more exerciſe to a Chriſtian's patience than his charity: for their inſolence is ſuch, that they will refuſe what is offered them, if it be not ſo much as they think proper to aſk.

Though the Abyſſins have not many images they have great numbers of pictures, and perhaps pay them ſomewhat too high a degree of worſhip. The ſeverity of their faſts is equal to that of the primitive church: in Lent they never eat till after ſun-ſet. Their faſts are the more ſevere becauſe milk and butter are forbidden them, and no reaſon or neceſſity whatſoever can procure them a permiſſion to eat meat, and their country, affording no fiſh, they live only on roots and pulſe. On faſt-days they never drink but at their meat, and the prieſts never communicate till evening, for fear of profaning them. They do not think themſelves obliged to faſt till they have children either married, or fit to be married, which yet doth not ſecure them very long from theſe mortifications, becauſe their youths marry at the age of ten years, and their girls younger.

There is no nation where excommunication carries greater terrors than among the Abyſſins, which puts it in the power of the prieſts to abuſe this religious temper of the people, as well as the authority they receive from it, by excommunicating them, as they often do, for the leaſt trifle in which their intereſt is concerned.

No country in the world is ſo full of churches, monaſteries, and eccleſiaſtics, as Abyſſinia; it is not poſſible to ſing in one church or monaſtery without being heard by another, and perhaps by ſeveral. They ſing the pſalms of David, of which, as well as the other parts of the holy ſcriptures, they have a very exact tranſlation in their own language; in which, though accounted canonical, the books of the Maccabees are omitted. The inſtruments of muſic made uſe of in their rites of worſhip, are little drums, which they hang about their necks, and beat with both their hands; theſe are carried even by their chief men, and by the graveſt of their eccleſiaſtics. They have ſticks likewiſe, with which they ſtrike the ground, accompanying the blow with a motion of their whole bodies. They begin their concert by ſtamping their feet on the ground, and playing gently on their inſtruments; but when they have heated themſelves by degrees, they leave off drumming, and fall to leaping, dancing, and clapping their hands, at the ſame time ſtraining their voices to the utmoſt pitch, till at length they have no regard either to the tune or the pauſes, and ſeem rather a riotous than a religious aſſembly. For this manner of worſhip they cite the pſalm of David: O clap your hands all ye nations. Thus they miſapply the ſacred writings to defend practices yet more corrupt than thoſe I have been ſpeaking of.

They are poſſeſſed with a ſtrange notion, that they are the only true Chriſtians in the world; as for us, they ſhunned us as heretics, and were under the greateſt ſurprize at hearing us mention the Virgin Mary with the reſpect which is due to her, and told us, that we could not be entirely barbarians, ſince we were acquainted with the mother of God. It plainly appears that prepoſſeſſions ſo ſtrong, which receive more ſtrength from the ignorance of the people, have very little tendency to diſpoſe them to a reunion with the Catholic church.

They have ſome opinions peculiar to themſelves about purgatory, the creation of ſouls, and ſome of our myſteries. They repeat baptiſm every year, they retain the practice of circumciſion, they obſerve the ſabbath, they abſtain from all thoſe ſorts of fleſh which are forbidden by the law. Brothers eſpouſe the wives of their brothers, and to conclude, they obſerve a great number of Jewiſh ceremonies.

Though they know the words which Jeſus Chriſt appointed to be uſed in the adminiſtration of baptiſm, they have without ſcruple ſubſtituted others in their place, which makes the validity of their baptiſm, and the reality of their chriſtianity, very doubtful. They have a few names of ſaints, the ſame with thoſe in the Roman martyrology, but they often inſert others, as Zama la Cota, the Life of Truth; Ongulari the Evangeliſt; Aſca Georgi, the Mouth of Saint George.

To bring back this people into the encloſure of the Catholic church, from which they had been ſeparated ſo many ages, was the ſole view and intention with which we undertook ſo long and toilſome a journey, croſſed ſo many ſeas, and paſſed ſo many deſerts, with the utmoſt hazard of our lives: I am certain that we travelled more than ſeven thouſand leagues before we arrived at our reſidence at Fremona.

We came to this place, anciently called Maigoga, on the 21ſt of June, as I have ſaid before, and were obliged to continue there till November, becauſe the winter begins here in May, and its greateſt rigour is from the middle of June, to the middle of September. The rains that are almoſt continually falling in this ſeaſon make it impoſſible to go far from home, for the rivers overflow their banks, and therefore in a place like this, where there are neither bridges nor boats, are, if they are not fordable, utterly impaſſable. Some indeed have croſſed them by means of a cord faſtened on both ſides of the water, others tie two beams together, and placing themſelves upon them, guide them as well as they can, but this experiment is ſo dangerous, that it hath coſt many of theſe bold adventures their lives. This is not all the danger, for there is yet more to be apprehended from the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, and the vapours which ariſe from the ſcorched earth at the fall of the firſt ſhowers, than from the torrents and rivers. Even they who ſhelter themſelves in houſes find great difficulty to avoid the diſeaſes that proceed from the noxious qualities of theſe vapours. From the beginning of June to that of September it rains more or leſs every day. The morning is generally fair and bright, but about two hours after noon the ſky is clouded, and immediately ſucceeds a violent ſtorm, with thunder and lightning flaſhing in the moſt dreadful manner. While this laſts which is commonly three or four hours, none go out of doors. The ploughman upon the firſt appearance of it, unyokes his oxen, and betakes himſelf with them into covert. Travellers provide for their ſecurity in the neighbouring villages, or ſet up their tents, every body flies to ſome ſhelter, as well to avoid the unwholeſomeneſs as the violence of the rain. The thunder is aſtoniſhing, and the lightning often deſtroys great numbers, a thing I can ſpeak of from my own experience, for it once flaſhed ſo near me, that I felt an uneaſineſs on that ſide for a long time after, at the ſame time it killed three young children, and having run round my room went out, and killed a man and woman three hundred paces off. When the ſtorm is over the ſun ſhines out as before, and one would not imagine it had rained, but that the ground appears deluged. Thus paſſes the Abyſſinian winter, a dreadful ſeaſon, in which the whole kingdom languiſhes with numberleſs diſeaſes, an affliction, which however grievous, is yet equalled, by the clouds of graſhoppers, which fly in ſuch numbers from the deſert, that the ſun is hid and the ſky darkened; whenever this plague appears, nothing is ſeen through the whole region, but the moſt ghaſtly conſternation, or heard but the moſt piercing lamentations, for wherever they fall, that unhappy place is laid waſte and ruined, they leave not one blade of graſs, nor any hopes of a harveſt.

God, who often makes calamities ſubſervient to his will, permitted this very affliction to be the cauſe of the converſion of many of the natives, who might have otherwiſe died in their errors; for part of the country being ruined by the graſhoppers that

year

year in which we arrived at Abyſſinia, many, who were forced to leave their habitations, and ſeek the neceſſaries of life in other places, came to that part of the land where ſome of our miſſionaries were preaching, and laid hold on that mercy which God ſeemed to have appointed for others.

As we could not go to court before November, we reſolved, that we might not be idle, to preach and inſtruct the people in the country; in purſuance of this reſolution, I was ſent to a mountain, two days journey diſtant from Maigoga. The lord or governor of the place, was a catholic, and had deſired miſſionaries, but his wife had conceived an implacable averſion both from us and the Roman church, and almoſt all the inhabitants of that mountain were infected with the ſame prejudices as ſhe. They had been perſuaded, that the hoſts which we conſecrated and gave to the communicants, were mixed with juices ſtrained from the fleſh of a camel, a dog, a hare, and a ſwine; all creatures, which the Abyſſins look upon with abhorrence, believing them unclean, and forbidden to them, as they were to the Jews. We had no way of undeceiving them, and they fled from us whenever we approached. We carried with us our tent, our chalices and ornaments, and all that was neceſſary for ſaying maſs. The lord of the village, who like other perſons of quality throughout Æthiopia, lived on the top of a mountain, received us with very great civility. All that depended upon him, had built their huts round about him; ſo that this place compared with the other towns of Abyſſinia ſeems conſiderable: as ſoon as we arrived he ſent us his compliments, with a preſent of a cow, which among them, is a token of high reſpect. We had no way of returning this favour but by killing the cow, and ſending a quarter ſmoaking, with the gall, which amongſt them is eſteemed the moſt delicate part. I imagined for ſome time that the gall of animals was leſs bitter in this country than elſewhere, but upon taſting it, I found it more; and yet have frequently ſeen our ſervants drink large glaſſes of it with the ſame pleaſure that we drink the moſt delicious wines.

We choſe to begin our miſſion with the lady of the village, and hoped that her prejudice and obſtinacy, however great, would in time yield to the advice and example of her huſband, and that her converſion would have a great influence on the whole village, but having loſt ſeveral days without being able to prevail upon her to hear us on any one point, we left the place, and went to another mountain, higher and better peopled: when we came to the village on the top of it, where the lord lived, we were ſurpriſed with the cries and lamentations of men that ſeemed to ſuffer or apprehend ſome dreadful calamity; and were told, upon enquiring the cauſe, that the inhabitants had been perſuaded that we were the devil's miſſionaries, who came to ſeduce them from the true religion, that foreſeeing ſome of their neighbours would be ruined by the temptation, they were lamenting the misfortune which was coming upon them. When we began to apply ourſelves to the work of the miſſion, we could not by any means perſuade any but the lord and the prieſt to receive us into their houſes; the reſt were rough and untractable to that degree that, after having converted ſix, we deſpaired of making any farther progreſs, and thought it beſt to remove to other towns where we might be better received.

We found however a more unpleaſing treatment at the next place, and had certainly ended our lives there, had we not been protected by the governor, and the prieſt, who, though not reconciled to the Roman church, yet ſhewed us the utmoſt civility; the governor informed us of a deſign againſt our lives, and adviſed us not to go out after ſunſet, and gave us guards to protect us from the inſults of the populace.

We made no long ſtay in a place where they ſtopped their ears againſt the voice of God, but returned to the foot of that mountain which we had left ſome days

days before; we were ſurrounded, as ſoon as we began to preach, with a multitude of auditors, who came either in expectation of being inſtructed, or from a deſire of gratifying their curioſity, and God beſtowed ſuch a bleſſing upon our apoſtolical labours, that the whole village was converted in a ſhort time. We then removed to another at the middle of the mountain, ſituated in a kind of natural *parterre*, or garden: the ſoil was fruitful, and the trees that ſhaded it from the ſcorching heat of the ſun, gave it an agreeable and refreſhing coolneſs. We had here the convenience of improving the ardour and piety of our new converts, and at the ſame time, of leading more into the way of the true religion: and indeed our ſucceſs exceeded the utmoſt of our hopes, we had in a ſhort time great numbers whom we thought capable of being admitted to the ſacraments of baptiſm and the maſs.

We erected our tent, and placed our altar under ſome great trees, for the benefit of the ſhade; and every day before ſun-riſing, my companion and I began to catechiſe and inſtruct theſe new Catholics; and uſed our utmoſt endeavours to make them abjure their errors. When we were weary with ſpeaking, we placed in ranks thoſe who were ſufficiently inſtructed, and paſſing through them with great veſſels of water, baptiſed them according to the form preſcribed by the church. As their number was very great, we cried aloud, thoſe of this rank are named Peter, thoſe of that rank Anthony. And did the ſame amongſt the women, whom we ſeparated from the men. We then confeſſed them, and admitted them to the communion. After maſs we applied ourſelves again to catechiſe, to inſtruct, and receive the renunciation of their errors, ſcarce allowing ourſelves time to make a ſcanty meal, which we never did more than once a day.

After ſome time had been ſpent here, we removed to another town not far diſtant; and continued the ſame practice. Here I was accoſted one day by an inhabitant of that place, where he had found the people ſo prejudiced againſt us, who deſired to be admitted to confeſſion. I could not forbear aſking him ſome queſtions about thoſe lamentations, which we heard upon our entering into that place. He confeſſed with the utmoſt frankneſs and ingenuity, that the prieſts and religious have given dreadful accounts both of us and of the religion we preached; that the unhappy people was taught by them, that the curſe of God attended us whereſoever we went, that we were always followed by the graſhoppers, that peſt of Abyſſinia, which carried famine and deſtruction over all the country; that he ſeeing no graſhoppers following us, when we paſſed by their village, began to doubt of the reality of what the prieſts had ſo confidently aſſerted, and was now convinced that the repreſentation they made of us, was calumny and impoſture. This diſcourſe gave us double pleaſure, both as it proved that God had confuted the accuſations of our enemies, and defended us againſt their malice without any efforts of our own, and that the people who had ſhunned us with the ſtrongeſt deteſtation, were yet lovers of truth, and came to us on their own accord.

Nothing could be more groſsly abſurd than the reproaches which the Abyſſinian eccleſiaſtics aſperſed us and our religion with. They had taken advantage of the calamity that happened the year of our arrival; and the Abyſſins, with all their wit, did not conſider that they had often been diſtreſſed by the graſhoppers, before there came any Jeſuits into the country, and indeed before there were any in the world.

Whilſt I was in theſe mountains, I went on Sundays and ſaints days ſometimes to one church and ſometimes to another; one day I went out with a reſolution not to go to a certain church, where I imagined there was no occaſion for me, but before I had

had gone far, I found myſelf preſſed by a ſecret impulſe to return back to that ſame church. I obeyed the influence, and diſcovered it to proceed from the mercy of God to three young children who were deſtitute of all ſuccour, and at the point of death: I found two very quickly in this miſerable ſtate, the mother had retired to ſome diſtance that ſhe might not ſee them die, and when ſhe ſaw me ſtop, came and told me that they had been obliged by want to leave the town they lived in, and were at length reduced to this diſmal condition, that ſhe had been baptiſed, but that the children had not. After I had baptiſed and relieved them, I continued my walk, reflecting with wonder on the mercy of God, and about evening diſcovered another infant, whoſe mother, evidently a Catholic, cried out to me to ſave her child, or at leaſt, that if I could not preſerve this uncertain and periſhable life, I ſhould give it another certain and permanent. I ſent my ſervant to fetch water with the utmoſt expedition, for there was none near, and happily baptized the child before it expired.

Soon after this I returned to Fremona, and had great hopes of accompanying the patriarch to the court; but, when we were almoſt ſetting out, received the command of the ſuperior of the miſſion to ſtay at Fremona, with a charge of the houſe there, and of all the Catholics that were diſperſed over the kingdom of Tigre, an employment very ill-proportioned to my abilities. The houſe at Fremona has always been much regarded even by thoſe emperors who perſecuted us; Sultan Segued annexed nine large manors to it for ever, which did not make us much more wealthy, becauſe of the expenſive hoſpitality which the great conflux of ſtrangers obliged us to. The lands in Abyſſinia yield but ſmall revenues, unleſs the owners themſelves ſet the value upon them, which we could not do.

The manner of letting farms in Abyſſinia differs much from that of other countries: the farmer, when the harveſt is almoſt ripe, invites the chumo or ſteward, who is appointed to make an eſtimate of the value of each year's product, to his houſe, entertains him in the moſt agreeable manner he can; makes him a preſent, and then takes him to ſee his corn. If the chumo is pleaſed with the treat and preſent, he will give him a declaration or writing to witneſs that his ground which afforded five or ſix ſacks of corn, did not yield ſo many buſhels, and even of this it is the cuſtom to abate ſomething; ſo that our revenue did not increaſe in proportion to our lands; and we found ourſelves often obliged to buy corn, which, indeed is not dear, for in fruitful years forty or fifty meaſures weighing each about twenty-two pounds, may be purchaſed for a crown.

Beſides the particular charge I had of the houſe of Fremona, I was appointed the patriarch's grand-vicar, through the whole kingdom of Tigre. I thought that to diſcharge this office as I ought, it was incumbent on me to provide neceſſaries as well for the bodies as the ſouls of the converted Catholics. This labour was much increaſed by the famine which the graſhoppers had brought that year upon the country. Our houſe was perpetually ſurrounded by ſome of thoſe unhappy people, whom want had compelled to abandon their habitations, and whoſe pale cheeks and meagre bodies were undeniable proofs of their miſery and diſtreſs. All the relief I could poſſibly afford them, could not prevent the death of ſuch numbers that their bodies filled the highways; and to increaſe our affliction, the wolves having devoured the carcaſes, and finding no other food fell upon the living; their natural fierceneſs being ſo increaſed by hunger, that they dragged the children out of the very houſes. I ſaw myſelf a troop of wolves tear a child of ſix years old in pieces before I or any one elſe could come to its aſſiſtance.

While

While I was entirely taken up with the duties of my miniſtry, the viceroy of Tigre received the commands of the emperor to ſearch for the bones of Don Chriſtopher de Gama: on this occaſion it may not be thought impertinent to give ſome account of the life and death of this brave and holy Portugueſe, who, after having been ſucceſsful in many battles fell at laſt into the hands of the Moors, and compleated that illuſtrious life by a glorious martyrdom.

CHAP. V. — *The Adventures of the Portugueſe, and the Actions of Don Chriſtopher de Gama in Æthiopia.*

ABOUT the beginning of the ſixteenth century, aroſe a Moor near the Cape of Gardafui, who, by the aſſiſtance of the forces ſent him from Moca by the Arabs and Turks, conquered almoſt all Abyſſinia, and founded the kingdom of Adel. He was called Mahomet Gragnè or the Lame. When he had ravaged Æthiopia fourteen years, and was maſter of the greateſt part of it, the Emperor David ſent to implore ſuccour of the King of Portugal, with a promiſe, that when thoſe dominions were recovered which had been taken from him, he would entirely ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, and reſign the third part of his territories to the Portugueſe. After many delays occaſioned by the great diſtance between Portugal and Abyſſinia, and ſome unſucceſsful attempts, King John the Third, having made Don Stephen de Gama, ſon of the celebrated Don Vaſco de Gama, viceroy of the Indies, gave him orders to enter the Red Sea in purſuit of the Turkiſh gallies, and to fall upon them wherever he found them, even in the Port of Suez. The viceroy, in obedience to the King's commands, equipped a powerful fleet, went on board himſelf, and cruized about the coaſt without being able to diſcover the Turkiſh veſſels. Enraged to find that with this great preparation he ſhould be able to effect nothing, he landed at Mazna four hundred Portugueſe, under the command of Don Chriſtopher de Gama his brother: he was ſoon joined by ſome Abyſſins, who had not yet forgot their allegiance to their ſovereign; and in his march up the country, was met by the Empreſs Helena, who received him as her deliverer. At firſt nothing was able to ſtand before the valour of the Portugueſe, the Moors were driven from one mountain to another, and were diſlodged even from thoſe places, which it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to approach, even unmoleſted by the oppoſition of an enemy.

Theſe ſucceſſes ſeemed to promiſe a more happy event, than that which followed them. It was now winter, a ſeaſon in which, as the reader hath been already informed, it is almoſt impoſſible to travel in Æthiopia. The Portugueſe unadviſedly engaged themſelves in an enterpriſe, to march through the whole country, in order to join the Emperor, who was then in the moſt remote part of his dominions. Mahomet, who was in poſſeſſion of the mountains, being informed by his ſpies, that the Portugueſe were but four hundred, encamped in the plain of Ballut, and ſent a meſſage to the general, that he knew the Abyſſins had impoſed on the King of Portugal, which, being acquainted with their treachery, he was not ſurpriſed at, and that in compaſſion of the commander's youth, he would give him and his men, if they would return, free paſſage, and furniſh them with neceſſaries; that he might conſult upon the matter, and depend upon his word, reminding him however that it was not ſafe to refuſe his offer.

The general preſented the ambaſſador with a rich robe, and returned this gallant anſwer: "That he, and his fellow ſoldiers were come with an intention to drive Mahomet out of theſe countries, which he had wrongfully uſurped; that his preſent

deſign was, inſtead of returning back the way he came, as Mahomet adviſed, to open himſelf a paſſage through the country of his enemies; that Mahomet ſhould rather think of determining whether he would fight or yield up his ill-gotten territories, than of preſcribing meaſures to him: that he put his whole confidence in the omnipotence of God, and the juſtice of his cauſe, and that to ſhew how juſt a ſenſe he had of Mahomet's kindneſs, he took the liberty of preſenting him with a looking-glaſs, and a pair of pincers."

This anſwer, and the preſent, ſo provoked Mahomet, who was at dinner when he received it, that he roſe from table immediately to march againſt the Portugueſe, imagining he ſhould meet with no reſiſtance; and indeed any man, however brave, would have been of the ſame opinion; for his forces conſiſted of fifteen thouſand foot, beſide a numerous body of cavalry, and the Portugueſe commander had but three hundred and fifty men, having loſt eight in attacking ſome paſſes, and left forty at Mazna, to maintain an open intercourſe with the viceroy of the Indies. This little troop of our countrymen were upon the declivity of a hill near a wood; above them ſtood the Abyſſins, who reſolved to remain quiet ſpectators of the battle, and to declare themſelves on that ſide which ſhould be favoured with victory.

Mahomet began the attack with only ten horſemen, againſt whom as many Portugueſe were detached, who fired with ſo much exactneſs, that nine of the Moors fell, and the tenth with great difficulty made his eſcape. This omen of good fortune gave the ſoldiers great encouragement; the action grew hot, and they came at length to a general battle, but the Moors, diſmayed by the advantages our men had obtained at firſt, were half defeated before the fight. The great fire of our muſkets and artillery broke them immediately. Mahomet preſerved his own life not without difficulty; but did not loſe his capacity with the battle: he had ſtill a great number of troops remaining, which he rallied, and entrenched himſelf at Membret, a place naturally ſtrong, with an intention to paſs the winter there, and wait for ſuccours.

The Portugueſe, who were more deſirous of glory than wealth, did not encumber themſelves with plunder, but with the utmoſt expedition purſued their enemies, in hopes of cutting them entirely off. This expectation was too ſanguine: they found them encamped in a place naturally almoſt inacceſſible, and ſo well fortified, that it would be no leſs than extreme raſhneſs to attack them. They therefore entrenched themſelves on a hill over againſt the enemies camp, and, though victorious, were under great diſadvantages. They ſee new troops arrive every day at the enemies camp, and their ſmall number grew leſs continually, their friends at Mazna could not join them, they know not how to procure proviſions, and could put no confidence in the Abyſſins; yet recollecting the great things atchieved by their countrymen, and depending on the Divine Protection, they made no doubt of ſurmounting all difficulties.

Mahomet on his part was not idle; he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Mahometan princes, preſſed them with all the motives of religion, and obtained a reinforcement of two thouſand muſqueteers from the Arabs, and a train of artillery from the Turks. Animated with theſe ſuccours, he marched out of his trenches to enter thoſe of the Portugueſe, who received him with the utmoſt bravery, deſtroyed prodigious numbers of his men, and made many ſallies with great vigour, but loſing every day ſome of their ſmall troops, and moſt of their officers being killed, it was eaſy to ſurround, and force them.

Their general had already one arm broken, and his knee ſhattered with a muſket-ſhot, which made him unable to repair to all thoſe places where his preſence was

neceſſary to animate his ſoldiers. Valour was at length forced to ſubmit to ſuperiority of numbers, the enemy entered the camp, and put all to the ſword. The general with ten more eſcaped the ſlaughter, and by means of their horſes retreated to a wood, where they were ſoon diſcovered by a detachment ſent in ſearch of them, and brought to Mahomet, who was overjoyed to ſee his moſt formidable enemy in his power, and ordered him to take care of his uncle and nephew, who were wounded, telling him, he ſhould anſwer for their lives; and, upon their death, taxed him with haſtening it. The brave Portugueſe made no excuſes, but told him, he came thither to deſtroy Mahometans, and not to ſave them. Mahomet enraged at this language, ordered a ſtone to be put on his head, and expoſed this great man to the inſults and reproaches of the whole army: after this they inflicted various kinds of tortures on him, which he endured with incredible reſolution, and without uttering the leaſt complaint, praiſing the mercy of God who had ordained him to ſuffer in ſuch a cauſe.

Mahomet, at laſt ſatisfied with cruelty, made an offer of ſending him to the viceroy of the Indies, if he would turn Muſſulman. The hero took fire at this propoſal, and anſwered with the higheſt indignation, that nothing ſhould make him forſake his heavenly Maſter to follow an impoſtor, and continued in the ſevereſt terms to vilify their falſe prophet, till Mahomet ſtruck off his head.

Nor did the reſentment of Mahomet end here; he divided his body into quarters, and ſent them to different places. The Catholics gathered the remains of this glorious martyr, and interred them. Every Moor that paſſed by threw a ſtone upon his grave, and raiſed in time ſuch an heap, as I found it difficult to remove, when I went in ſearch of thoſe precious reliques.

What I have here related of the death of Don Chriſtopher de Gama, I was told by an old man, who was an eye-witneſs of it: and there is a tradition in the country, that in the place where his head fell, a fountain ſprung up of wonderful virtue, which cured many diſeaſes otherwiſe paſt remedy.

CHAP. VI. — *Mahomet continues the War, and is killed. The Stratagem of Peter Leon.*

MAHOMET, that he might make the beſt uſe of his victory, ranged over a great part of Abyſſinia in ſearch of the Emperor Claudius, who was then in the kingdom of Dambia. All places ſubmitted to the Mahometan, whoſe inſolence increaſed every day with his power; and nothing after the defeat of the Portugueſe was ſuppoſed able to put a ſtop to the progreſs of his arms.

The ſoldiers of Portugal, having loſt their chief, reſorted to the Emperor, who, though young, promiſed great things, and told them, that ſince their own general was dead, they would accept of none but himſelf. He received them with great kindneſs, and hearing of Don Chriſtopher de Gama's misfortune, could not forbear honouring with ſome tears the memory of a man who had come ſo far to his ſuccour, and loſt his life in his cauſe.

The Portugueſe, reſolved at any rate to revenge the fate of their general, deſired the Emperor to aſſign them the poſt oppoſite to Mahomet, which was willingly granted them. That King, flushed with his victories, and imagining to fight was undoubtedly to conquer, ſought all occaſions of giving the Abyſſins battle. The Portugueſe, who deſired nothing more than to re-eſtabliſh their reputation by revenging the affront put upon them by the late defeat, adviſed the Emperor to lay hold on the firſt opportunity

of fighting. Both parties joined battle with equal fury: the Portugueſe directed all their force againſt that part where Mahomet was poſted. Peter Leon, who had been ſervant to the general, ſingled the King out among the crowd, and ſhot him into the head with his muſket. Mahomet, finding himſelf wounded, would have retired out of the battle, and was followed by Peter Leon till he fell down dead; the Portugueſe, alighting from his horſe, cut off one of his ears. The Moors being now without a leader, continued the fight but a little time, and at length fled different ways in the utmoſt diſorder; the Abyſſins purſued them, and made a prodigious ſlaughter: one of them ſeeing the King's body on the ground cut off his head, and preſented it to the Emperor; the ſight of it filled the whole camp with acclamations, every one applauded the valour and good fortune of the Abyſſin, and no reward was thought great enough for ſo important a ſervice. Peter Leon, having ſtood by ſome time, aſked, whether the King had but one ear? if he had two, ſays he, it ſeems likely that the man who killed him cut off one, and keeps it as a proof of his exploit. The Abyſſin ſtood confuſed, and the Portugueſe produced the ear out of his pocket; every one commended the ſtratagem, and the Emperor commanded the Abyſſin to reſtore all the preſents he had received, and delivered them with many more to Peter Leon.

I imagined the reader would not be diſpleaſed to be informed who this man was, whoſe precious remains were ſearched for by a viceroy of Tigre, at the command of the Emperor himſelf. The commiſſion was directed to me, nor did I ever receive one that was more welcome on many accounts. I had contracted an intimate friendſhip with the Count de Vidigueira, viceroy of the Indies, and had been deſired by him, when I took my leave of him, upon going to Melinda, to inform myſelf where his relation was buried, and to ſend him ſome of his reliques.

The viceroy, ſon-in-law to the Emperor, with whom I was joined in the commiſſion, gave me many diſtinguiſhing proofs of his affection to me, and of his zeal for the Catholic religion. It was a journey of fifteen days, through a part of the country poſſeſſed by the Galles, which made it neceſſary to take troops with us for our ſecurity; yet, notwithſtanding this precaution, the hazard of the expedition appeared ſo great, that our friends bid us farewell with tears, and looked upon us as deſtined to unavoidable deſtruction. The viceroy had given orders to ſome troops to join us on the road, ſo that our little army grew ſtronger as we advanced. There is no making long marches in this country; an army here is a great city well peopled, and under exact government: they take their wives and children with them, and the camp hath its ſtreets, its market places, its churches, courts of juſtice, judges, and civil officers.

Before they ſet forward, they advertiſe the governors of provinces through which they are to paſs, that they may take care to furniſh what is neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the troops. Theſe governors give notice to the adjacent places, that the army is to march that way on ſuch a day, and that they are aſſeſſed ſuch a quantity of bread, beer, and cows. The peaſants are very exact in ſupplying their quota, being obliged to pay double the value in caſe of failure; and very often when they have produced their full ſhare, they are told, that they have been deficient, and conde ned to buy their peace with a large fine.

When the providore has received theſe contributions, he divides them according to the number of perſons, and the want they are in: the proportion they obſerve in this diſtribution is twenty pots of beer, ten of mead, and one cow to an hundred loaves. The chief officers and perſons of note carry their own proviſions with them, which I did too, though I afterwards found the precaution unneceſſary, for I had often two

or three cows more than I wanted, which I beſtowed on thoſe whoſe allowance fell ſhort.

The Abyſſins are not only obliged to maintain the troops in their march, but to repair the roads, to clear them, eſpecially in the foreſts, of brambles and thorns, and by all means poſſible to facilitate the paſſage of the army. They are, by long cuſtom, extremely ready at encamping: as ſoon as they come to a place they think convenient to halt at, the officer that commands the vanguard, marks out with his pike the place for the King's or viceroy's tent: every one knows his rank, and how much ground he ſhall take up; ſo the camp is formed in an inſtant.

CHAP. VII.—*They diſcover the Reliques. Their Apprehenſion of the Galles. The Author converts a Criminal, and procures his Pardon.*

WE took with us an old Moor, ſo enfeebled with age, that they were forced to carry him: he had ſeen, as I have ſaid, the ſufferings and death of Don Chriſtopher de Gama; and a Chriſtian, who had often heard all thoſe paſſages related to his father, and knew the place where the uncle and nephew of Mahomet were buried, and where they interred one quarter of the Portugueſe martyr. We often examined theſe two men, and always apart; they agreed in every circumſtance of their relations, and confirmed us in our belief of them by leading us to the place where we took up the uncle and nephew of Mahomet, as they had deſcribed. With no ſmall labour we removed the heap of ſtones which the Moors, according to their cuſtom, had thrown upon the body, and diſcovered the treaſure we came in ſearch of. Not many paces off was the fountain where they had thrown his head, with a dead dog, to raiſe a greater averſion in the Moors. I gathered the teeth and the lower jaw. No words can expreſs the extaſies I was tranſported with, at ſeeing the reliques of ſo great a man, and reflecting that it had pleaſed God to make me the inſtrument of their preſervation, ſo that one day, if our holy father the Pope ſhall be ſo pleaſed, they may receive the veneration of the faithful. All burſt into tears at the ſight. We indulged a melancholy pleaſure in reflecting what that great man had atchieved for the deliverance of Abyſſinia, from the yoke and tyranny of the Moors; the voyages he had undertaken; the battles he had fought; the victories he had won; and the cruel and tragical death he had ſuffered. Our firſt moments were ſo entirely taken up with theſe reflections, that we were incapable of conſidering the danger we were in of being immediately ſurrounded by the Galles: but as ſoon as we awaked to that thought, we contrived to retreat as faſt as we could: our expedition, however, was not ſo great, but we ſaw them on the top of a mountain ready to pour down upon us. The viceroy attended us cloſely with his little army, but had been probably not much more ſecure than we, his force conſiſting only of foot, and the Galles entirely of horſe, a ſervice at which they are very expert. Our apprehenſions at laſt proved to be needleſs, for the troops we ſaw were of a nation at that time in alliance with the Abyſſins.

Not caring, after this alarm, to ſtay longer here, we ſet out on our march back, and in our return, paſſed through a village where two men, who had murdered a domeſtic of the viceroy, lay under an arreſt: as they had been taken in the fact, the law of the country allowed that they might have been executed the ſame hour, but the viceroy having ordered that their death ſhould be deferred till his return, delivered them to the relations of the dead, to be diſpoſed of as they ſhould think proper. They made great rejoicings all the night, on account of having it in their power to

revenge their relation; and the unhappy criminals had the mortification of ſtanding by, to behold this jollity, and the preparations made for their execution.

The Abyſſins have three different ways of putting a criminal to death; one way is to bury him to the neck, to lay a heap of brambles upon his head, and to cover the whole with a great ſtone. Another is to beat him to death with cudgels. A third, and the moſt uſual, is to ſtab them with their lances. The neareſt relation gives the firſt thruſt, and is followed by all the reſt according to their degrees of kindred; and they to whom it does not happen to ſtrike while the offender is alive, dip the points of their lances in his blood, to ſhew that they partake in the revenge. It frequently happens, that the relations of the criminal are for taking the like vengeance for his death, and ſometimes purſue this reſolution ſo far that all thoſe who had any ſhare in the proſecution loſe their lives.

I being informed that theſe two men were to die, wrote to the viceroy for his permiſſion to exhort them, before they entered into eternity, to unite themſelves to the church. My requeſt being granted, I applied myſelf to the men, and found one of them ſo obſtinate that he would not even afford me an hearing, and died in his error. The other I found more flexible, and wrought upon him ſo far, that he came to my tent to be inſtructed. After my care of his eternal welfare had met with ſuch ſucceſs, I could not forbear attempting ſomething for his temporal, and by my endeavours, matters were ſo accommodated, that the relations were willing to grant his life on condition he paid a certain number of cows, or the value. Their firſt demand was of a thouſand; he offered them five; they at laſt were ſatisfied with twelve, provided they were paid upon the ſpot. The Abyſſins are extremely charitable; and the women, on ſuch occaſions, will give even their necklaces, and pendants, ſo that, with what I gave myſelf, I collected in the camp enough to pay the fine, and all parties were content.

CHAP. VIII.—*The Viceroy is offended by his Wife. He complains to the Emperor, but without Redreſs. He meditates a Revolt, raiſes an Army, and makes an Attempt to ſeize upon the Author.*

WE continued our march, and the viceroy having been advertiſed that ſome troops had appeared in a hoſtile manner on the frontiers, went againſt them: I parted from him, and arrived at Fremona, where the Portugueſe expected me with great impatience. I repoſited the bones of Don Chriſtopher de Gama in a decent place, and ſent them the May following to the viceroy of the Indies, together with his arms which had been preſented me by a gentleman of Abyſſinia, and a picture of the Virgin Mary, which that gallant Portugueſe always carried about him.

The viceroy, during all the time he was engaged in this expedition, heard very provoking accounts of the bad conduct of his wife, and complained of it to the Emperor, intreating him either to puniſh his daughter himſelf, or to permit him to deliver her over to juſtice, that, if ſhe was falſely accuſed, ſhe might have an opportunity of putting her own honour and her huſband's out of diſpute. The Emperor took little notice of his ſon-in-law's remonſtrances; and, the truth is, the viceroy was ſomewhat more nice in that matter than the people of rank in this country generally are. There are laws, it is true, againſt adultery, but they ſeem to have been only for the meaner people, and the women of quality, eſpecially the ouzoros, or ladies of the blood royal, are ſo much above them, that their huſbands have not even the liberty of complaining; and certainly to ſupport injuries of this kind without complaining, requires a degree of patience

patience which few men can boaſt of. The viceroy's virtue was not proof againſt this temptation, he fell into a deep melancholy, and reſolved to be revenged on his father-in-law. He knew the preſent temper of the people, that thoſe of the greateſt intereſt and power were by no means pleaſed with the changes of religion, and only waited for a fair opportunity to revolt; and that theſe diſcontents were every where heightened by the monks and clergy. Encouraged by theſe reflections, he was always talking of the juſt reaſons he had to complain of the Emperor, and gave them ſufficient room to underſtand, that if they would appear in his party, he would declare himſelf for the ancient religion, and put himſelf at the head of thoſe who ſhould take arms in the defence of it. The chief and almoſt the only thing that hindered him from raiſing a formidable rebellion, was the mutual diſtruſt they entertained of one another, each fearing, that as ſoon as the Emperor ſhould publiſh an act of grace, or general amneſty, the greateſt part would lay down their arms and embrace it; and this ſuſpicion was imagined more reaſonable of the viceroy than of any other. Notwithſtanding this difficulty, the prieſts, who intereſted themſelves much in this revolt, ran with the utmoſt earneſtneſs from church to church, levelling their ſermons againſt the Emperor and the Catholic religion: and that they might have the better ſucceſs in putting a ſtop to all eccleſiaſtical innovations, they came to a reſolution of putting all the miſſionaries to the ſword; and that the viceroy might have no room to hope for a pardon, they obliged him to give the firſt wound to him that ſhould fall into his hands.

As I was the neareſt, and by conſequence the moſt expoſed, an order was immediately iſſued out for apprehending me, it being thought a good expedient to ſeize me, and force me to build a citadel, into which they might retreat if they ſhould happen to meet with a defeat. The viceroy wrote to me to deſire that I would come to him, he having, as he ſaid, an affair of the higheſt importance to communicate.

The frequent aſſemblies which the viceroy held had already been much talked of; and I had received advice that he was ready for a revolt, and that my death was to be the firſt ſignal of an open war. Knowing that the viceroy had made many complaints of the treatment he received from his father-in-law, I made no doubt that he had ſome ill deſign in hand; and yet could ſcarce perſuade myſelf that after all the tokens of friendſhip I had received from him he would enter into any meaſures for deſtroying me. While I was yet in ſuſpenſe, I diſpatched a faithful ſervant to the viceroy with my excuſe for diſobeying him; and gave the meſſenger ſtrict orders to obſerve all that paſſed, and bring me an exact account.

This affair was of too great moment not to engage my utmoſt endeavours to arrive at the moſt certain knowledge of it, and to advertiſe the court of the danger. I wrote therefore to one of our fathers, who was then near the Emperor, the beſt intelligence I could obtain of all that had paſſed, of the reports that were ſpread through all this part of the empire, and of the diſpoſition which I diſcovered in the people to a general defection; telling him, however, that I could not yet believe that the viceroy, who had honoured me with his friendſhip, and of whom I never had any thought but how to oblige him, could now have ſo far changed his ſentiments as to take away my life.

The letters which I received by my ſervant, and the aſſurances he gave that I need fear nothing, for that I was never mentioned by the viceroy without great marks of eſteem, ſo far confirmed me in my error, that I went from Fremona with a reſolution to ſee him. I did not reflect that a man who could fail in his duty to his King, his father-in-law, and his benefactor, might without ſcruple do the ſame to a ſtranger, though diſtinguiſhed as his friend; and thus ſanguine and unſuſpecting continued my journey, ſtill receiving intimation from all parts to take care of myſelf: at length when

I was

I was within a few days journies of the viceroy, I received a billet in more plain and expreſs terms than any thing I had been told yet, charging me with extreme imprudence in putting myſelf into the hands of thoſe men who had undoubtedly ſworn to cut me off.

I began upon this to diſtruſt the ſincerity of the viceroy's profeſſions, and reſolved, upon the receipt of another letter from the viceroy, to return directly: in this letter, having excuſed himſelf for not waiting for my arrival, he deſired me in terms very ſtrong and preſſing to come forward, and ſtay for him at his own houſe, aſſuring me, that he had given ſuch orders for my entertainment as ſhould prevent my being tired with living there. I imagined at firſt that he had left ſome ſervants to provide for my reception, but being advertiſed at the ſame time, that there was no longer any doubt of the certainty of his revolt, that the Galles were engaged to come to his aſſiſtance, and that he was gone to ſign a treaty with them; I was no longer in ſuſpence what meaſures to take, but returned to Fremona.

Here I found a letter from the Emperor, which prohibited me to go out, and the orders which he had ſent through all theſe parts, directing them to arreſt me wherever I was found, and to hinder me from proceeding on my journey. Theſe orders came too late to contribute to my preſervation, and this Prince's goodneſs had been in vain, if God, whoſe protection I have often had experience of in my travels, had not been my conductor in this emergency.

The viceroy hearing that I was returned to my reſidence, did not diſcover any concern or chagrin as at a diſappointment, for ſuch was his privacy and diſſimulation, that the moſt penetrating could never form any conjecture that could be depended on, about his deſigns, till every thing was ready for the execution of them. My ſervant, a man of wit, was ſurpriſed as well as every body elſe; and I can aſcribe to nothing but a miracle, my eſcape from ſo many ſnares as he laid to entrap me.

There happened during this perplexity of my affairs an accident of ſmall conſequence in itſelf, which yet I think deſerves to be mentioned, as it ſhews the credulity and ignorance of the Abyſſins. I received a viſit from a religious, who paſſed, though he was blind, for the moſt learned perſon in all that country: he had the whole ſcriptures in his memory, but ſeemed to have been at more pains to retain, than underſtand them; as he talked much, he often took occaſion to quote them, and did it almoſt always improperly: having invited him to ſup and paſs the night with me, I ſet before him ſome excellent mead, which he liked ſo well, as to drink ſomewhat beyond the bounds of exact temperance: next day, to make ſome return for his entertainment, he took upon him to divert me with ſome of thoſe ſtories which the monks amuſe ſimple people with, and told me of a devil that haunted a fountain, and uſed to make it his employment to plague the monks that came thither to fetch water, and continued his malice, till he was converted by the founder of their order, who found him no very ſtubborn proſelyte till they came to the point of circumciſion; the devil was unhappily prepoſſeſſed with a ſtrong averſion from being circumciſed, which however, by much perſuaſion, he at laſt agreed to, and afterwards taking a religious habit, died ten years after with great ſigns of ſanctity. He added another hiſtory of a famous Abyſſinian monk, who killed a devil two hundred feet high, and only four feet thick, that ravaged all the country; the peaſants had a great deſire to throw the dead carcaſe from the top of a rock, but could not with all their force remove it from the place, but the monk drew it after him with all imaginable eaſe, and puſhed it down. This ſtory was followed by another, of a young devil that became a religious of the famous monaſtery of Aba Gatima. The good father would have favoured me with more relations

tions of the ſame kind, if I had been in the humour to have heard them, but, interrupting him, I told him that all theſe relations confirmed what we had found by experience, that the monks of Abyſſinia were no improper company for the devil.

CHAP. IX. — *The Viceroy is defeated and hanged. The Author narrowly eſcapes being poiſoned.*

I DID not ſtay long at Fremona, but left that town and the province of Tigre, and ſoon found that I was very happy in that reſolution, for ſcarce had I left the place, before the viceroy came in perſon to put me to death, who, not finding me, as he expected, reſolved to turn all his vengeance againſt the father Gaſpard Paes, a venerable man, who was grown grey in the miſſions of Æthiopia, and five other miſſionaries newly arrived from the Indies: his deſign was to kill them all at one time without ſuffering any to eſcape; he therefore ſent for them all, but one happily being ſick, another ſtaid to attend him: to this they owed their lives, for the viceroy finding but four of them, ſent them back, telling them he would ſee them all together. The fathers, having been already told of his revolt, and of the pretences he made uſe of to give it credit, made no queſtion of his intent to maſſacre them, and contrived their eſcape ſo, that they got ſafely out of his power.

The viceroy diſappointed in his ſcheme, vented all his rage upon father James, whom the patriarch had given him as his confeſſor; the good man was carried, bound hand and foot, into the middle of the camp; the viceroy gave the firſt ſtab in the throat, and all the reſt ſtruck him with their lances, and dipped their weapons in his blood, promiſing each other that they would never accept of any act of oblivion or terms of peace, by which the Catholic religion was not aboliſhed throughout the empire, and all thoſe who profeſſed it either baniſhed or put to death. They then ordered all the beads, images, croſſes, and reliques which the Catholics made uſe of to be thrown into the fire.

The anger of God was now ready to fall upon his head for theſe daring and complicated crimes: the Emperor had already confiſcated all his goods, and given the government of the kingdom of Tigre to Keba Chriſtos, a good Catholic, who was ſent with a numerous army to take poſſeſſion of it. As both armies were in ſearch of each other, it was not long before they came to a battle. The revolted viceroy Tecla Georgis placed all his confidence in the Galles his auxiliaries. Keba Chriſtos, who had marched with incredible expedition to hinder the enemy from making any intrenchments, would willingly have refreſhed his men a few days before the battle, but finding the foe vigilant, thought it not proper to ſtay till he was attacked, and therefore reſolved to make the firſt onſet; then preſenting himſelf before his army without arms and with his head uncovered, aſſured them that ſuch was his confidence in God's protection of thoſe that engaged in ſo juſt a cauſe, that though he were in that condition and alone, he would attack his enemies.

The battle began immediately, and of all the troops of Tecla Georgis only the Galles made any reſiſtance, the reſt abandoned him without ſtriking a blow. The unhappy commander ſeeing all his ſquadrons broken, and three hundred of the Galles, with twelve eccleſiaſtics, killed on the ſpot, hid himſelf in a cave, where he was found three days afterwards, with his favourite and a monk. When they took him, they cut off the heads of his two companions in the field, and carried him to the Emperor; the procedure againſt him was not long, and he was condemned to be burnt alive. They, imagining that, if he embraced the Catholic faith, the interceſſion of the miſſionaries, with

with the intreaties of his wife and children might procure him a pardon, he desired a Jesuit to hear his confession, and abjured his errors. The Emperor was inflexible both to the intreaties of his daughter, and the tears of his grand children, and all that could be obtained of him, was that the sentence should be mollified, and changed into a condemnation to be hanged. Tecla Georgis renounced his abjuration, and at his death persisted in his errors. Adero, his sister, who had borne the greatest share in his revolt, was hanged on the same tree fifteen days after.

I arrived not long after at the Emperor's court, and had the honour of kissing his hands; but staid not long in a place, where no missionary ought to linger, unless obliged by the most pressing necessity: but being ordered by my superiors into the kingdom of Damote, I set out on my journey, and on the road was in great danger of losing my life by my curiosity of tasting an herb which I found near a brook, and which, though I had often heard of it, I did not know. It bears a great resemblance to our raddishes, the leaf and colour were beautiful, and the taste not unpleasant; it came into my mind when I began to chew it, that perhaps it might be that venomous herb, against which no antidote had yet been found, but persuading myself afterwards that my fears were merely chimerical, I continued to chew it, till a man accidentally meeting me, and seeing me with a handful of it, cried out to me, that I was poisoned; I had happily not swallowed any of it, and throwing out what I had in my mouth, I returned God thanks for this instance of his protection.

I crossed the Nile the first time in my journey to the kingdom of Damote; my passage brought into my mind all that I had read either in ancient or modern writers, of this celebrated river; I recollected the great expences at which some Emperors had endeavoured to gratify their curiosity of knowing the sources of this mighty stream, which nothing but their little acquaintance with the Abyssins made so difficult to be found. I passed the river within two days journey of its head, near a wide plain, which is entirely laid under water when it begins to overflow the banks. Its channel is even here so wide, that a ball-shot from a musket can scarce reach the farther bank. Here is neither boat nor bridge, and the river is so full of hippopotames, or river horses, and crocodiles, that it is impossible to swim over without danger of being devoured. The only way of passing it is upon floats, which they guide as well as they can with long poles. Nor is even this way without danger, for these destructive animals overturn the floats, and tear the passengers in pieces. The river horse, which lives only on grass and branches of trees, is satisfied with killing the men, but the crocodile being more voracious, feeds upon the carcases.

But since I am arrived at the banks of this renowned river, which I have passed and repassed so many times; and since all that I have read of the nature of its waters, and the causes of its overflowing, is full of fables, the reader may not be displeased to find here an account of what I saw myself, or was told by the inhabitants.

CHAP. X. — *A Description of the Nile.*

THE Nile, which the natives call Abavi, that is, the Father of Waters, rises first in Sacala, a province of the kingdom of Goiama, which is one of the most fruitful and agreeable of all the Abyssinian dominions. This province is inhabited by a nation of the Agaus, who call, but only call themselves Christians, for by daily intermarriages they have allied themselves to the Pagan Agaus, and adopted all their customs and ceremonies. These two nations are very numerous, fierce, and unconquerable, inhabiting a country full of mountains, which are covered with woods, and hollowed by

nature into vaſt caverns, many of which are capable of containing ſeveral numerous families, and hundreds of cows: to theſe receſſes the Agaus betake themſelves, when they are driven out of the plain, where it is almoſt impoſſible to find them, and certain ruin to purſue them. This people increaſes extremely, every man being allowed ſo many wives as he hath hundreds of cows, and it is ſeldom that the hundreds are required to be complete.

In the eaſtern part of this kingdom, on the declivity of a mountain, whoſe deſcent is ſo eaſy that it ſeems a beautiful plain, is that ſource of the Nile which has been ſought after at ſo much expence of labour, and about which ſuch variety of conjectures hath been formed without ſucceſs. This ſpring, or rather theſe two ſprings, are two holes, each about two feet diameter, a ſtone's caſt diſtant from each other, the one is but about five feet and a half in depth, at leaſt we could not get our plummet farther, perhaps becauſe it was ſtopped by roots, for the whole place is full of trees; of the other, which is ſomewhat leſs, with a line of ten feet we could find no bottom, and were aſſured by the inhabitants that none ever had been found. It is believed here, that theſe ſprings are the vents of a great ſubterraneous lake, and they have this circumſtance to favour their opinion, that the ground is always moiſt and ſo ſoft that the water boils up under foot as one walks upon it; this is more viſible after rains, for then the ground yields and ſinks ſo much, that I believe it is chiefly ſupported by the roots of trees, that are interwoven one with another: ſuch is the ground round about theſe fountains. At a little diſtance to the ſouth, is a village named Guix, through which the way lies to the top of the mountain, from whence the traveller diſcovers a vaſt extent of land, which appears like a deep valley, though the mountain riſes ſo imperceptibly that thoſe who go up or down it are ſcarce ſenſible of any declivity.

On the top of this mountain is a little hill which the idolatrous Agaus have in great veneration: their prieſt calls them together at this place once a year, and having ſacrificed a cow, throws the head into one of the ſprings of the Nile; after which ceremony, every one ſacrifices a cow or more, according to their different degrees of wealth or devotion. The bones of theſe cows have already formed two mountains of conſiderable height, which afford a ſufficient proof that theſe nations have always paid their adorations to this famous river. They eat theſe ſacrifices with great devotion, as fleſh conſecrated to their Deity. Then the prieſt anoints himſelf with the greaſe and tallow of the cows, and ſits down on an heap of ſtraw, on the top and in the middle of a pile which is prepared, they ſet fire to it, and the whole heap is conſumed without any injury to the prieſt, who while the fire continues, harangues the ſtanders by, and confirms them in their preſent ignorance and ſuperſtition. When the pile is burnt, and the diſcourſe at an end, every one makes a large preſent to the prieſt, which is the grand deſign of this religious mockery.

To return to the courſe of the Nile: its waters, after the firſt riſe, run to the eaſtward for about a muſket-ſhot, then turning to the north, continue hidden in the graſs and weeds for about a quarter of a league, and diſcover themſelves for the firſt time among ſome rocks; a ſight not to be enjoyed without ſome pleaſure, by thoſe who have read the fabulous accounts of this ſtream delivered by the ancients, and the vain conjectures and reaſonings which have been formed upon its original, the nature of its water, its cataracts, and its inundations, all which we are now entirely acquainted with, and eye-witneſſes of.

Many interpreters of the holy ſcriptures pretend that Gihon, mentioned in Geneſis, is no other than the Nile, which encompaſſeth all Æthiopia; but as the Gihon had its ſource from the terreſtrial paradiſe, and we know that the Nile riſes in the country

of the Agaus, it will be found, I believe, no ſmall difficulty to conceive how the ſame river could ariſe from two ſources ſo diſtant from each other, or how a river from ſo low a ſource ſhould ſpring up and appear in a place perhaps the higheſt in the world; for if we conſider, that Arabia and Paleſtine are in their ſituation almoſt level with Egypt; that Egypt is as low, if compared with the kingdom of Dambia, as the deepeſt valley in regard of the higheſt mountain, that the province of Sacala is yet more elevated than Dambia; that the waters of the Nile muſt either paſs under the Red Sea, or take a great compaſs about, we ſhall find it hard to conceive ſuch an attractive power in the earth, as may be able to make the waters riſe through the obſtruction of ſo much ſand from places ſo low, to the moſt lofty region of Æthiopia.

But leaving theſe difficulties, let us go on to deſcribe the courſe of the Nile. It rolls away from its ſource with ſo inconſiderable a current, that it appears unlikely to eſcape being dried up by the hot ſeaſon, but ſoon receiving an increaſe from the Gemma, the Keltu, the Branſu, and other leſs rivers, it is of ſuch a breadth in the plain of Boad, which is not above three days journey from its ſource, that a ball ſhot from a muſket will ſcarce fly from one bank to the other. Here it begins to run northwards, deflecting, however, a little towards the eaſt, for the ſpace of nine or ten leagues, and then enters the ſo much talked of Lake of Dambia, called by the natives Barhar Sena, the Reſemblance of the Sea, or Bahar Dambia, the Sea of Dambia. It croſſes this lake only at one end, with ſo violent a rapidity, that the waters of the Nile may be diſtinguiſhed though all the paſſage, which is ſix leagues. Here begins the greatneſs of the Nile. Fifteen miles farther, in the land of Alata, it ruſhes precipitately from the top of a high rock, and forms one of the moſt beautiful water-falls in the world: I paſſed under it without being wet; and reſting myſelf there, for the ſake of the coolneſs, was charmed with a thouſand delightful rainbows, which the ſunbeams painted on the water in all their ſhining and lively colours. The fall of this mighty ſtream from ſo great a height makes a noiſe that may be heard to a conſiderable diſtance; but I could not obſerve that the neighbouring inhabitants were at all deaf. I converſed with ſeveral, and was as eaſily heard by them, as I heard them. The miſt that riſes from this fall of water may be ſeen much farther than the noiſe can be heard. After this cataract the Nile again collects its ſcattered ſtream among the rocks, which ſeem to be disjoined in this place only to afford it a paſſage. They are ſo near each other that, in my time, a bridge of beams, on which the whole Imperial army paſſed, was laid over them. Sultan Segued hath ſince built here a bridge of one arch in the ſame place, for which purpoſe he procured maſons from India. This bridge, which is the firſt the Abyſſins have ſeen on the Nile, very much facilitates a communication between the provinces, and encourages commerce among the inhabitants of his empire.

Here the river alters its courſe, and paſſes through many various kingdoms; on the eaſt it leaves Begmeder, or the Land of Sheep, ſo called from great numbers that are bred there, *beg*, in that language, ſignifying ſheep, and *meder*, a country. It then waters the kingdoms of Amhara, Olaca, Choaa, and Damot, which lie on the left ſide, and the kingdom of Goiama, which it bounds on the right, forming by its windings a kind of peninſula. Then entering Bezamo, a province of the kingdom of Damot, and Gamarchauſa, part of Goiama, it returns within a ſhort day's journey of its ſpring; though to purſue it through all its mazes, and accompany it round the kingdom of Goiama, is a journey of twenty-nine days. So far, and a few days journey farther, this river confines itſelf to Abyſſinia, and then paſſes into the bordering countries of Fazulo and Ombarca.

Theſe vaſt regions we have little knowledge of: they are inhabited by nations entirely different from the Abyſſins; their hair is like that of the other blacks, ſhort and curled. In the year 1615, Raſſela Chriſtos, lieutenant-general to Sultan Segued, entered thoſe kingdoms with his army in an hoſtile manner; but being able to get no intelligence of the condition of the people, and aſtoniſhed at their unbounded extent, he returned, without daring to attempt any thing.

As the empire of the Abyſſins terminates at theſe deſarts, and as I have followed the courſe of the Nile no farther, I here leave it to range over barbarous kingdoms, and convey wealth and plenty into Egypt, which owes to the annual inundations of this river its envied fertility. I know not any thing of the reſt of its paſſage, but that it receives great increaſes from many other rivers; that it has ſeveral cataracts like the firſt already deſcribed, and that few fiſh are to be found in it, which ſcarcity, doubtleſs, is to be attributed to the river-horſes, and crocodiles, which deſtroy the weaker inhabitants of theſe waters, and ſomething may be allowed to the cataracts, it being difficult for fiſh to fall ſo far without being killed.

Although ſome who have travelled in Aſia and Africa have given the world their deſcriptions of crocodiles and hippopotamus or river-horſe; yet as the Nile has at leaſt as great numbers of each as any river in the world, I cannot but think my account of it would be imperfect without ſome particular mention of theſe animals.

The crocodile is very ugly, having no proportion between his length and thickneſs; he hath ſhort feet, a wide mouth, with two rows of ſharp teeth, ſtanding wide from each other, a brown ſkin ſo fortified with ſcales even to his noſe, that a muſket-ball cannot penetrate it. His ſight is extremely quick and at a great diſtance. In the water he is daring and fierce, and will ſeize on any that are ſo unfortunate as to be found by him bathing, who, if they eſcape with life, are almoſt ſure to leave ſome limb in his mouth. Neither I, nor any with whom I have converſed about the crocodile, have ever ſeen him weep, and therefore I take the liberty of ranking all that hath been told us of his tears, amongſt the fables which are only proper to amuſe children.

The hippopotamus or river-horſe, grazes upon the land, and brouſes on the ſhrubs, yet is no leſs dangerous than the crocodile. He is the ſize of an ox, of a brown colour without any hair, his tail is ſhort, his neck long, and his head of an enormous bigneſs; his eyes are ſmall, his mouth wide, with teeth half a foot long; he hath two tuſks like thoſe of a wild boar, but larger; his legs are ſhort, and his feet part into four toes. It is eaſy to obſerve from this deſcription that he hath no reſemblance of an horſe, and indeed nothing could give occaſion to the name, but ſome likeneſs in his ears, and his neighing and ſnorting like an horſe when he is provoked, or raiſes his head out of water. His hide is ſo hard that a muſket fired cloſe to him can only make a ſlight impreſſion, and the beſt tempered lances puſhed forcibly againſt him are either blunted or ſhivered, unleſs the aſſailant has the ſkill to make his thruſt at certain parts which are more tender. There is great danger in meeting him, and the beſt way is, upon ſuch an accident, to ſtep aſide, and let him paſs by. The fleſh of this animal doth not differ from that of a cow, except that it is blacker and harder to digeſt.

The ignorance, which we have hitherto been in, of the original of the Nile, hath given many authors an opportunity of preſenting us very gravely with their various ſyſtems and conjectures about the nature of its waters, and the reaſon of its overflows.

It is eaſy to obſerve how many empty hypotheſes and idle reaſonings the phœnomenons of this river have put mankind to the expence of. Yet there are people ſo bigoted

to antiquity, as not to pay any regard to the relation of travellers who have been upon the ſpot, and by the evidence of their eyes can confute all that the ancients have written. It was difficult, it was even impoſſible to arrive at the ſource of the Nile, by tracing its channel from the mouth; and all who ever attempted it, having been ſtopped by the cataracts, and imagining none that followed them could paſs farther, have taken the liberty of entertaining us with their own fictions.

It is to be remembered likewiſe that neither the Greeks nor Romans, from whom we have received all our information, ever carried their arms into this part of the world, or ever heard of multitudes of nations that dwell upon the banks of this vaſt river; that the countries where the Nile riſes, and thoſe through which it runs, have no inhabitants but what are ſavage and uncivilized; that before they could arrive at its head, they muſt ſurmount the inſuperable obſtacles of impaſſable foreſts, inacceſſible cliffs, and deſarts crowded with beaſts of prey, fierce by nature, and raging for want of ſuſtenance. Yet if they who endeavoured with ſo much ardour to diſcover the ſpring of this river, had landed at Mazna on the coaſt of the Red Sea, and marched a little more to the ſouth than the ſouth-weſt, they might perhaps have gratified their curioſity at leſs expence, and in about twenty days might have enjoyed the deſired ſight of the ſources of the Nile.

But this diſcovery was reſerved for the invincible bravery of our noble countrymen, who not diſcouraged by the dangers of a navigation in ſeas never explored before, have ſubdued kingdoms and empires where the Greek and Roman greatneſs, where the names of Cæſar and Alexander were never heard of: who firſt ſteered an European ſhip into the Red Sea through the Gulf of Arabia and the Indian ocean; who have demoliſhed the airy fabricks of renowned hypotheſes, and detected thoſe fables which the ancients rather choſe to invent of the ſources of the Nile, than to confeſs their ignorance. I cannot help ſuſpending my narration to reflect a little on the ridiculous ſpeculations of thoſe ſwelling philoſophers, whoſe arrogance would preſcribe laws to nature, and ſubject thoſe aſtoniſhing effects which we behold daily, to their idle reaſonings, and chimerical rules. Preſumptuous imagination! that has given being to ſuch numbers of books, and patrons to ſo many various opinions about the overflows of the Nile. Some of theſe theoriſts have been pleaſed to declare it as their favourite notion, that this inundation is cauſed by high winds which ſtop the current, and ſo force the water to riſe above its banks, and ſpread over all Egypt. Others pretend a ſubterraneous communication between the ocean and the Nile, and that the ſea being violently agitated ſwells the river. Many have imagined themſelves bleſſed with the diſcovery when they have told us, that this mighty flood proceeds from the melting of ſnow on the mountains of Æthiopia, without reflecting that this opinion is contrary to the received notion of all the ancients, who believed that the heat was ſo exceſſive between the tropics that no inhabitant could live there. So much ſnow and ſo great heat are never met with in the ſame region; and indeed I never ſaw ſnow in Abyſſinia, except on Mount Semen in the kingdom of Tigre, very remote from the Nile, and on Namera, which is indeed not far diſtant, but where there never falls ſnow ſufficient to wet the foot of the mountain, when it is melted.

To the immenſe labours and fatigues of the Portugueſe mankind is indebted for the knowledge of the real cauſe of theſe inundations ſo great and ſo regular. Their obſervations inform us, that Abyſſinia where the Nile riſes, and waters vaſt tracts of land, is full of mountains, and in its natural ſituation much higher than Egypt; that all the winter, from June to September, no day is without rain; that the Nile receives in its courſe all the rivers, brooks and torrents which fall from thoſe mountains; theſe

neceſſarily

neceſſarily ſwell it above the banks, and fill the plains of Egypt with the inundation. This comes regularly about the month of July, or three weeks after the beginning of a rainy ſeaſon in Æthiopia. The different degrees of this flood are ſuch certain indications of the fruitfulneſs or ſterility of the enſuing year, that it is publicly proclaimed in Cairo how much the water hath gained each night. This is all I have to inform the reader of concerning the Nile, which the Ægyptians adored as the Deity, in whoſe choice it was to bleſs them with abundance, or deprive them of the neceſſaries of life.

CHAP. XI. — *The Author diſcovers a Paſſage over the Nile. Is ſent into the Province of Ligonus, which he gives a Deſcription of. His Succeſs in his Miſſion. The Stratagem of the Monks to encourage the Soldiers. The Author narrowly eſcapes being burned.*

WHEN I was to croſs this river at Boad, I durſt not venture myſelf on the floats, I have already ſpoken of, but went up higher in hopes of finding a more commodious paſſage. I had with me three or four men that were reduced to the ſame difficulty with myſelf. In one part ſeeing people on the other ſide, and remarking that the water was ſhallow, and that the rocks and trees, which grew very thick there, contributed to facilitate the attempt, I leaped from one rock to another, till I reached the oppoſite bank, to the great amazement of the natives themſelves, who never had tried that way; my four companions followed me with the ſame ſucceſs; and it hath been called ſince the paſſage of Father Jerome.

That province of the kingdom of Damot, which I was aſſigned to by my ſuperior, is called Ligonus, and is perhaps one of the moſt beautiful and agreeable places in the world; the air is healthful and temperate, and all the mountains, which are not very high, ſhaded with cedars. They ſow and reap here in every ſeaſon, the ground is always producing, and the fruits ripen throughout the year; ſo great, ſo charming is the variety, that the whole region ſeems a garden laid out and cultivated only to pleaſe. I doubt whether even the imagination of a painter has yet conceived a landſcape as beautiful as I have ſeen. The foreſts have nothing uncouth or ſavage, and ſeem only planted for ſhade and coolneſs. Among a prodigious number of trees which fill them, there is one kind which I have ſeen in no other place, and to which we have none that bears any reſemblance. This tree, which the natives call *enſetè*, is wonderfully uſeful; its leaves, which are ſo large as to cover a man, make hangings for rooms, and ſerve the inhabitants inſtead of linen for their tables and carpets. They grind the branches and the thick parts of the leaves, and when they are mingled with milk, find them a delicious food. The trunk and the roots are even more nouriſhing than the leaves or branches, and the meaner people, when they go a journey, make no proviſion of any other victuals. The word enſetè ſignifies the tree againſt hunger, or the poor's tree, though the moſt wealthy often eat of it. If it be cut down within half a foot of the ground, and ſeveral inciſions made in the ſtump, each will put out a new ſprout, which, if tranſplanted, will take root, and grow to a tree. The Abyſſins report, that this tree when it is cut down, groans like a man, and on this account, call cutting down an enſetè killing it. On the top grows a bunch of five or ſix figs, of a taſte not very agreeable, which they ſet in the ground to produce more trees.

I ſtaid two months in the province of Lingonous, and during that time procured a church to be built of hewn ſtone, roofed and wainſcoted with cedar, which is the moſt conſiderable in the whole country. My continual employment was the duties of the miſſion, which I was always practiſing in ſome part of the province, not indeed with any

any extraordinary ſucceſs, at firſt, for I found the people inflexibly obſtinate in their opinions, even to ſo great a degree, that when I firſt publiſhed the Emperor's edict, requiring all his ſubjects to renounce their errors, and unite themſelves to the Roman church, there were ſome monks, who, to the number of ſixty, choſe rather to die by throwing themſelves headlong from a precipice, than obey their ſovereign's commands: and in a battle fought between theſe people that adhered to the religion of their anceſtors, and the troops of Sultan Segued, ſix hundred religious placing themſelves at the head of their men, marched towards the Catholic army with the ſtones of the altars upon their heads, aſſuring their credulous followers, that the Emperor's troops would immediately at the ſight of thoſe ſtones fall into diſorder and turn their backs; but, as they were ſome of the firſt that fell, their death had a great influence upon the people, to undeceive them, and make them return to the truth. Many were converted after the battle, and when they had embraced the Catholic faith, adhered to that with the ſame conſtancy and firmneſs with which they had before perſiſted in their errors.

The Emperor had ſent a viceroy into this province, whoſe firm attachment to the Roman church, as well as great abilities in military affairs, made him a perſon very capable of executing the orders of the Emperor, and of ſuppreſſing any inſurrection that might be raiſed, to prevent thoſe alterations in religion which they were deſigned to promote: a farther view in the choice of ſo warlike a deputy, was, that a ſtop might be put to the inroads of the Galles, who had killed one viceroy, and in a little time after killed this.

It was our cuſtom to meet together every year about chriſtmas, not only that we might comfort and entertain each other, but likewiſe that we might relate the progreſs and ſucceſs of our miſſions, and concert all meaſures that might farther the converſion of the inhabitants. This year our place of meeting was the Emperor's camp, where the patriarch and ſuperior of the miſſions were. I left the place of my abode, and took in my way four fathers, that reſided at the diſtance of two days journey, ſo that the company, without reckoning our attendants, was five. There happened nothing remarkable to us till the laſt night of our journey, when taking up our lodging at a place belonging to the Empreſs, a declared enemy to all Catholics, and in particular, to the miſſionaries, we met with a kind reception in appearance, and were lodged in a large ſtone houſe covered with wood and ſtraw, which had ſtood uninhabited ſo long, that great numbers of red ants had taken poſſeſſion of it; theſe, as ſoon as we were laid down, attacked us on all ſides, and tormented us ſo inceſſantly that we were obliged to call up our domeſtics. Having burnt a prodigious number of theſe troubleſome animals, we tried to compoſe ourſelves again, but had ſcarce cloſed our eyes before we were awaked by the fire that had ſeized our lodging: our ſervants, who were, fortunately, not all gone to bed, perceived the fire as ſoon as it began, and informed me who lay neareſt the door. I immediately alarmed all the reſt, and nothing was thought of but how to ſave ourſelves and the little goods we had, when to our great aſtoniſhment, we found one of the doors barricaded in ſuch a manner that we could not open it; nothing now could have prevented our periſhing in the flames had not thoſe who kindled them omitted to faſten that door near which I was lodged. We were no longer in doubt that the inhabitants of the town had laid a train, and ſet fire to a neighbouring houſe, in order to conſume us; their meaſures were ſo well laid, that the houſe was in aſhes in an inſtant, and three of our beds were burnt which the violence of the flame would not allow us to carry away. We ſpent the reſt of the night in the moſt diſmal apprehenſions, and found next morning that we had juſtly charged the inhabitants

inhabitants with the deſign of deſtroying us, for the place was entirely abandoned, and thoſe that were conſcious of the crime, had fled from the puniſhment. We continued our journey, and came to Gorgora, where we found the fathers met, and the Emperor with them.

CHAP. XII. — *The Author is ſent into Tigre, is in danger of being poiſoned by the Breath of a Serpent; is ſtung by a Serpent. Is almoſt killed by eating Anchoy. The People conſpire againſt the Miſſionaries, and diſtreſs them.*

MY ſuperiors intended to ſend me into the fartheſt parts of the empire, but the Emperor over-ruled that deſign, and remanded me to Tigre where I had reſided before; I paſſed in my journey by Ganete Ilhos, a palace newly built, and made agreeable by beautiful gardens, and had the honour of paying my reſpects to the Emperor who had retired thither, and receiving from him a large preſent for the finiſhing of an hoſpital, which had been begun in the kingdom of Tigre. After having returned him thanks, I continued my way, and in croſſing a deſart two days journey over, was in great danger of my life, for, as I lay on the ground, I perceived myſelf ſeized with a pain which forced me to riſe, and ſaw about four yards from me one of thoſe ſerpents that dart their poiſon at a diſtance; although I roſe before he came very near me, I yet felt the effects of his poiſonous breath, and, if I had lain a little longer, had certainly died; I had recourſe to bezoar, a ſovereign remedy againſt theſe poiſons, which I always carried about me. Theſe ſerpents are not long, but have a body ſhort and thick, and their bellies ſpeckled with brown, black, and yellow; they have a wide mouth, with which they draw in a great quantity of air, and having retained it ſome time, eject it with ſuch force, that they kill at four yards diſtance; I only eſcaped by being ſomewhat farther from him. This danger however was not much to be regarded in compariſon of another which my negligence brought me into. As I was picking up a ſkin that lay upon the ground, I was ſtung by a ſerpent, that left his ſting in my finger, I at leaſt picked an extraneous ſubſtance about the bigneſs of an hair, out of the wound which I imagined was the ſting. This ſlight wound I took little notice of, till my arm grew inflamed all over; in a ſhort time the poiſon infected my blood, and I felt the moſt terrible convulſions which were interpreted as certain ſigns that my death was near, and inevitable. I received now no benefit from bezoar, the horn of the unicorn, or any of the uſual antidotes, but found myſelf obliged to make uſe of an extraordinary remedy which I ſubmitted to with extreme reluctance; this ſubmiſſion and obedience brought the bleſſing of Heaven upon me; nevertheleſs I continued indiſpoſed a long time, and had many ſymptoms which made me fear that all the danger was not yet over: I then took cloves of garlick, though with a great averſion both from the taſte and ſmell; I was in this condition a whole month, always in pain, and taking medicines the moſt naſeous in the world, at length youth and an happy conſtitution ſurmounted the malignity, and I recovered my former health.

I continued two years at my reſidence in Tigre, entirely taken up with the duties of the miſſion, preaching, confeſſing, baptiſing, and enjoyed a longer quiet and repoſe than I had ever done ſince I left Portugal. During this time one of our fathers being always ſick, and of a conſtitution which the air of Abyſſinia was very hurtful to, obtained a permiſſion from our ſuperiors to return to the Indies; I was willing to accompany him through part of his way, and went with him over a deſart, at no great diſtance from my reſidence, where I found many trees loaded with a kind of fruit, called by the natives anchoy, about the bigneſs of an apricot, and very yellow, which is much eaten without

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any ill effect. I therefore made no ſcruple of gathering and eating it, without knowing that the inhabitants always peeled it, the rind being a violent purgative: ſo that eating the fruit and ſkin together I fell into ſuch a diſorder as almoſt brought me to my end. The ordinary doſe is ſix of theſe rinds, and I had devoured twenty.

I removed from thence to Debaroa, fifty-four miles nearer the ſea, and croſſed in my way the deſart of the province of Saraoe. The country is fruitful, pleaſant, and populous; there are greater numbers of Moors in theſe parts than in any other province of Abyſſinia; and the Abyſſins of this country are not much better than the Moors.

I was at Debaroa when the proſecution was firſt ſet on foot againſt the Catholics, Sultan Segued, who had been ſo great a favourer of us, was grown old, and his ſpirit and authority decreaſed with his ſtrength. His ſon who was arrived at manhood, being weary of waiting ſo long for the crown he was to inherit, took occaſion to blame his father's conduct, and found ſome reaſon for cenſuring all his actions; he even proceeded ſo far as to give orders ſometimes contrary to the Emperor's. He had embraced the Catholic religion, rather through complaiſance than conviction, or inclination; and many of the Abyſſins who had done the ſame, waited only for an opportunity of making public profeſſion of the ancient erroneous opinions, and of re-uniting themſelves to the church of Alexandria. So artfully can this people diſſemble their ſentiments, that we had not been able hitherto to diſtinguiſh our real from our pretended favourers, but as ſoon as this Prince began to give evident tokens of his hatred, even in the life-time of the Emperor, we ſaw all the courtiers and governors who had treated us with ſuch a ſhew of friendſhip declare againſt us, and perſecute us as diſturbers of the public tranquillity, who had come into Æthiopia with no other intention than to aboliſh the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the country, to ſow diviſions between father and ſon, and preach up a revolution.

After having borne all ſorts of affronts and ill treatments, we retired to our houſe at Fremona, in the midſt of our countrymen, who had been ſettling round about us a long time, imagining we ſhould be more ſecure there, and that at leaſt during the life of the Emperor, they would not come to extremities or proceed to open force. I laid ſome ſtreſs upon the kindneſs which the viceroy of Tigre had ſhown to us, and in particular to me; but was ſoon convinced that thoſe hopes had no real foundation, for he was one of the moſt violent of our perſecutors. He ſeized upon all our lands, and advancing with his troops to Fremona, blocked up the town. The army had not been ſtationed there long before they committed all ſorts of diſorders; ſo that one day a Portugueſe, provoked beyond his temper at the inſolence of ſome of them, went out with his four ſons, and wounding ſeveral of them, forced the reſt back to their camp.

We thought we had good reaſon to apprehend an attack; their troops were increaſing, our town was ſurrounded, and on the point of being forced: our Portugueſe therefore, thought, that without ſtaying till the laſt extremities, they might lawfully repel one violence by another, and ſallying out to the number of fifty, wounded about threeſcore of the Abyſſins, and had put them to the ſword, but that they feared it might bring too great an odium upon our cauſe. The Portugueſe were ſome of them wounded, but happily none died on either ſide.

Though the times were by no means favourable to us, every one blamed the conduct of the viceroy; and thoſe who did not commend our action, made the neceſſity we were reduced to of ſelf-defence an excuſe for it. The viceroy's principal deſign was to get my perſon into his poſſeſſion, imagining that if I was once in his power, all the Portugueſe would pay him a blind obedience. Having been unſucceſsful in his

attempt by open force, he made uſe of the arts of negociation, but with an event not more to his ſatisfaction. This viceroy being recalled, a ſon-in-law of the Emperor's ſucceeded, who treated us even worſe than his predeceſſor had done.

When he entered upon his command, he loaded us with kindneſſes, giving us ſo many aſſurances of his protection, that while the Emperor lived we thought him one of our friends; but no ſooner was our protector dead, than this man pulled off his maſk, and quitting all ſhame, let us ſee that neither the fear of God nor any other conſideration was capable of reſtraining him when we were to be diſtreſſed. The perſecution then becoming general, there was no longer any place of ſecurity for us in Abyſſinia, where we were looked upon by all as the authors of all the civil commotions, and many councils were held to determine in what manner they ſhould diſpoſe of us. Several were of opinion that the beſt way would be to kill us all at once, and affirmed that no other means were left of re-eſtabliſhing order and tranquillity in the kingdom.

Others, more prudent, were not for putting us to death with ſo little conſideration, but adviſed that we ſhould be baniſhed to one of the iſles of the Lake of Dambia, an affliction more ſevere than death itſelf. Theſe alleged in vindication of their opinions, that it was reaſonable to expect if they put us to death, that the viceroy of the Indies would come with fire and ſword to demand ſatisfaction. This argument made ſo great an impreſſion upon ſome of them, that they thought no better meaſures could be taken than to ſend us back again to the Indies. This propoſal, however, was not without its difficulties, for they ſuſpected, that when we ſhould arrive at the Portugueſe territories, we would levy an army, return back to Abyſſinia, and under pretence of eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion, revenge all the injuries we had ſuffered.

While they were thus deliberating upon our fate, we were imploring the ſuccour of the Almighty with fervent and humble ſupplications, intreating him in the midſt of our ſighs and tears, that he would not ſuffer his own cauſe to miſcarry, and that however it might pleaſe him to diſpoſe of our lives, which, we prayed, he would aſſiſt us to lay down with patience and reſignation worthy of the faith for which we were perſecuted, he would not permit our enemies to triumph over the truth.

Thus we paſſed our days and nights in prayers, in affliction, and tears, continually crowded with widows and orphans, that ſubſiſted upon our charity, and came to us for bread, when we had not any for ourſelves.

While we were in this diſtreſs we received an account that the viceroy of the Indies had fitted out a powerful fleet againſt the King of Mombaza, who having thrown off the authority of the Portugueſe, had killed the governor of the fortreſs, and had ſince committed many acts of cruelty. The ſame fleet, as we were informed, after the King of Mombaza was reduced, was to burn and ruin Zeila, in revenge of the death of two Portugueſe jeſuits, who were killed by the King in the year 1604. As Zeila was not far from the frontiers of Abyſſinia, they imagined that they already ſaw the Portugueſe invading their country.

The viceroy of Tigre had inquired of me a few days before how many men one India ſhip carried; and being told that the compliement of ſome was a thouſand men, he compared that anſwer with the report then ſpread over all the country, that there were eighteen Portugueſe veſſels on the coaſt of Adel, and concluded that they were manned by an army of eighteen thouſand men; then conſidering what had been achieved by four hundred, under the command of Don Chriſtopher de Gama, he thought Abyſſinia already ravaged, or ſubjected to the King of Portugal. Many declared themſelves of his opinion; and the court took its meaſures with reſpect to us from theſe uncertain and ungrounded rumours. Some were ſo infatuated with their apprehen-

apprehenſions that they undertook to deſcribe the camp of the Portugueſe, and affirmed that they had heard the report of their canons.

All this contributed to exaſperate the inhabitants, and reduced us often to the point of being maſſacred. At length they came to a reſolution of giving us up to the Turks, aſſuring them that we were maſters of a vaſt treaſure, in hope, that after they had inflicted all kinds of tortures on us, to make us confeſs where we had hid our gold, or what we had done with it, they would at length kill us in rage for the diſappointment. Nor was this their only view, for they believed that the Turks would, by killing us, kindle ſuch an irreconcileable hatred between themſelves and our nation, as would make it neceſſary for them to keep us out of the Red Sea, of which they are entirely maſters: ſo that their determination was as politic as cruel. Some pretend that the Turks were engaged to put us to death as ſoon as we were in their power.

CHAP. XIII. — *The Author relieves the Patriarch and Miſſionaries; and ſupports them. He eſcapes ſeveral Snares laid for him by the Viceroy of Tigre. They put themſelves under the Protection of the Prince of Bar.*

HAVING concluded this negociation, they drove us out of our houſes, and robbed us of every thing that was worth carrying away; and not content with that, informed ſome banditti, that were then in thoſe parts, of the road we were to travel through, ſo that the patriarch and ſome miſſionaries were attacked in a deſert by theſe rovers, with their captain at their head, who pillaged his library, his ornaments, and what little baggage the miſſionaries had left, and might have gone away without reſiſtance or interruption, had they ſatisfied themſelves with only robbing: but when they began to fall upon the miſſionaries and their companions, our countrymen, finding that their lives could only be preſerved by their courage, charged their enemies with ſuch vigour, that they killed their chief, and forced the reſt to a precipitate flight. But theſe rovers being acquainted with the country, haraſſed the little caravan till it was paſt the borders.

Our fathers then imagined they had nothing more to fear, but too ſoon were convinced of their error, for they found the whole country turned againſt them, and met every where new enemies to contend with, and new dangers to ſurmount. Being not far diſtant from Fremona, where I reſided, they ſent to me for ſuccour. I was better informed of the diſtreſs they were in than themſelves, having been told that a numerous body of Abyſſins had poſted themſelves in a narrow paſs, with an intent to ſurround and deſtroy them, therefore, without long deliberation, I aſſembled my friends, both Portugueſe and Abyſſins, to the number of fourſcore, and went to their reſcue, carrying with me proviſions and refreſhments, of which I knew they were in great need. Theſe glorious confeſſors I met as they were juſt entering the paſs deſigned for the place of their deſtruction, and doubly preſerved them from famine and the ſword. A grateful ſenſe of their deliverance made them receive me as a guardian angel. We went together to Fremona, and being in all a patriarch, a biſhop, eighteen jeſuits, and four hundred Portugueſe, whom I ſupplied with neceſſaries, though the revenues of our houſe were loſt, and though the country was diſaffected to us, in the worſt ſeaſon of the year. We were obliged for the relief of the poor and our own ſubſiſtence, to ſell our ornaments and chalices, which we firſt broke in pieces, that the people might not have the pleaſure of ridiculing our myſteries, by prophaning the veſſels made uſe of in the celebration of them; for they now would gladly treat with the higheſt indignities what they had a year before looked upon with veneration.

Amidſt all theſe perplexities the viceroy did not fail to viſit us, and make us great offers of ſervice, in expectation of a large preſent. We were in a ſituation in which it was very difficult to act properly; we knew too well the ill intentions of the viceroy, but durſt not complain, or give him any reaſon to imagine that we knew them. We longed to retreat out of his power, or at leaſt to ſend one of our company to the Indies, with an account of the perſecution we ſuffered, and could without his leave neither do one nor the other.

When it was determined that one ſhould be ſent to the Indies, I was at firſt ſingled out for the journey, and it was intended that I ſhould repreſent at Goa, at Rome, and at Madrid, the diſtreſſes and neceſſities of the miſſion of Æthiopia; but the fathers reflecting afterwards, that I beſt underſtood the Abyſſinian language, and was moſt acquainted with the cuſtoms of the country, altered their opinions, and continuing me in Æthiopia, either to periſh with them or preſerve them, deputed four other jeſuits, who in a ſhort time ſet out on their way to the Indies.

About this time I was ſent for to the viceroy's camp to confeſs a criminal, who, though falſely, was believed a Catholic, to whom, after a proper exhortation, I was going to pronounce the form of abſolution, when thoſe that waited to execute him, told him aloud, that if he expected to ſave his life, by profeſſing himſelf a Catholic, he would find himſelf deceived, and that he had nothing to do but prepare himſelf for death. The unhappy criminal had no ſooner heard this, than riſing up, he declared his reſolution to die in the religion of his country; and being delivered up to his proſecutors, was immediately diſpatched with their lances.

The chief reaſon of calling me, was not that I might hear this confeſſion: the viceroy had another deſign of ſeizing my perſon, expecting that either the Jeſuits or Portugueſe would buy my liberty with a large ranſom, or that he might exchange me for his father, who was kept priſoner by a revolted prince. That prince would have been no loſer by the exchange, for ſo much was I hated by the Abyſſinian monks, that they would have thought no expence too great to have gotten me into their hands, that they might have glutted their revenge by putting me to the moſt painful death they could have invented. Happily, I found means to retire out of this dangerous place, and was followed by the viceroy almoſt to Fremona, who, being diſappointed, deſired me either to viſit him at his camp, or appoint a place where we might confer. I made many excuſes, but at length agreed to meet him at a place near Fremona, bringing each of us only three companions. I did not doubt but he would bring more, and ſo he did, but found that I was upon my guard, and that my company encreaſed in proportion to his. My friends were reſolute Portugueſe, who were determined to give him no quarter, if he made any attempt upon my liberty. Finding himſelf once more countermined, he returned aſhamed to his camp, where, a month after, being accuſed of a confederacy in the revolt of that prince, who kept his father priſoner, he was arreſted, and carried in chains to the Emperor.

The time now approaching in which we were to be delivered to the Turks, we had none but God to apply to for relief: all the meaſures we could think of were equally dangerous; reſolving nevertheleſs to ſeek ſome retreat where we might hide ourſelves either altogether or ſeparately, we determined at laſt to put ourſelves under the protection of the Prince John Akay, who had defended himſelf a long time in the province of Bar againſt the power of Abyſſinia.

After I had concluded a treaty with this prince, the patriarch and all the fathers put themſelves into his hands, and being received with all imaginable kindneſs and civility, were

were conducted with a guard to Adicota, a rock exceſſively ſteep, about nine miles from his place of reſidence. The event was not agreeable to the happy beginning of our negociation; for we ſoon began to find that our habitation was not likely to be very pleaſant. We were ſurrounded with Mahometans, or Chriſtians, who were inveterate enemies to the Catholic faith, and were obliged to act with the utmoſt caution. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniencies we were pleaſed with the preſent tranquillity we enjoyed, and lived contentedly on lentils and a little corn that we had; and I, after we had ſold all our goods, reſolved to turn phyſician, and was ſoon able to ſupport myſelf by my practiſe.

I was once conſulted by a man troubled with an aſthma, who preſented me with two alquieres, that is, about twenty-eight pounds weight of corn, and a ſheep. The advice I gave him, after having turned over my books, was to drink goats urine every morning; I know not whether he found any benefit by following my preſcription; for I never ſaw him after.

Being under a neceſſity of obeying our acoba or protector, we changed our place of abode as often as he deſired it, though not without great inconveniencies, from the exceſſive heat of the weather, and the faintneſs which our ſtrict obſervation of the faſts and auſterities of Lent, as it is kept in this country, had brought upon us. At length, wearied with removing ſo often, and finding that the laſt place aſſigned for our abode was always the worſt, we agreed that I ſhould go to our ſovereign, and complain.

I found him entirely taken up with the imagination of a prodigious treaſure, affirmed by the monks to be hidden under a mountain: he was told that his predeceſſors had been hindered from diſcovering it by the dæmon that guarded it, but that the dæmon was now at a great diſtance from his charge, and was grown blind and lame, that having loſt his ſon, and being without any children, except a daughter that was ugly and unhealthy, he was under great affliction, and entirely neglected the care of his treaſure, that if he ſhould come, they could call one of their ancient brothers to their aſſiſtance, who, being a man of a moſt holy life, would be able to prevent his making any reſiſtance. To all theſe ſtories the prince liſtened with unthinking credulity. The monks, encouraged by this, fell to the buſineſs, and brought a man above an hundred years old, whom, becauſe he could not ſupport himſelf on horſeback, they had tied on the beaſt, and covered him with black wool. He was followed by a black cow, deſigned for a ſacrifice to the dæmon of the place, and by ſome monks that carried mead, beer, and parched corn, to complete the offering.

No ſooner were they arrived at the foot of the mountain, than every one began to work: bags were brought from all parts to convey away the millions which each imagined would be his ſhare. The Xumo, who ſuperintended the work, would not allow any to come near the labourers, but ſtood by, attended by the old monk, who almoſt ſung himſelf to death. At length, having removed a vaſt quantity of earth and ſtones, they diſcovered ſome holes made by rats or moles; at ſight of which a ſhout of joy run through the whole troop: the cow was brought and ſacrificed immediately, and ſome pieces of fleſh were thrown into theſe holes. Animated now with aſſurance of ſucceſs, they loſe no time: every one redoubles his endeavours, and the heat, though intolerable, was leſs powerful than the hopes they had conceived. At length, ſome not ſo patient as the reſt, were weary, and deſiſted. The work now grew more difficult; they found nothing but rock, yet continued to toil on, till the prince, having loſt all temper, began to enquire, with ſome paſſion, when he ſhould have a ſight of this treaſure; and, after having been ſometime amuſed with many promiſes

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by the monks, was told, that he had not faith enough to be favoured with the diſcovery.

All this I ſaw myſelf, and could not forbear endeavouring to convince our protector, how much he was impoſed upon: he was not long before he was ſatisfied that he had been too credulous; for all thoſe that had ſo induſtriouſly ſearched after this imaginary wealth, within five hours, left the work in deſpair, and I continued almoſt alone with the prince.

Imagining no time more proper to make the propoſal I was ſent with, than while his paſſion was ſtill hot againſt the monks, I preſented him with two ounces of gold, and two plates of ſilver, with ſome other things of ſmall value, and was ſo ſucceſsful that he gratified me in all my requeſts, and gave us leave to return to Adicora, where we were ſo fortunate to find our huts yet uninjured and entire.

About this time the fathers, who had ſtaid behind at Fremona, arrived with the new viceroy, and an officer fierce in the defence of his own religion, who had particular orders to deliver all the Jeſuits up to the Turks, except me, whom the Emperor was reſolved to have in his own hands, alive or dead. We had received ſome notice of this reſolution from our friends at court, and were likewiſe informed that the Emperor, their maſter, had been perſuaded that my deſign was to procure aſſiſtance from the Indies, and that I ſhould certainly return at the head of an army. The patriarch's advice upon this emergency was, that I ſhould retire into the woods, and by ſome other road join the nine Jeſuits, who were gone towards Mazna; I could think of no better expedient, and therefore went away in the night between the 23d and 24th of *April*, with my comrade, an old man, very infirm, and very timorous. We croſſed woods never croſſed, I believe, by any before: the darkneſs of the night, and the thickneſs of the ſhade ſpread a kind of horror round us; our gloomy journey was ſtill more incommoded by the brambles and thorns, which tore our hands; amidſt all theſe difficulties I applied myſelf to the Almighty, praying him to preſerve us from thoſe dangers which we endeavoured to avoid, and to deliver us from thoſe to which our flight expoſed us. Thus we travelled all night, till eight next morning, without taking either reſt or food; then imagining ourſelves ſecure, we made us ſome cakes of barley meal and water, which we thought a feaſt.

We had a diſpute with our guides, who though they thought had bargained to conduct us for an ounce of gold, yet when they ſaw us ſo entangled in the intricacies of the wood, that we could not poſſibly get out without their direction, demanded ſeven ounces of gold, a mule, and a little tent which we had; after a long diſpute, we were forced to come to their terms. We continued to travel all night, and to hide ourſelves in the woods all day; and here it was that we met the three hundred elephants I ſpoke of before. We made long marches, travelling without any halt from four in the afternoon to eight in the morning.

Arriving at a valley where travellers ſeldom eſcape being plundered, we were obliged to double our pace, and were ſo happy as to paſs it without meeting with any misfortune, except that we heard a bird ſing on our left hand; a certain preſage among theſe people of ſome great calamity at hand. As there is no reaſoning them out of ſuperſtition, I knew no way of encouraging them to go forward, but what I had already made uſe of on the ſame occaſion, aſſuring them that I heard one at the ſame time on the right. They were happily ſo credulous as to take my word, and we went on till we came to a well, where we ſtaid a while to refreſh ourſelves. Setting out again in the evening, we paſſed ſo near a village where theſe robbers had retreated, that the

dogs barked after us. Next morning we joined the fathers who waited for us, after we had reſted ourſelves ſome time in that mountain, we reſolved to ſeparate and go two and two, to ſee for a more convenient place, where we might hide ourſelves. We had not gone far before we were ſurrounded by a troop of robbers, with whom, by the intereſt of ſome of the natives who had joined themſelves to our caravan, we came to a compoſition, giving them part of our goods to permit us to carry away the reſt; and after this troubleſome adventure arrived at a place ſomething more commodious than that which we had quitted, where we met with bread, but of ſo pernicious a quality, that after having eat it, we were intoxicated to ſo great a degree, that one of my friends ſeeing me ſo diſordered, congratulated my good fortune of having met with ſuch good wine, and was ſurpriſed when I gave him an account of the whole affair. He then offered me ſome curdled milk very ſour, with barley-meal, which we boiled, and thought it the beſt entertainment we had met with a long time.

CHAP. XIV. — *They are betrayed into the Hands of the Turks; are detained awhile at Mazna; are threatened by the Baſſa of Suaquem; they agree for their Ranſom, and are Part of them diſmiſſed.*

SOMETIME after we received news that we ſhould prepare ourſelves to ſerve the Turks; a meſſage which filled us with ſurpriſe, it having never been known that one of theſe lords had ever abandoned any whom he had taken under his protection; and it is, on the contrary, one of the higheſt points of honour amongſt them, to riſk their fortunes and their lives in the defence of their dependents who have implored their protection. But neither law nor juſtice were of any advantage to us, and the cuſtoms of the country were doomed to be broken, when they would have contributed to our ſecurity.

We were obliged to march in the extremity of the hot ſeaſon, and had certainly periſhed by the fatigue, had we not entered the woods, which ſhaded us from the ſcorching ſun. The day before our arrival at the place where we were to be delivered to the Turks, we met with five elephants that purſued us, and if they could have come to us, would have prevented the miſeries we afterwards endured, but God had decreed otherwiſe.

On the morrow we came to the banks of a river, where we found fourſcore Turks, that waited for us armed with muſkets. They let us reſt awhile, and then put us into the hands of our new maſters, who ſetting us upon camels, conducted us to Mazna; their commander ſeeming to be touched with our misfortunes, treated us with much gentleneſs and humanity; he offered us coffee, which we drank, but with little reliſh. We came next day to Mazna, in ſo wretched a condition, that we were not ſurpriſed at being hooted by the boys, but thought ourſelves well uſed that they threw no ſtones at us.

As ſoon as we were brought hither, all we had was taken from us, and we were carried to the governor, who is placed there by the Baſſa of Suaquem. Having been told by the Abyſſins that we had carried all the gold out of Æthiopia, they ſearched us with great exactneſs, but found nothing except two chalices, and ſome relics of ſo little value, that we redeemed them for ſix ſequins. As I had given them my chalice upon their firſt demand, they did not ſearch me, but gave us to underſtand, that they expected to find ſomething of greater value, which either we muſt have hidden, or the Abyſſins muſt have impoſed on them. They left us the reſt of the day at a gentleman's houſe, who was our friend, from whence the next day they fetched us, to tranſport us

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to the iſland, where they put us into a kind of priſon, with a view of terrifying us into a confeſſion of the place where we had hid our gold, in which, however, they found themſelves deceived.

But I had here another affair upon my hands, which was near coſting me dear. My ſervant had been taken from me, and left at Mazna, to be ſold to the Arabs; being advertiſed by him of the danger he was in, I laid claim to him, without knowing the difficulties which this way of proceeding would bring upon me. The governor ſent me word that my ſervant ſhould be reſtored me, upon the payment of ſixty piaſtres; and being anſwered by me, that I had not a penny for myſelf, and therefore could not pay ſixty piaſtres to redeem my ſervant, he informed me by a renegade Jew, who negociated the whole affair, that either I muſt produce the money, or receive an hundred blows of the battoon. Knowing that thoſe orders are without appeal, and always punctually executed, I prepared myſelf to receive the correction I was threatened with, but, unexpectedly, found the people ſo charitable as to lend me the money. By ſeveral other threats of the ſame kind, they drew from us about ſix hundred crowns.

On the 24th of June, we embarked in two gallies for Suaquem, where the baſſa reſided; his brother, who was his deputy at Mazna, made us promiſe before we went, that we would not mention the money he had ſqueezed from us. The ſeaſon was not very proper for ſailing, and our proviſions were but ſhort. In a little time we began to feel the want of better ſtores, and thought ourſelves happy in meeting with a gelve, which though ſmall, was a much better ſailer than our veſſel in which I was ſent to Suaquem, to procure camels and proviſions. I was not much at my eaſe, alone among ſix Mahometans, and could not help apprehending that ſome zealous pilgrim of Mecca might lay hold on this opportunity, in the heat of his devotion, of ſacrificing me to his prophet.

Theſe apprehenſions were without ground, I contracted an acquaintance which was ſoon improved into a friendſhip with theſe people; they offered me part of their proviſions, and I gave them ſome of mine. As we were in a place abounding with oyſters, ſome of which were large, and good to eat, others more ſmooth and ſhining, in which pearls are found; they gave me ſome of thoſe they gathered: but whether it happened by trifling our time away in oyſter catching, or whether the wind was not favourable, we came to Suaquem later than the veſſel I had left, in which were ſeven of my companions.

As they had firſt landed, they had ſuffered the firſt tranſports of the baſſa's paſſion, who was a violent tyrannical man, and would have killed his own brother for the leaſt advantage, a temper which made him fly into the utmoſt rage at ſeeing us poor, tattered, and almoſt naked; he treated us with the moſt opprobious language, and threatened to cut off our heads. We comforted ourſelves in this condition, hoping that all our ſufferings would end, in ſhedding our blood for the name of Jeſus Chriſt. We knew that the baſſa had often made a public declaration, before our arrival, that he ſhould die contented, if he could have the pleaſure of killing us all with his own hand. This violent reſolution was not laſting, his zeal gave way to his avarice, and he could not think of loſing ſo large a ſum as he knew he might expect for our ranſom: he therefore ſent us word, that it was in our choice either to die, or to pay him thirty thouſand crowns, and demanded to know our determination.

We knew that his ardent thirſt of our blood was now cold, that time and calm reflection, and the advice of his friends, had all conſpired to bring him to a milder temper, and therefore willingly began to treat with him. I told the meſſenger, being deputed by the reſt to manage the affair, that he could not but obſerve the wretched condition

condition we were in, that we had neither money nor revenues, that what little we had was already taken from us; and that therefore all we could promiſe was to ſet a collection on foot, not much doubting but that our brethren would afford us ſuch aſſiſtance as might enable us to make him a handſome preſent according to cuſtom.

This anſwer was not at all agreeable to the Baſſa, who returned an anſwer that he would be ſatisfied with twenty thouſand crowns, provided we paid them on the ſpot, or gave him good ſecurities for the payment. To this we could only repeat what we had ſaid before: he then propoſed to abate five thouſand of his laſt demand, aſſuring us, that unleſs we came to ſome agreement, there was no torment ſo cruel but we ſhould ſuffer it, and talked of nothing but impaling and flaying us alive, the terror of theſe threatenings was much increaſed by his domeſtics, who told us of many of his cruelties. This is certain, that ſome time before, he had uſed ſome poor Pagan merchants in that manner, and had cauſed the executioner to begin to flay them; when ſome Bramin touched with compaſſion, generouſly contributed the ſum demanded for their ranſom. We had no reaſon to hope for ſo much kindneſs, and having nothing of our own, could promiſe no certain ſum.

At length ſome of his favourites whom he moſt confided in, knowing his cruelty and our inability to pay what he demanded, and apprehending that if he ſhould put us to the death he threatened, they ſhould ſoon ſee the fleets of Portugal in the Red Sea, laying their towns in aſhes to revenge it, endeavoured to ſoften his paſſion and preſerve our lives, offering to advance the ſum we ſhould agree for, without any other ſecurity than our words. By this aſſiſtance, after many interviews with the Baſſa's agents, we agreed to pay four thouſand three hundred crowns, which were accepted on condition that they ſhould be paid down, and we ſhould go on board within two hours: but changing his reſolution on a ſudden, he ſent us word by his treaſurer that two of the moſt conſiderable among us ſhould ſtay behind for ſecurity, while the reſt went to procure the money they promiſed. They kept the patriarch, and two more fathers, one of which was above fourſcore years old, in whoſe place I choſe to remain priſoner, and repreſented to the Baſſa, that being worn out with age, he perhaps might die in his hands, which would loſe the part of the ranſom which was due on his account, that therefore it would be better to chuſe a younger in his place, offering to ſtay myſelf with him, that the good old man might be ſet at liberty.

The Baſſa agreed to another Jeſuit, and it pleaſed heaven that the lot fell upon father Francis Marquez. I imagined that I might with the ſame eaſe get the patriarch out of his hand, but no ſooner had I begun to ſpeak, but the anger flaſhed in his eyes, and his look was ſufficient to make me ſtop and deſpair of ſucceſs. We parted immediately, leaving the patriarch and two fathers in priſon, whom we embraced with tears, and went to take up our lodging on board the veſſel.

CHAP. XV. — *Their Treatment on board the Veſſel. Their Reception at Diou. The Author applies to the Viceroy for Aſſiſtance, but without Succeſs; he is ſent to ſolicit in Europe.*

OUR condition here was not much better than that of the illuſtrious captives whom we left behind. We were in an Arabian ſhip, with a crew of pilgrims of Mecca, with whom it was a point of religion to inſult us. We were lodged upon the deck expoſed to all the injuries of the weather, nor was there the meaneſt workman or ſailor, who did not either kick or ſtrike us. When we went firſt on board, I perceived a humour in my finger, which I neglected at firſt, till it ſpread over my hand, and ſwelled up

my arm, afflicting me with the moſt horrid torture. There was neither ſurgeon nor medicines to be had, nor could I procure any thing to eaſe my pain but a little oil, with which I anointed my arm, and in time found ſome relief. The weather was very bad, and the wind almoſt always againſt us, and to increaſe our perplexity, the whole crew, though Moors, were in the greateſt apprehenſion of meeting any of thoſe veſſels which the Turks maintain in the ſtrait of Babelmandel; the ground of their fear was, that the captain had neglected the laſt year to touch at Moca, though he had promiſed; thus we were in danger of falling into a captivity perhaps more ſevere than that we had juſt eſcaped from. While we were wholly engaged with theſe apprehenſions, we diſcovered a Turkiſh ſhip and galley were come upon us; it was almoſt calm, at leaſt there was not wind enough to give us any proſpect of eſcaping, ſo that when the galley came up to us, we thought ourſelves loſt without remedy, and had probably fallen into their hands, had not a breeze ſprung up juſt in the inſtant of danger, which carried us down the channel between the main land and the iſle of Babelmandel. I have already ſaid that this paſſage is difficult and dangerous, which nevertheleſs we paſſed in the night, without knowing what courſe we held, and were tranſported at finding ourſelves next morning out of the Red Sea, and half a league from Babelmandel. The currents are here ſo violent, that they carried us againſt our will to Cape Guardafui, where we ſent our boats aſhore for freſh water, which we began to be in great want of. The captain refuſed to give us any when we deſired ſome, and treated us with great inſolence, till coming near the land, I ſpoke to him in a tone more lofty and reſolute than I had ever done, and gave him to underſtand, that when he touched at Diou he might have occaſion for our intereſt. This had ſome effect upon him, and procured us a greater degree of civility than we had met with before.

At length after forty days ſailing we landed at Diou, where we were met by the whole city, it being reported that the patriarch was one of our number; for there was not a gentleman who was not impatient to have the pleaſure of beholding that good man, now made famous by his labours and ſufferings. It is not in my power to repreſent the different paſſions they were affected with, at ſeeing us pale, meagre, without cloaths, in a word, almoſt naked and almoſt dead with fatigue and ill uſage. They could not behold us in that miſerable condition without reflecting on the hardſhips we had undergone, and our brethren then underwent in Suaquem and Abyſſinia. Amidſt their thanks to God for our deliverance they could not help lamenting the condition of the patriarch and the other miſſionaries who were in chains, or at leaſt in the hands of profeſſed enemies to our holy religion. All this did not hinder them from teſtifying in the moſt obliging manner, their joy for our deliverance, and paying ſuch honours as ſurpriſed the Moors, and made them repent in a moment of the illtreatment they had ſhewn us on board. One who had diſcovered ſomewhat more humanity than the reſt, thought himſelf ſufficiently honoured, when I took him by the hand, and preſented him to the chief officer of the cuſtom houſe, who promiſed to do all the favours that were in his power.

When we paſſed by in ſight of the fort, they gave us three ſalutes with their cannon, an honour only paid to generals. The chief men of the city, who waited for us on the ſhore, accompanied us through a crowd of people, whom curioſity had drawn from all parts of our college. Though our place of reſidence at Diou, is one of the moſt beautiful in all the Indies, we ſtaid there only a few days, and as ſoon as we had recovered our fatigues, went on board the ſhips that were appointed to convoy the northern fleet. I was in the admiral's. We arrived at Goa in ſome veſſels bound for Camberia:

Camberia: here we loſt a good old Abyſſin convert, a man much valued in his order, and who was actually prior of his convent when he left Abyſſinia, chuſing rather to forſake all for religion, than to leave the way of ſalvation which God had ſo mercifully favoured him with the knowledge of.

We continued our voyage, and almoſt without ſtopping ſailed by Surate and Damam, where the rector of the college came to ſee us, but ſo ſea ſick, that the interview was without any ſatisfaction on either ſide. Then landing at Bazaim we were received by our fathers with their accuſtomed charity, and nothing was thought of but how to put the unpleaſing remembrance of our paſt labours out of our minds; finding here an order of the Father Provincta to forbid thoſe who returned from the miſſions, to go any farther, it was thought neceſſary to ſend an agent to Goa, with an account of the revolutions that had happened in Abyſſinia, and of the impriſonment of the patriarch. For this commiſſion I was made choice of, and I know not by what hidden degree of providence, almoſt all affairs whatever the ſucceſs of them was, were tranſacted by me. All the coaſts were beſet by Dutch cruizers, which made it difficult to ſail without running the hazard of being taken; I went therefore by land from Bazaim to Tana, where we had another college, and from thence to our houſe of Chaul. Here I hired a narrow light veſſel, and placing eighteen oars on a ſide, went cloſe by the ſhore, from Chaul to Goa, almoſt eighty leagues. We were often in danger of being taken, and particularly when we touched at Dabal, where a cruiſer blocked up one of the channels through which ſhips uſually ſail, but our veſſel requiring no great depth of water, and the ſea running high, we went through the little channel, and fortunately eſcaped the cruiſer. Though we were yet far from Goa, we expected to arrive there on the next morning, and rowed forward with all the diligence we could. The ſea was calm and delightful, and our minds were at eaſe, for we imagined ourſelves paſt danger; but ſoon found we had flattered ourſelves too ſoon with ſecurity, for we came within ſight of ſeveral barks of Malabar, which had been hid behind a point of land which we were going to double. Here we had been inevitably taken, had not a man called to us from the ſhore, and informed us, that among thoſe fiſhing boats there, ſome cruiſers would make us a prize. We rewarded our kind informer for the ſervice he had done us, and lay by till night came to ſhelter us from our enemies. Then putting out our oars, we landed at Goa next morning about ten, and were received at our college. It being there a feſtival day, each had ſomething extraordinary allowed him, the choiceſt part of our entertainments was two pilchers, which were admired becauſe they came from Portugal.

The quiet I began to enjoy did not make me loſe the remembrance of my brethren, whom I had left languiſhing among the rocks of Abyſſinia, or groaning in the priſons of Suaquem, whom ſince I could not ſet at liberty without the viceroy's aſſiſtance, I went to implore it, and did not fail to make uſe of every motive which could have any influence.

I deſcribed in the moſt pathetic manner I could, the miſerable ſtate to which the Catholic religion was reduced, in a country where it had lately flouriſhed ſo much by the labours of the Portugueſe; I gave him in the ſtrongeſt terms, a repreſentation of all that we had ſuffered ſince the death of Sultan Segued; how we had been driven out of Abyſſinia; how many times they had attempted to take away our lives; in what manner we had been betrayed and given up to the Turks; the menaces we had been terrified with; the inſults we had endured; I laid before him the danger the patriarch was in of being either impaled or flayed alive; the cruelty, inſolence, and avarice of the Baſſa of Suaquem, and the perſecution that the Catholics ſuffered in Æthiopia. I

exhorted, I implored him by every thing I thought might move him to make ſome attempt for the preſervation of thoſe who had voluntarily ſacrificed their lives for the ſake of God. I made it appear with how much eaſe the Turks might be driven out of the Red Sea, and the Portugueſe enjoy all the trade of thoſe countries. I informed him of the navigation of that ſea, and the ſituation of its ports, told him which it would be neceſſary to make ourſelves maſters of firſt, that we might upon any unfortunate encounter retreat to them. I cannot deny that ſome degree of reſentment might appear in my diſcourſe; for though revenge be prohibited to Chriſtians, I ſhould not have been diſpleaſed to have had the Baſſa of Suaquem and his brother in my hands, that I might have reproached them with the ill treatment we had met with from them. This was the reaſon of my adviſing to make the firſt attack upon Mazna, to drive the Turks from thence, to build a citadel, and garriſon it with Portugueſe.

The viceroy liſtened with great attention to all I had to ſay, gave me a long audience, and aſked me many queſtions. He was well pleaſed with the deſign of ſending a fleet into that ſea, and to give a greater reputation to the enterpriſe propoſed making his ſon commander in chief, but could by no means be brought to think of fixing garriſons, and building fortreſſes there; all he intended was to plunder all they could, and lay the towns in aſhes.

I left no art of perſuaſion untried to convince him, that ſuch a reſolution would injure the intereſts of Chriſtianity, that to enter the Red Sea only to ravage the coaſts, would ſo enrage the Turks, that they would certainly maſſacre all the Chriſtian captives, and for ever ſhut the paſſage into Abyſſinia, and hinder all communication with that empire. It was my opinion that the Portugueſe ſhould firſt eſtabliſh themſelves at Mazna, and that a hundred of them would be ſufficient to keep the fort that ſhould be built. He made an offer of only fifty, and propoſed that we ſhould collect thoſe few Portugueſe who were ſcattered over Abyſſinia. Theſe meaſures I could not approve.

At length when it appeared that the viceroy had neither forces nor authority ſufficient for this undertaking, it was agreed, that I ſhould go immediately into Europe, and repreſent at Rome and Madrid, the miſerable condition of the miſſions of Abyſſinia. The viceroy promiſed, that, if I could procure any aſſiſtance, he would command in perſon the fleet and forces raiſed for the expedition, aſſuring, that he thought he could not employ his life better than in a war ſo holy, and of ſo great an importance, to the propagation of the Catholic faith.

Encouraged by this diſcourſe of the viceroy, I immediately prepared myſelf for a voyage to Liſbon, not doubting to obtain upon the leaſt ſolicitation every thing that was neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh our miſſion.

Never had any man a voyage ſo troubleſome as mine, or interrupted with ſuch variety of unhappy accidents: I was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Natal; I was taken by the Hollanders, and it is not eaſy to mention the danger which I was expoſed to both by land and ſea, before I arrived at Portugal.

A JOURNEY TO ABYSSINIA.

*BY C. J. PONCET.**

TO THE JESUITS OF FRANCE.

REVEREND FATHERS,

I BELIEVE that the account of Ethiopia, which I now give you, will be found very curious. It was communicated to me by Dr. Charles James Poncet, a French phyſician, who travelled into that country with a miſſionary Jeſuit. You poſſibly may be glad to know the motive of their undertaking ſo tedious and painful a journey. The Emperor of Ethiopia being afflicted with a diſtemper, whoſe conſequences he thought might prove fatal to him, and not meeting with phyſicians in his own dominions able to cure him, thought it but prudent to ſend into other countries for a ſkilful perſon. Hearing, at this time, that one of his officers was troubled with the ſame kind of diſeaſe, he ſent him to Grand Cairo, in order that if he could get cured in this city, he might bring the phyſician to him. This officer, whoſe name was Hagi-Ali, and who had gone that journey more than once, informed an Armenian, his friend, there, of the motive which had brought him again to Cairo; when the Armenian, knowing Dr. Poncet's abilities by experience, (he having formerly cured him of a very violent and very dangerous diſtemper) introduced his friend to the doctor.

Hagi Ali, on the recommendation of the Armenian, put himſelf into Dr. Poncet's hands, took his medicines, obſerved the regimen preſcribed, and was perfectly recovered in a little time. He therefore intreated the doctor to travel with him into Ethiopia, in order that he might perform the like cure on his ſovereign, which Dr. Poncet conſented to, and immediately prepared to follow the Ethiopian officer. Our miſſionaries, who had already attempted ſeveral times, but with ill ſucceſs†, to enter

* Lockman's Travels of the Jeſuits (extracted from the Lettres Edifiantes) London 1743, 8vo. Vol. i. p. 178

† Ludolf, who is eſteemed the beſt writer on Ethiopia, informs us, that the Abyſſinians formerly acknowledged the Pope of Rome as the chief patriarch. Some Portugueſe miſſionaries, after the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, almoſt made Roman Catholics of the Ethiopians, and prevailed upon the monarch to acknowledge the Pope's ſupremacy, and to admit a patriarch from Rome. The government alſo conſented to aboliſh their own rites, and ſet up thoſe of the church of Rome; but many of their great men, and moſt part of the people oppoſing this, took up arms againſt the Emperor, which gave riſe to civil wars, of above a hundred years continuance, wherein multitudes of people were killed. During this, many provinces revolted from the Emperor; notwithſtanding which, the monarchs perſiſted obſtinately in their profeſſion of the Romiſh religion. At laſt the Jeſuits, upon pretence of maintaining the Papal ſupremacy, undertook the management of temporal affairs, in an arbitrary manner, and almoſt excluſive of the Emperor. They even ventured to go ſo far as to erect forts, which they manned, and were going to ſend for European troops. But now the Emperor and the nobility awaked from their lethargy, and immediately agreed to aboliſh the Romiſh religion, and to maſſacre the prieſts, who accordingly fell the victims of the people, the patriarch himſelf very narrowly eſcaping out of the country with his life. Three Capuchins attempting afterwards to get into Ethiopia, the Turkiſh baſha, at the Emperor's requeſt, beheaded them, and ſent him their heads and their ſkins ſtuffed.

this

this wide extended empire, imagined it would be proper to make uſe of ſo favourable a juncture, to execute their deſign; for which purpoſe they conſulted with Dr. Poncet and Monſieur Maillet*, the French conſul at Grand Cairo. It was then agreed that one of our miſſionaries ſhould accompany Dr. Poncet to Ethiopia, and go as his ſervant†, for fear of giving umbrage to a nation, whoſe diſpoſition with regard to the Europeans was not yet well known. This was an important commiſſion, and required a man of great abilities and zeal; ſince he was to inform himſelf, on the ſpot, of the ſtate of the Chriſtian religion; and ſee what was to be done, in order to reſtore, if poſſible, the Romiſh religion in a country where it formerly had made a very great progreſs, under the Patriarchs John Nunez Baretto, Andrew Oviedo, Apollinarius of Almeida, and ſeveral other Jeſuit-miſſionaries.

Father de Brevedent, of a very good family in the city of Roan, was pitched upon for this purpoſe, he being endued with all the qualities requiſite for ſo difficult and important an enterprize. The ſcheme he gave for a new machine, for finding the perpetual motion in 1685, engraved in the journals of that time, gained him no little reputation among the learned, and ſhewed the great penetration of his genius. Engaging afterwards in miſſions, he laboured indefatigably above ten years in the iſlands of the Archipelago and in Syria. In a word, the whole tenor of his life was ſo perfect that he was conſidered as a true apoſtle. His auſterities were ſo extreme, when labouring among the infidels, that his ordinary food was bran ſoaked in water, with ſome herbs or roots. He uſed to lie on the bare ground; to paſs two or three hours every night in prayer; and ſcourge himſelf ſo unmercifully twice a day‡, that his ſuperiors being informed that it would be impoſſible for him to ſupport much longer ſo very mortified a life, were obliged to ſoften the rigour of his penance, to prevent their loſing a perſon ſo uſeful to the miſſion.

The following relation is very curious; for, beſides the account it gives of the dominions of the Kings of Dongola§, of Sennar, and of Mecca, it informs us likewiſe of ſeveral very remarkable particulars concerning Ethiopia, that Empire, ſo very famous, whether we conſider the vaſt extent of its dominions, the multitude of its inhabitants, or their profeſſing the Chriſtian religion in the firſt ages of the church. But as the Abyſſinians were ſo happy as to receive the light of the goſpel in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, they have been ſo unfortunate as to loſe that precious advantage, by imbibing the errors of the Cophtis or Eutychians, and forming a ſchiſm in the church.

How ample a harveſt might be made in ſo wide extended a field, by able and zealous miſſionaries, who ſhould devote themſelves to the cultivating of it; eſpecially at a time when the conjunctures are more favourable than ever!

The greateſt obſtacle, formerly, to the converſion of the Abyſſinians, was the obſtinacy of the ſchiſmatic patriarchs of Alexandria, who oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion with all their might. But as the preſent patriarch is a Catholic, he is no leſs deſirous than we can be, of ſeeing all the people of Ethiopia open their eyes, and embrace the truths of the goſpel, as he himſelf did not long ſince.

* He publiſhed an account of Egypt not many years ſince. I wrote this in 1742.

† This diſguiſe is exactly agreeable to the genius of the Jeſuits.

‡ What an inconſiſtency was there in this character! a man to have a mind capable of going through a courſe of polite literature, and making diſcoveries in the mathematics, and yet be ſo weak as to ſcourge himſelf daily! Surely this muſt have been done by Father le Bredevent, merely in the view of promoting the general ſcheme of the Jeſuits, or Father le Gobien muſt have told this of him falſly, merely in the ſame view.

§ I ſuppoſe this is what Moll calls Dancala.

His

His Majeſty and His Holineſs intend to ſend miſſionaries into this extended empire; and wiſhing that their endeavours may be crowned with ſucceſs, I ſubſcribe myſelf, with the utmoſt reſpect, &c.

CHARLES LE GOBIEN.

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT

OF

THE TRAVELS OF CHARLES JAMES PONCET, A FRENCH PHYSICIAN, INTO ETHIOPIA.

In 1698, 1699, and 1700.

I SET out from Grand Cairo, the capital of Egypt, the 10th of June 1698, with Hagi Ali, an officer under the Emperor of Ethiopia, and father Charles Francis Xavier of Brevedent, a Jeſuit miſſionary. We embarked on the Nile at Boolack*, half a league from that city. As the waters were low, and our pilots very unſkilful, we ſpent a fortnight in reaching Manfeloo, though this voyage is commonly performed in five days, when the river is ſwelled, and the wind favourable. Manfeloo is a city of Upper Egypt, famous for its traffic in linens. The Grand Signior keeps a garriſon there of five hundred Janiſaries and two hundred Spahis, to prevent the incurſions of the Arabs, who infeſt every part of that country.

The rendezvous of the caravans of Sennar and Ethiopia is at Ibnali, half a league above Manfeloo. We encamped in that village, till ſuch time as the whole caravan might be aſſembled; and continued there about three months, under our tents, where we ſuffered very much; the heat of that country being inſupportable, eſpecially to Europeans, who are not accuſtomed to it. The rays of the ſun are ſo ſcorching, that, from ten in the morning, till night, we could ſcarce breathe. After having purchaſed camels, and got all the proviſions neceſſary for croſſing the deſerts of Lybia, we left this diſagreeable abode the 24th of September, at three in the afternoon; and went and lay a league and a half from thence, on the eaſtern ſide of the Nile, at a place called Cantara, where we alſo were obliged to encamp ſome days, to wait for the merchants of Girga and Syoot, who were not yet arrived.

A relation of the King of Sennar invited me to go to Syoot, and for that purpoſe ſent me an Arabian horſe. I croſſed the Nile on a very large bridge built of beautiful free-ſtone. I believe it is the only bridge on this river, and I got to my journey's end in four hours. I ſaw the ruins of an old magnificent amphitheatre, with ſome ſepulchral monuments of the ancient Romans. The city of Syoot is ſurrounded with delicious gardens, and beautiful palm-trees, which bear the fineſt dates in all Egypt. Finding our whole company met at my return, we ſet out very early on the 2d of October, and that very day entered a frightful deſert. Travellers are expoſed to great danger in theſe deſerts, occaſioned by the moving ſands, which riſing with the gentleſt breeze darken the air; and falling back again like rain, often bury

* Or Bulac. This is the port town to Grand Cairo, and by ſome conſidered as a ſuburb of it. There are about four thouſand families in this town, where a conſiderable trade is carried on. All veſſels who go up the Nile ſtop here, and pay the duties exacted by the government.

travellers

travellers under them, or make them loſe their way. The greateſt order poſſible is obſerved in the march of the caravans. Beſides the chief man, whoſe buſineſs it is to determine all diſputes and conteſts, there are guides who march at the head of the caravan, and give the ſignal either for going forward or halting, by beating a ſmall kettle-drum. The travellers ſet out three or four hours before day, at which time all the camels and beaſts of burthen muſt be ready. Any perſon who loſes ſight of the caravan, or goes aſtray from it, is in great danger of periſhing; but the conductors are ſo ſkilful, that though not even the ſmalleſt footſteps or marks are ſeen on the ſand, they yet never go out of their way. After travelling in this manner till noon, the company halt half an hour without unlading the camels; when reſting themſelves a little, they then go on till three or four hours after ſun-ſet. As travellers have always the ſame rank or place, at every encampment as the firſt day they ſet out, there never happens the leaſt diſpute on that account*.

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* The beſt relation I have ſeen of the manner of the travelling with the caravan is this. The guides conduct themſelves either by a ſea compaſs, or by the Stars. A caravan conſiſts often of two or three hundred men, and perhaps of a thouſand beaſts of different kinds, to ſecure them from the incurſion of the Arabs. The ſeveral merchandiſes are carried either on camels or dromedaries (whoſe ſhape is much the ſame), and the camel will carry ſeven hundred weight, there being no wheel-carriages in Arabia, &c. The above mentioned beaſts kneel down to take up their burden; and will travel, when requiſite, ſix days or more without drinking. There are no inns on thoſe roads, for which reaſon travellers carry proviſions and tents, which they don't ſet up except in bad weather; they chuſing, when it is fair, to lodge in the open air, for fear of the thieviſh Arabs. The ſlaves and ſervants dreſs their maſters' victuals on the road in manner following: they make a hole in the ground, and there they make a fire, and boil the meat, &c. As little water is found in the deſerts, the travellers provide themſelves with ſome, which they carry in goats ſkins.

Before the caravan firſt ſets out, the merchants elect, from among their body, a commander or captain baſha, who regulates the order of the march, and ſettles all controverſies which may happen. But as there is room for committing various frauds in this employment, (as theſe captains pay the duties, &c. in the journey) few honeſt men are willing to accept of it. The merchants commonly ride on mules or horſes; and the poorer ſort of them on aſſes. The Europeans are obliged to carry their wine in ſkins, on horſes; the camel-maſters, who are Mohammedans, not permitting their camels to be loaded with wine, this beaſt being ſacred to Mohammed.

The caravans ſometimes travel ſix hours, and at other times twelve every day, according as they meet with water, they halting at thoſe places, where they meet with any. Every maſter, with his ſervants, rides about his goods, particularly if the night is dark; and this on account of a ſet of cunning thieves, who at thoſe times, ſometimes cut the ſtrings by which the beaſts are faſtened to one another, and then drive them away to ſome diſtance before the loſs is perceived. One great inconveniency which thoſe who travel in caravans often meet with is, that as water is generally found only in wells and ciſterns, whence not more than two or three people can draw water at a time, the travellers are ſometimes forced to ſtay two hours, or more, before they can get any; which is owing to the rudeneſs of the camel-drivers, who will not ſuffer any perſon to draw water, till they have firſt regaled their ſeveral beaſts. It is neceſſary that the European travellers wear a Mohammedan dreſs, or put on an Arabian veſt and cap, to prevent their being ſtopt at ſome towns; as well as ſeveral other inconveniences. They alſo muſt provide themſelves with boots, and theſe are as eaſy to walk in as ſhoes; but they don't need to get ſpurs, the horſes being pricked forward with an iron fixed to the ſtirrup. When the caravan ſtops, after ſun-ſet, to ſpend the night, a ſet of poor people, who make it their buſineſs to attend on theſe occaſions, walk about the fields like watchmen, crying aloud, *God is one, Be watchful of yourſelves*: And when the time proper for marching is nigh, they give notice of it to the captain of the caravan, who immediately commands them to cry, Saddle your horſes, and load your goods. All this is done with ſurpriſing diſpatch; and the whole caravan proceeds forward with the greateſt order and ſilence. If the next ſtage is long, and they cannot arrive at it till about an hour or two before noon, the merchants ſpread their carpets and ſit down to breakfaſt; during which the beaſts advance forward ſlowly with their burdens.

It is ſaid that upwards of forty thouſand pilgrims go to Mecca yearly, to viſit Mohammed's tomb; the Grand Signior giving the fourth part of the revenues of Egypt towards defraying the expences of the caravan. This vaſt body of devotees is accompanied with ſoldiers, to protect them from the incurſions of the Arabs; and followed by eight or nine thouſand camels, laden with proviſions neceſſary for ſo long a

We arrived the 6th of October at Helaoüa, a pretty large town, and the laſt ſubject to the Grand Signior. It has a garriſon of five hundred Janizaries and three hundred Spahis, commanded by an officer, called in that country Kaſhif. Helaoüa is a delightful place, and anſwers exactly to its name, which ſignifies, *the country of delights or ſweets*. We there ſee a great many gardens watered with rivulets, and a vaſt number of palm-trees, which have a perpetual verdure. There we find coloquintida *; and all the fields are overſpread with ſena, which grows on a ſhrub about three foot high. This drug, of which the Europeans have ſo high an opinion, is not made any uſe of in this country. The inhabitants of Helaoüa, when indiſpoſed, never take any other remedy but the root of the eſula, which they ſteep in milk a whole night, and drink next morning after paſſing it through a ſieve. This phyſic is exceedingly ſtrong, but thoſe people like it, and praiſe it exceedingly. The eſula † is a great tree, with a blue flower. This flower forms a kind of oval ball full of cotton, and with this the inhabitants make tolerably fine linen.

We ſtopt four days at Helaoüa, to ſupply ourſelves with water and proviſions, as we were going to croſs a deſert, where not a ſingle ſpring or rivulet are found. The heats are ſo violent, and the ſands of thoſe deſerts ſo very ſcorching, that ſuch as walk bare-footed, always find their feet ſwell in a ſurprizing manner. Nevertheleſs, the nights are pretty cold, which afflict thoſe who travel in this country with grievous diſtempers, if they do not take the utmoſt care of themſelves. After traveling two days we arrived at Chabba ‡, a country full of allum; and three days after at Selyme, where we drew water, to ſerve us five days, from an excellent ſpring ſituated in the midſt of that deſert. Theſe wide extended ſolitudes, where we meet neither with birds, wild beaſts, graſs, nor even ſo much as a gnat; and ſee nothing but mountains of ſand, carcaſes, and bones of camels, ſtrike the ſoul with I know not what horror, which makes the travelling here quite tedious and diſagreeable. It would be extremely difficult to croſs theſe frightful deſarts without the aſſiſtance of camels. Theſe beaſts can paſs ſix or ſeven days without eating or drinking: a circumſtance I myſelf ſhould never have believed, had I not been a careful obſerver of it. A yet more wonderful incident of this kind is as follows, the truth of which was aſſured me by a venerable old man, brother to the patriarch of Ethiopia, who was in our caravan. He declared that he travelled twice from Selyme to Sudan, in the country of the negroes; and that having employed each time forty days in croſſing the deſarts lying that way, the camels of his caravan did not once eat or drink during all that time §. Three or four

journey through the deſerts. One of the camels carries the golden ſtandard, which is offered up with great ceremony to Mohammed. Several caravans ſet out annually from Aleppo, Grand Cairo, &c. for Perſia, Mecca, &c.

* A wild kind of gourd, extremely bitter, and employed in purgative remedies.

† The eſula is alſo a kind of plant called milk-thiſtle: when corrected, it is given to perſons afflicted with the dropſy.

‡ Chabba in Arabic ſignifies allum. At Chabba begins the kingdom of Gondola, dependant on that of Sennar.

§ What we are told by the authors of the Miſſions Etrangeres, in their laſt relation, is equally ſurprizing. They inform us as follows concerning ſome Chriſtians of Cochin-China, who died for their religion.

Of the four remaining who continued in priſon, three ſtruggled with hunger and thirſt, for perhaps a much longer time than could be believed by the Europeans, till they died; for I am of opinion theſe would ſcarce think it poſſible for them to live ſo long as they did without eating and drinking. The firſt was Mr. Laurenço (Lorenzo) who did not expire till the fortieth day of his impriſonment. The holy old man Anthony followed him three days after; and Madam Agnes languiſhed till the forty-ſixth day, and then quietly breathed her laſt. [This note is by Father le Gobien.] The Proteſtant (and leſs credulous) reader, will probably think the accounts given here a fiction, conſidering the quarter it comes from, and the motive for mentioning it.

hours reſt every night ſupports them, and compenſates for the want of food, which muſt not be given them till after they have drank, for otherwiſe they would burſt.

The kingdom of Sudan lies to the weſt of Sennar. The merchants of Upper Egypt go thither to purchaſe gold and ſlaves. The Kings of Sennar and Sudan are commonly at war. As to the mules and aſſes, which alſo are made uſe of for croſſing theſe deſarts, they are allowed only a ſmall meaſure of water daily.

The 26th of October we arrived at Machoo, a large town* on the eaſtern ſhore of the Nile. This river forms here two large iſlands abounding with palm-trees, ſena, and coloquintida. Machoo, the only place inhabited from Helaoüa, is in the province of Fungee †. It is ſubject to the King of Sennar; and here begins the country of the Baroras, called by us Barbarins. The Erbab, or governor of this province, being informed that the Emperor of Ethiopia had ſent for us to court, invited us to Argos, the place of his reſidence. This town ſtands oppoſite to Machoo, on the other ſide of the Nile, and we went thither in a boat. The governor received us with great civility, and entertained us two days, which, after the violent fatigues we had undergone, was extremely agreeable. The chief officer of the cuſtoms, who is ſon to the King of Dongola ‡, lives alſo at Argos. This prince never appears in public but on horſeback, his horſe being covered with two hundred little braſs bells, which make a great noiſe; and attended by twenty horſemen, and two hundred ſoldiers armed with lances and ſabres. He came and ſearched our tents, where we preſented him with coffee, and paid the duties, conſiſting in ſoap and linens. He did us the honour to invite us next day to dinner, and we waited upon him accordingly at the time appointed. His palace is ſpacious, and built of brick dried in the ſun. The walls are very lofty; and flanked, at intervals, with large ſquare towers, but without port-holes, there being no cannon in in that country, muſkets being the only fire-arms uſed there.

After ſtaying a week at Machoo, we left it the 4th of November, and arrived the 13th at Dongola. The whole country we paſſed through to this city, and even to that of Sennar, is extremely agreeable, but no above a league in breadth. Beyond it we meet with nothing but frightful deſarts. The Nile runs through the middle of this delicious plain. Its banks are high; ſo that the fertility of this country is not owing, as in Egypt, to the inundation of that river, but to the labour and induſtry of the inhabitants. As it rains extremely ſeldom in theſe parts, the people raiſe by the help of certain wheels turned by oxen, a prodigious quantity of water, which they carry through the ſeveral lands to reſervoirs dug to receive it; and hence they afterwards draw it, whenever they want to water their lands, which otherwiſe would be barren.

Money is not the medium here for traffic, every thing of that kind being carried on by barter, as in the infant ages of the world. Travellers purchaſe whatever proviſions they want, by giving in exchange, pepper, aniſe, fennel, cloves, choorga, or wool died blue, French ſpikenard §, Egyptian mahaleb ‖, and ſuch like. Their only food is bread made of dora, a ſmall round berry, with which they alſo make a kind of muddy, very ill-taſted beer. As this liquor will not keep, they are obliged to make it almoſt every hour. Any man who has got ſome dora-bread, and a gourd-bottle full of the unpala-

* The French is groſſe bourgade, which is the diminutive of bourg, an aſſemblage of houſes between a city and a village. In my verſion I generally tranſlate bourg a town, and bourgade a ſmall town.

† Called Fungi, in our maps.

‡ This King of Dongola, or Dancala, can hardly be a powerful prince.

§ A ſpecies of lavender, whence the oleum ſpicæ is diſtilled.

‖ I know not whether this is a kind of wild cherry, or a ſloe. According to ſome it is the vaccinium or black-berry; whilſt others ſay that it is a ſhrub with which they dye purple in France. I ſuppoſe the mahaleb bartered in the country, treated of in the text, was uſed for dying.

table liquor above-mentioned, of which they drink ſuch quantities as to grow intoxicated, thinks himſelf happy, and enabled to make good cheer. Though theſe Africans live upon ſuch ſlender nouriſhment, they yet enjoy health, and are more robuſt and vigorous than the Europeans. Their houſes are low, built of earth, and covered with dora-reeds: but their horſes are perfectly beautiful, and the people are very ſkilful in breeding them for the manége. The backs of their ſaddles* are very high, which tires the rider very much. Perſons of quality go bareheaded, and with their hair diſpoſed agreeably in treſſes. Their whole dreſs is only a ſleeveleſs rude veſt; and a kind of ſole, which they tie with thongs. The common people throw a piece of linen round them an hundred different ways, but the children go almoſt naked. All the men carry a lance, and this they take with them wherever they go. The iron of it is hooked, and ſome are very neat. Thoſe who have ſwords, wear them hanging at their left-arm. Oaths and blaſphemous expreſſions are very common among theſe rude ignorant Africans, who, at the ſame time, are ſuch debauchees, that they have not the leaſt idea of politeneſs, modeſty, or religion; for though they now profeſs Mohammedaniſm, they know nothing of it, except their confeſſion of faith, and this they repeat inceſſantly. A deplorable circumſtance, and which drew tears from Father de Brevedent, my dear companion, is that this people, not long ſince, profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, and loſt it purely for want of perſons zealous enough to devote themſelves to their inſtruction. We ſaw, in our way, a great many hermits' cells, and churches half ruined.

We travelled but gently from Machoo to Dongolà, to eaſe ourſelves after our long journeying through the deſert. That country had been infeſted, but two years before, with the plague. It had raged with ſo much violence in Grand Cairo, where I happened to be that year, and on which occaſion I attended the ſick, that it was affirmed ten thouſand perſons died of it daily †. This dreadful ſcourge made miſerable havoc in every part of Upper Egypt, and in the country of the Barbarins; ſo that we found ſeveral towns, as likewiſe a great number of villages, uninhabited; and wide extended plains which had formerly been very fruitful, were now quite uncultivated and abandoned.

Being got within ſight of the city of Dongola, the leader of our caravan left us, and went and waited upon the King, to deſire leave for him and his company to enter it, which he was graciouſly permitted to do. We were then in a village, which is as a kind of ſuburb to that city; and we croſſed the river in a boat kept by the prince for the uſe of the public. The goods pay a certain duty, but paſſengers are carried gratis. The city of Dongola‡, ſtands on the eaſtern banks of the Nile, on the declivity of a dry ſandy hill. The houſes are very ill-built; and the ſtreets half deſerted, and choaked with heaps of ſand, which the great floods force down from the mountains. The caſtle ſtands in the center of the city, and is very ſpacious, but poorly fortified; however, it ſerves as a check to the Arabs, who inhabit the plains, where they are permitted to feed their cattle undiſturbed, on paying a ſmall tribute to the Mek § or King of Dongola. We had the honour to eat ſeveral times with this prince, but at a ſeparate table. In our firſt audience, he was dreſſed in a green velvet veſt that reached to the ground. He has a numerous guard. Thoſe who are near his perſon carry a long ſword before him, but unſheathed; and the outward guards are armed with half-pikes.

* The original is, *leurs ſelles ont des appuis bien hauts*, by which I ſuppoſe is meant, that there are backs to them, as to thoſe in ſome countries of Europe; or elſe, that they are raiſed very high on the ſides; and tire the rider's arms very much, when leaning on them.

† The plague is ſaid to ſweep away prodigious numbers in this city once every ſeven years.

‡ If this Dongola is, as I ſuppoſe it to be, Dancala, this city is ſituated to the weſt of the Nile, in our maps.

§ The name of the preſent Mek, (in the year 1700) or Malek of Dongola, is Achmet.

This prince came and viſited us in our tent; and as I had been ſucceſsful in ſome cures, he invited us to reſide at his court; but the inſtant he heard that we were under engagements to the Emperor of Ethiopia, he did not offer to ſtop us. His kingdom is hereditary, but he pays a tribute to the King of Sennar.

We left Dongola the 6th of January 1699; and four days after entered the kingdom of Sennar. Ibrahim the governor, brother to the King's prime miniſter, whom we met on the frontiers, received us honourably, and defrayed the expences of our journey as far as Korty, a large town on the Nile, whither we arrived the 13th of January, he accompanying us to that place. As the nations who live above Korty, along the Nile, have taken up arms againſt the King of Sennar, and plunder the caravans whenever they paſs through their country; travellers are obliged to paſs at a diſtance from the banks of that river; then proceed forward between the weſt and ſouth; and enter the vaſt deſert of Bihooda, which cannot be croſſed in leſs than five days, though with ever ſo great ſpeed. This deſert is not ſo frightful as thoſe of Lybia, ſince nothing is found in thoſe but ſand; whereas we here meet with herbs and trees. After croſſing it, we returned to the banks of the Nile, and arrived at Derrara, a town where we ſtopt two days. This country abounds with proviſions, which probably is the reaſon why the inhabitants call it Beladalla, or God's Country. We left it the 26th, and travelled weſtward. We do not meet with a ſingle village in all the way; but the inhabitants, who encamp under tents, bring proviſions to travellers.

After travelling ſome days we again come to the Nile, and arrived at Guerry. This is the reſidence of a governor, whoſe chief buſineſs is to viſit the caravans which come from Egypt, in order to ſee whether ſome perſons in it may not have the ſmall pox; that diſtemper being as dangerous, and making as great havoc in this country, as the plague in Europe. The governor in queſtion paid us great civilities, out of reſpect to the throne of Ethiopia, for by this name the Emperor of Ethiopia is diſtinguiſhed; and diſpenſed with our performing quarantine, as is the cuſtom in that place where we croſſed the Nile.

The manner of croſſing that river is very particular. The paſſengers and goods are put into a bark; but the beaſts are faſtened, at the head and under the belly, with ropes, which are either drawn tighter, or ſlackened, according as the bark goes forward. The beaſts ſwim, but ſuffer greatly in their paſſage, and ſome of them even loſe their lives; for though the Nile is not wide at this place, it is deep and rapid. We left Guerry the 1ſt of February, and went and lay at Alfaa, a large village built of free-ſtone. The inhabitants are tall and well-ſhaped.

After having travelled north-eaſt, to get clear of the great windings of the Nile, and paſſed by the village of Alſon, of Cotran, and of Camin; after croſſing a large iſland not ſpecified in our maps, we arrived at the town of Harbagee, where we met with plenty of proviſions, and repoſed ourſelves a little. The following days we paſſed through foreſts of acacia*, whoſe lofty, thorny trees were adorned with yellow and blue flowers, the laſt of which diffuſe a very agreeable fragrance. Theſe groves abound with ſmall green paroquets; with a kind of wood-herls, and a multitude of other birds not found in Europe. At our leaving theſe delightful foreſts, we entered into vaſt

* A term in botany, given to various trees, though very different one from the other. A tree of this name (alſo called caſſia) grows in Egypt, and is called in Latin, ſpina Ægyptia. It anſwers pretty nearly to the deſcription given of this tree; and from it gum Arabic, and a juice called the true acacia are taken. Other trees of a different kind, though called by the ſame name, grow in Malabár, in Meſopotamia, the deſerts of Arabia, Braſil, Virginia, &c. Acacia is alſo a thick liquid brought from the Levant in bladders. It is an excellent aſtringent.

plains

plains which appeared exceedingly fruitful, and very well cultivated; and travelling ſome time in theſe, we at laſt diſcovered the city of Sennar *, whoſe ſituation ſeemed enchanting.

This city, which is near a league and half in circumference, is very populous, but far from being neat, and is very ill governed. Sennar is thought to contain about an hundred thouſand ſouls. It ſtands on the weſt of the Nile, on an eminence, in thirteen degrees, four minutes, north latitude, according to an obſervation taken at noon, the 21ſt of March 1699 †. The houſes are but one ſtory high, and ill built; but their terraces, which ſerve as roofs, are very commodious. As to the ſuburbs, it conſiſts of a number of poor huts, made with reeds. The King's palace is ſurrounded with lofty walls of brick baked in the ſun. There does not appear the leaſt regularity in theſe buildings, they being thrown up in a confuſed and taſteleſs manner. The apartments of the palace are richly adorned with large carpets after the manner of the Levant.

The very next day after our arrival we were preſented to the King. The very firſt thing we did, at our going to this audience, was to pull off our ſhoes, a ceremony which all foreigners who have acceſs to the King, are obliged to obſerve; the natives never being permitted to appear before him but bare-footed. We now entered a ſpacious court, paved with a kind of delft-ware of various colours. On every ſide of it guards were ſtanding armed with lances. Having almoſt croſſed this court, we were ſtopt at a ſtone lying near an open hall, where the King generally gives audience to ambaſſadors. We ſaluted the King after the cuſtom of the country, by falling on our knees, and kiſſing the ground thrice. The Monarch is about nineteen years old, black, but well-ſhaped and of a majeſtic ſtature; he not having thick lips, nor a flat noſe, like thoſe of his ſubjects. He was ſeated on a very neat kind of ſofa, croſs-legged, after the manner of the Eaſterns; and ſurrounded by about twenty old men, ſeated like himſelf, but a little below him. The Monarch was dreſſed in a long ſilken veſt embroidered with gold, having a kind of ſcarf over it, made of very fine cotton ‡. He wore on his head a white turban; and the old men were dreſſed much after the ſame faſhion. The prime miniſter, ſtanding at the entrance of the hall, carried our compliments to the King, and brought back his anſwers. We ſaluted the Monarch a ſecond time, after the ſame manner as in the court; and preſented him with ſome cryſtal-glaſſes, &c., and ſeveral European curioſities, with which he ſeemed mightily pleaſed. The different queſtions he aſked us, ſpoke him a man of good ſenſe, and of an inquiſitive genius. He enquired into the motives of our journey, and profeſſed the higheſt regard and attachment for the perſon of the Emperor of Ethiopia. After continuing an hour at this audience, we withdrew, making three very low bows. He cauſed us to be attended by his guards to the houſe where we reſided; and ſent us large veſſels full of butter, honey, and other refreſhments; and likewiſe two oxen and two ſheep.

This prince goes twice a week and dines at one of his country-ſeats, a league from the city. The order of his march thither is as follows: firſt appear three or four hundred horſemen, extremely well mounted; next comes the King amidſt a great num-

* I could not find any of the towns mentioned in this journey from Dancala to Sennar, in our maps, and indeed no towns are therein ſpecified between them.

† The city of Sennar is ſituated more to the north in our maps.

‡ The original is, *eſt ceint d'une eſpece d'écharpe de toile de coton très fine*, which may mean, that he had a ſaſh of very fine cotton round his loins. The word echarpe, ſignifies ſometimes a ſhoulder-belt, a girdle, the covering for a woman's head or ſhoulders, &c.

ber of ſervants, and armed ſoldiers, who ſing his praiſes with a loud voice; a tabor ſounding at the ſame time, which makes a harmony that is agreeable enough. Seven or eight hundred maidens and married women walk confuſedly with theſe ſoldiers, carrying on their heads large round ſtraw-baſkets, finely wrought, and of various colours. Theſe baſkets repreſenting flowers of every kind, the lids of which are in a pyramidal form, cover copper diſhes, tinned over, and filled with fruits and viands ready dreſſed. Theſe diſhes are ſerved up to the King, and afterwards diſtributed among ſuch as have the honour of attending him. The march is cloſed by two or three hundred horſemen, who proceed in the ſame order as the firſt.

The King, who never appears in public, but having his face covered with a piece of ſilk gauze of different colours, ſits down at table the moment of his arrival. The moſt common diverſion of this prince is, to propoſe prizes to the noblemen of his court; and to ſhoot at a mark with a gun, with whoſe uſe they are not yet very well acquainted. After ſpending the greateſt part of the day in this exerciſe, he returns to the city, in the evening, in the ſame order as he came from it in the morning. He travels in this manner every Wedneſday and Saturday. The other days of the week he holds a council morning and evening; and adminiſters juſtice to his ſubjects, none of whoſe crimes he permits to go unpuniſhed. Proſecutions are not ſpun out to any length here. The moment a criminal is ſeized he is carried before the judge, who examines him; and, in caſe he finds him guilty, condemns him to die, when the ſentence is immediately put in execution. The criminal being laid hold on, is thrown backwards on the ground, and then beat with clubs, on the breaſt, till he expires. This kind of puniſhment was inflicted, during our ſtay in Sennar, on one Joſeph, an Ethiopian, who ſome time before had apoſtatized from the Chriſtian religion, and turned Mohammedan.

After this ſad execution, there was brought to me a ſick Mohammedan infant, about five or ſix months old, in order that I might cure her. As the child was ſo ill that I had ſcarce any hopes of her recovery, Father Brevedent baptized her ſecretly, upon pretence of giving her a medicine; and the child was ſo fortunate as to die, after having been received into Chriſt's kingdom. One would conclude, that the wonderful Providence of God was pleaſed, by this happy incident, to compenſate for the loſs ſuſtained by the weeping parents. Father Brevedent, on the other hand, was ſo overjoyed at his having opened the gates of heaven to this babe, that he aſſured me with ſuch tranſports as words could never expreſs, that had he performed but this ſingle act in his life-time, he ſhould have thought himſelf amply rewarded for all the fatigues and toils he had undergone during this journey.

Every thing is vaſtly cheap at Sennar. A camel coſts but ſeven or eight livres *, an ox two livres and a half, a ſheep fifteen-pence, and a hen a penny; and ſo in proportion for other proviſions. The people do not care for wheaten bread, and therefore they never make any but for foreigners. The bread eaten by them is made of Dora, a ſmall grain or berry mentioned before. This bread is good when new; but when above a day old, it is ſo inſipid that there is no eating it. It is made in the form of a large cake, and about the thickneſs of a crown piece. The merchandizes of this country are, elephant's teeth, tamarinds, civet, tobacco, gold duſt, &c. The market is held every day in the open ſquare, in the centre of the city, where proviſions and merchandizes of every kind are ſold. There is another market for ſlaves, in the open

* Whenever our author ſpeaks of money, we are to underſtand that of France. A livre is worth tenpence halfpenny Engliſh. Twenty-halfpence, or ſols, make a livre.

ſquare

ſpuare before the King's palace. Theſe ſit on the ground croſs-legged, the men and boys on one ſide, and the women and girls on the other. A very ſtrong, robuſt ſlave is purchaſed for ten crowns *, for which reaſon the Egyptian merchants carry off great numbers of them annually.

The ſmalleſt money uſed in Sennar is worth a double †, and is a little bit of iron, ſhaped like St. Anthony's croſs. The fadda comes from Turkey; it is a ſilver piece, very thin, of a leſs ſize than the denier ‡, and is worth a little more than a French penny or ſol §. Beſides theſe two ſorts of coins, thoſe in uſe are only Spaniſh reals and pieces of eight, and theſe muſt be round, the ſquare ones not paſſing current here. In this country a piece of eight is worth about four livres.

The heats of Sennar ‖ are ſo violent, that a perſon can ſcarce breathe in day-time. Theſe heats begin in January, and end at the cloſe of April. They are ſucceeded by heavy ſhowers of rain, which laſt three months, infect the air, and cauſe a great mortality among men and cattle. This is partly owing to the indolence of the ſlovenly inhabitants, who neglect to drain off the waters; theſe ſtagnate, and afterwards corrupting, raiſe malignant vapours.

Theſe people are naturally knaviſh; and at the ſame time, very ſuperſtitious, and ſtrongly attached to their religion, which is the Mohammedan. Whenever they meet a Chriſtian in the ſtreets, they always repeat their confeſſion of faith, which is, There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet. They are not allowed brandy, wine, nor even mead, and never drink any of thoſe liquors except in private. Their uſual liquor is a ſort of beer ſomething like that at Dongola: it is called booza, is vaſtly thick, very ill taſted, and thus prepared: they roaſt at the fire the berry dora; they then throw it into cold water, and after letting it ſoak twenty-four hours, drink it. They alſo are very fond of coffee, which liquor is not drunk in Ethiopia.

The women of quality wear a garment of ſilk, or of very fine cotton, with large ſleeves, which deſcend to the ground. Their hair is bound in treſſes, and adorned with rings of ſilver, copper, braſs, ivory, or glaſs of different colours. Theſe rings are fixed to their hair in the form of crowns; and their arms, legs, ears, and even noſtrils, are decked with them. Their fingers are filled with rings, the ſtones of which are not true; they wear nothing on their feet but a ſole, which is tied on with ſtrings. The wives and maidens among the common people are covered only from the girdle to the knee.

The merchandizes brought into the kingdom of Sennar are ſpices, paper, braſs, iron, braſs-wire, vermillion, white and yellow arſenic, toys, French ſpica, Egyptian mahaleb, which is a berry of ſtrong ſcent; chaplets of glaſs beads, made in Venice, of all colours, and a black colour, called by that people kool, and uſed by them to darken the eyes and eye-brows, upon which account it is highly valued. All the commodities above mentioned ſell likewiſe in Abyſſinia, but with this difference, that the largeſt glaſs beads are eſteemed in Sennar, and the ſmalleſt in Ethiopia.

The merchants of Sennar carry on a great traffic eaſtward. At the ſeaſon of the monſoons they take ſhipping at Saquem ¶, ſtanding on the Red Sea. The pearl-fiſhing

* A French crown (conſiſting of three livres) is worth about two ſhillings and nine-pence, Engliſh.

† A French braſs coin worth two deniers. ‡ A French braſs coin, the twelfth part of a penny.

§ The original is, *un ſol marqué*, that is, a marked or ſtamped penny, ſignifying a ſtamp made by the King of France's order, on every ſol or penny, to increaſe its value a little.

‖ Sennar, in Arabic, ſignifies poiſon and fire.

¶ It is ſubject to the Turks, and governed by a Beglerbeg. It is a good harbour, and very much frequented and ſtands about fourſcore leagues to the north of Erquico or Arquica. Some take this city for that of the Troglodytes, called antiently Ptolemais Feſarum, and Epitheras.

carried

carried on there, and the town of Saquem, belong to the Grand Signior. From thence they croſs to Mocha *, a city of Arabia Felix, and ſubject to the King of Yemen, and afterwards go to Surat, whither they carry gold, civet, elephants' teeth, and bring from thence ſpices, and other commodities of India. The merchants commonly employ two years in this voyage.

When the King of Sennar dies, the great council meet; and then, purſuant to a moſt horrid cuſtom, murder all the brothers of the prince who is to aſcend the throne. Prince Gorech was concealed till the death of the King his brother; his nurſe having carried him away unknown to this bloody council. A brother of the reigning monarch was likewiſe preſerved. This prince is now at the Ethiopian court, where he is greatly diſtinguiſhed on account of his merit and birth.

After ſpending three months in the court of the King of Sennar, who paid us the greateſt honours, we took leave of him. He was ſo gracious as to order us a ſafe-guard, called by the natives ſoccori, who were to defray all our expences, and conduct us to the frontiers of his kingdom. We then got into the large body of a tree, ſcooped in the form of a bark or boat, and croſſing the Nile the 12th of May 1699, we went and encamped at Baſboch, a large village, half a league from the city of Sennar. We waited there three days, till our whole caravan was aſſembled, and ſet out in the evening of the 15th of May. We travelled all night to Bacras, a town, the lord of which was a venerable old man, one hundred and thirty years of age, who yet ſeemed to be ſo very ſtrong and vigorous, that we did not think him to be above forty †. He had ſerved under five Kings of Sennar. We paid him a viſit, on which occaſion he received us very graciouſly, and enquired about the affairs of Europe. We made him a little preſent, in return for which he ſent ſome proviſions to our tent. We proceeded forward, and arrived next day at Abec, a mean hamlet, where nothing is ſeen but ſome poor ſhepherds' cots; and on the morrow, we came to Baha, after travelling ten hours without ſtopping anywhere. Baha is a ſmall village on an arm of the Nile, which was then dry. The 19th we ſet forward, and lay at Dodar, as inſignificant a place as Baha; and on the morrow, after travelling four hours, came to Abra, a town where we loſt two of our camels, which we recovered with great difficulty. We got to Debarka, a village, from thence to another called Bulbul; and after travelling through a very beautiful, populous country, arrived the 25th of May at Geaſim ‡, a town ſtanding on the banks of the Nile, and in the middle of a foreſt, the trees of which differ greatly from thoſe we had ſeen hitherto. They are taller than our loftieſt oaks, and ſome are ſo thick, that nine men together cannot embrace them. Their leaf is like that of a melon, and their fruit, which is vaſtly bitter, reſembles the gourd, and ſome of them are round. At Geaſim I alſo ſaw ſome of thoſe large trees, which are naturally hollow. We entered, through a little door, into a kind of room, open at top, and ſo large that fifty perſons might eaſily ſtand upright in it.

I ſaw another tree called Geling §, which is not larger than our oaks, but as lofty as the above mentioned tree. Its fruit is ſhaped like our water melon, but a little

* Mocha is the capital of a kingdom. About 200 years ſince it was only an inconſiderable village, but is now a very populous town, where a great trade is carried on. The ſtreets are wide, the houſes either of brick or ſtone, and the ſhops make a handſome appearance. The Europeans trade chiefly for coffee here.

† I fancy Dr Poncet's eyes muſt have deceived him on this occaſion; it ſcarce being poſſible, I believe, for any man ſo much more than an hundred years of age, not to appear above forty.

‡ I find none of the towns mentioned from Sennar in our maps. I believe this part of the world is very little known to the Europeans.

§ The original is Gelingue. I do not find this word in any of my dictionaries.

ſmaller.

ſmaller. It is divided, within, into little cells, filled with yellow berries or grains, and ſuch a ſubſtance as very much reſembles powdered ſugar: this ſubſtance is a little ſoweriſh but pleaſant, of a good flavour, and extremely refreſhing; and conſequently very delightful in this exceſſively hot country. The rind is hard and thick. The flower of this tree has five leaves as white as the lilly; and the berry reſembles that of the poppy.

There is likewiſe in this country another kind of tree called deleb *. It is double the height of the palm tree, and in much the ſame form. Its leaves are like that of a fan, but larger; its fruit is round, and in cluſters; and from the ſtalk to the middle part of it, a little larger than thoſe above mentioned. This fruit is covered with five very hard ſhells which form a kind of cup. It is yellow when ripe, and its rind is ſo very thick and hard, that when theſe trees are ſhaken by the winds, the fruits ſtriking one againſt the other, make a dreadful noiſe. Should any one of them break away on theſe occaſions, and fall upon a man's head, it would certainly kill him. The ſhell of this fruit being broke, (which is not done without difficulty) we perceive a great number of filaments containing a ſubſtance very like honey. This ſubſtance, which ſmells like balm, is ſo ſweet and grateful, that I do not remember ever to have taſted any thing more delicious. In the middle of this ſubſtance is a large, hard, brown lentil, and this is the ſeed of the tree in queſtion. Beſides the fruit above mentioned, this tree bears alſo another ſhaped like a raddiſh, and covered with three rinds which muſt be taken off, and has the taſte of boiled cheſtnuts.

The domi is as the male of the daleb. It is not half the height of the palm tree; but its leaves are almoſt as long, and twice the breadth. Of theſe they make baſkets, mats, and even ſails for ſuch veſſels as go on the Red Sea. This tree produces fruit a foot long, covered with five or ſix leaves, the ſubſtance of which is white, ſweet as milk, and very nouriſhing.

The tree called coogles †, is likewiſe of a ſtupendous ſize. Theſe are nine or ten thick trees twiſted together very irregularly. It bears a little leaf, but no fruit, and only ſmall blue flowers that have no ſmell. There are ſeveral other trees, wholly unknown to Europeans, in theſe wide extended foreſts.

We ſtaid nineteen days in Geaſim ‡. This town is half way between the city of Sennar and the confines of Ethiopia; and in the tenth degree of north latitude, according to the obſervation made by Father Brevedent §. Travellers who arrive at Geaſim are obliged to ſell their camels on account of the mountains they muſt croſs, and which produce herbs that poiſon theſe beaſts. For this reaſon the Ethiopians employ only mules and horſes which are not ſhod. The camels are ſold at Geaſim, upon this condition, that the venders ſhall make uſe of them as far as Girana, where they are fetched by the purchaſers. At Geaſim we ſaw a caravan of Gibertis or Mohammedans, dependent on the Emperor of Ethiopia, who treats them like ſlaves,

* I have not met with this tree in any of my lexicons. In the Religious Ceremonies of all Nations, Vol. iii. p. 269. London 1731, folio, mention is made of a tree growing in the iſland of Moeli, called the caſſia-tree. "The manner (ſays the author) how the ſticks are made, in which that kind of purgative gum is put, is pretty well known in Europe. They are long and dry when ripe; and whenever the wind blows, the ſticks with which thoſe trees are loaded wave up and down, and thus ſtriking againſt one another, form a very ſtrange noiſe to ſuch perſons as do not know what it is owing to; eſpecially if they happen to be in a foreſt, when they ſometimes hear this claſhing ſound at a great diſtance from them."

† Couglés in French. ‡ Geaſim in the original.

§ This town (Geaſim) muſt be very far in Abyſſinia, according to our maps, and a conſiderable way higher than the ſources of the Nile. Either our geographers or our traveller muſt be miſtaken.

agreeably to their name. The reaſon of our long ſtay at Geaſim was on account of the death of the Queen, mother to the King of Sennar. The officer who conducted us returned to Sennar for freſh orders from his ſovereign, and we were obliged to wait for him. This proved a ſad diſappointment to us, the rains falling in this place. At firſt they did not fall till after ſun-ſet. Theſe ſhowers are always preceeded by thunder and lightning. The ſky in the day-time is vaſtly ſerene, but the heat is intolerable.

We left Geaſim the 11th of June; and after travelling five hours, came to a village called Deleb, on account of the vaſt viſtos of the trees ſo named, which extend out of ſight. We travelled a long way in theſe delightful allies, they being planted chequer-wiſe. The next day we arrived at Sho *, a village ſituated on the Nile; and the day following at Abotkna, where we ſaw a kind of box which is neither ſo leafy nor ſo ſtrong as ours. All this way we came through vaſt groves of tamarind trees, which have a perpetual verdure, and the leaf is larger than that of the cypreſs-tree. The tree in queſtion produces ſmall blue odoriferous flowers, and a fruit very like the plumb: it is called erdeb in this country. Theſe foreſts of tamarind-trees are ſo very tufted that the ſun cannot pierce through them. We ſpent the following night in the valley of Sonnone, in the middle of a beautiful meadow; and in two days reached Serka †, a neat city, conſiſting of five or ſix hundred houſes, which are very pretty, though built only of Indian canes or reeds. Serka ſtands in a fine valley, ſurrounded with mountains. At our going out of this city we come to a ſmall river, which ſeparates Ethiopia from the kingdom of Sennar.

From Serka, which we left on the 20th of June, to Gondar ‡, the capital of Ethiopia, we met with a great number of fine ſprings; and an almoſt continual range of mountains in different forms, but all very agreeable, and covered with trees unknown in Europe, which ſeemed to us loftier and more beautiful than thoſe of Sennar. Theſe mountains, ſome of which are pyramidal, and others in the form of a cone, are ſo well cultivated, that not the leaſt ſpot is ſuffered to lie uſeleſs; and at the ſame time, are ſo populous, that a traveller would imagine them to be one continued city. The next day we lay at Tambiſſo, a large village belonging to the patriarch of Ethiopia, and on the morrow we reached Abead, ſituated on a high mountain, covered with ſycamore-trees. The country, quite from Geaſim to this place, is covered with cotton. The 23d of June we ſtopt in a valley full of ebony-trees and Indian canes, where a lion carried off one of our camels. Lions are common in this country, and their roaring is heard all night; travellers ſecure themſelves from them by lighting up and keeping in great fires. On theſe mountains are found ſquinautes §, and a great many other aromatic plants and herbs.

The 24th we croſſed the river of Gandova ‖, which is very deep and very rapid, whence the croſſing of it is rendered vaſtly dangerous. It is not quite ſo wide as the Seine at Paris. It ruſhes from the mountains with ſo much impetuoſity that, in over-

* Chau in the original.

† Serké, in French. All theſe parts ſeem *terra incognita* to the Europeans.

‡ Other writers, and particularly Ludolf, (I think) call the capital of Abyſſinia, Aſabara, being alſo the name of a province. Either they or our traveller muſt be miſtaken, unleſs ſome change ſhould have happened in Ethiopia ſince the time of Ludolf, &c. I ſuppoſe, however, that this city Gondar is that called Gontar, placed in about 13 degrees of north latitude by Moll. If it be true that the Abyſſinian monarch generally keeps his court in a camp, and the people live more under tents than in houſes, I do not know any place in Ethiopia, which we could properly call a capital.

§ I have not been able to make any diſcovery with regard to this plant.

‖ I do not find this river in our maps.

flowing,

flowing, it drags along all things in its way. On theſe occaſions, it ſometimes ſwells to ſuch a degree, that it is ten days before travellers can get over. As the river happened to be very low at that time, we croſſed it with eaſe. This river falls into another called Tekeſel *, or the dreadful; and theſe two rivers uniting together empty themſelves in the Nile. We croſſed two other large rivers on the morrow. Their banks were lined with box-trees, of a ſurprizing thickneſs, and as tall as our beech-trees. That day one of our beaſts of burthen ſtraying from the caravan, was bit in the thigh by a bear. The wound was large and dangerous; but the people of the country applying only a cauſtic and fire to it, the beaſt was perfectly cured.

The 26th we entered a wide plain covered with pomegranate-trees, and ſpent the night there in ſight of Girana, whither we arrived next day. Girana is a village on the top of a mountain, whence we have a proſpect of the fineſt country in the world †. Here we travel in another manner, we quitting our camels in order to ride on horſe-back, as was before obſerved. The lord of Girana came and paid us a viſit, and ordered refreſhments to be brought us. Here we found a guard of thirty men ſent by the Emperor of Ethiopia for our ſecurity, and in honour to the patriarch's brother who was in our caravan; and we were freed from all care of the baggage, purſuant to the cuſtom of that empire. The manner of doing this is as follows.

When the Emperor of Ethiopia invites any perſon to his court, his baggage is intruſted with the lord of the firſt village which happens to lie in the way. This lord puts it into the hands of his vaſſals, who are obliged to carry it to the neighbouring village. Theſe give it to the inhabitants of the ſecond village, who carry it to the next they meet with, and ſo on till it gets to the capital; all which is performed with ſurpriſing exactneſs and fidelity.

The rains, the fatigue of the journey, and eſpecially Father Brevedent's indiſpoſition, obliged us to ſtay ſome days in Girana. We left it the firſt of July; and after travelling three hours over mountains and through almoſt unpaſſable ways, we arrived at Barangea, and the next day at Shelga ‡, a large and beautiful city ſurrounded with aloes. This is a place of great trade; a market is kept there every day, whither the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns come to ſell civet, gold, and all ſorts of cattle and proviſions. The King of Sennar keeps in this city, with the conſent of the Emperor of Ethiopia, a cuſtom-houſe officer, who receives the duty paid on all the cotton brought out of his kingdom into Ethiopia; and theſe duties are equally divided between the two princes. Two leagues from Shelga, northward, is ſeen a torrent which falls from a very high and very ſteep mountain, and forms ſuch a natural caſcade as art could ſcarcely imitate. As the water of this caſcade is divided into various canals or ſtreams, it paſſes through the whole country, and renders it vaſtly fruitful.

The third of July we arrived at Barkô, a ſmall but very pretty city, ſtanding in the midſt of a moſt agreeable plain, and half a day's journey from the capital of Ethiopia. We were forced to ſtop in this place, I myſelf falling grievouſly ſick; and my dear companion Father Brevedent being in a few days brought near his end, occaſioned by

* I ſuppoſe this is the river called Tacaze in Moll, which takes a long courſe, and empties itſelf in the Nile.

† The moſt eſteemed travellers who have been in Abyſſinia declare it to be either ſurrounded by mountains, or by deſerts that are next to unpaſſable; but that the country within theſe is vaſtly beautiful and level, watered by ſeveral fine rivers, and diverſified with woods and plains, ſtocked with palm-trees, dates, and cedars.

‡ Chelga in French. I do not find either this or Barangoa in our maps.

his taking a violent purge of ricinus Americanus *, called cataputia, which had been preſcribed for him, very improperly, at Tripoli in Syria. This medicine, which is ever dangerous in the opinion of a very learned man †, had thrown him into a very troubleſome purging, which he had always concealed from me out of modeſty. I no ſooner heard of his illneſs but I got myſelf carried to his chamber, notwithſtanding my being vaſtly out of order. My tears rather than my expreſſions informed him that I thought it was impoſſible for me to do him any ſervice, and that his diſeaſe was mortal. Theſe tears were ſincere; and could I have ſaved him, though I had loſt my own life, I ſhould have ſacrificed it with pleaſure. But he was ripe for heaven, and the Almighty thought proper to recompence his apoſtolical labours. I had known him at Grand Cairo, where his reputation was ſo great, that it was believed God had indulged him with more than ordinary graces, and even endowed him with the gift of miracles and prophecy ‡.

This is the idea I had formed to myſelf of him from common fame, the truth of which I myſelf afterwards knew perfectly, by various predictions with regard to his own death, and by ſeveral other things which happened to me exactly as he had foretold them. During his whole journey the Almighty was the only topic of his diſcourſe; and his words were forcible, and in ſuch a ſtrain of piety, that they made the deepeſt impreſſion on my mind. In his latter moments his heart ſeemed almoſt inſenſible to any emotions except thoſe of love and gratitude towards his Creator; and theſe emotions were ſo rapturous that I ſhall never forget them. In ſuch ſentiments this holy man breathed his laſt in a foreign land, within ſight of the capital of Ethiopia; in like manner as St. Francis Xavier, whoſe name-ſake he was, formerly died before China, juſt as he was entering it, in the deſign of winning over that empire to Chriſt.

To do juſtice to Father Brevedent's character, I muſt declare that I never knew a man who diſcovered greater intrepidity in danger, more firmneſs and reſolution in ſupporting the cauſe of religion, or more modeſty and piety in his general behaviour and conduct. He died the ninth of July 1699, at three in the afternoon. Several Ethiopian friars who happened to ſee him expire were ſo touched, ſo edified by it, that I do not doubt but they will preſerve, as long as they live, a great veneration for the memory of this holy miſſionary. Theſe friars came on the morrow in a body, dreſſed in their ſacerdotal veſtments, with each an iron croſs in his hand. After offering up the prayers for the dead, and making the uſual perfumings with incenſe, they themſelves carried the body into a church dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, and buried it there.

My illneſs, and the grief with which I was ſeized, detained me in Barko till the twenty-firſt of July, when I ſet out for Gondar §, at which city I arrived in the evening. I alighted at the palace, where an apartment was prepared for me near that of one of the Emperor's children. The very next day I had the honour to ſee this monarch, who, at the ſame time that he diſcovered the greateſt goodneſs for me, expreſſed his ſorrow for the death of my companion, whoſe merit and capacity had been hinted to him. He bid me take all the reſt neceſſary for the recovery of my health, before I

* In French, pignons d'Inde. I am not ſure whether this is the ricinus Americanus, which is the fruit of a tree very common in the iſland Antilles in America. It grows to the height of a fig-tree, and is ſhaped like it. This fruit purges violently downwards, and ſometimes upwards.

† Philoſ. Coſmopol.

‡ Dr. Poncet ſeems here, and on one occaſion or two more, to be of a ſuperſtitious turn of mind, though in other reſpects an agreeable writer.

§ This capital city is called Gondar a Catma, that is, City of the Seal.

attempted to appear in public. He uſed to come through a little gallery which led to my apartment, and viſit me almoſt every day; and when I had a little more ſtrength, which the toils and fatigues of my journey had greatly impaired, I had the honour to be admitted to a public audience, on the 10th of Auguſt, about ten in the morning. Some perſons came then to my room, and after making me croſs upwards of twenty apartments *, I found myſelf in a hall, where the Emperor was ſeated on his throne; it was a kind of ſofa, covered with a carpet of red damaſk, enriched with gold flowers: around were placed large cuſhions worked with gold. This throne, the feet of which are of ſolid gold, was placed at the upper end of the hall, in an alcove covered with a dome all ſhining with gold and blue. The Emperor was in a ſilken veſt embroidered with gold, with very long ſleeves; and the ſaſh which went round him was embroidered in the ſame taſte. He was bare-headed, and his hair was diſpoſed very agreeably in treſſes: a large emerald † glittered above his forehead, and diffuſed an air of majeſty. He was alone in his alcove, ſeated on his couch, and croſs-legged after the manner of the eaſterns. The chief noblemen ſtood in a line on each ſide of him, their hands croſſed; and they obſerved a reſpectful ſilence.

Being come to the foot of the throne, I made three very low bows to the Emperor, and kiſſed his hand. This is an honour he indulges only to ſuch perſons as he is pleaſed to diſtinguiſh; for as to others he does not give them his hands to kiſs till after they have proſtrated themſelves three times, and kiſſed his feet. I then preſented him with the letter written by Mr. Maillet, the French conſul, which being interpreted that inſtant, ſeemed to give him ſatisfaction. He aſked me ſeveral queſtions concerning the perſon of His Majeſty, whom he ſpoke of as the greateſt and moſt powerful prince in Europe ‡; concerning the ſtate of the royal family, and the grandeur and forces of France. After having anſwered theſe ſeveral queſtions, I gave him my preſents, conſiſting in pictures, looking-glaſſes, vaſes of chryſtal, and other works in glaſs all curiouſly wrought. The Emperor received them very graciouſly; and as I was ſtill weak he commanded me to ſit down, when a magnificent collation was ſerved up.

The next day the monarch himſelf, and one of his children, began to enter upon a courſe of phyſic; and both followed my preſcriptions very exactly, and theſe were ſo happy in their effects, that they were perfectly cured in a ſhort time. This ſucceſs won me new favour, ſo that the Emperor treated me with greater familiarity than before. He ſeemed to be of a very devout frame of mind: though he was ſtill under a courſe of phyſic, he yet reſolved to receive the ſacrament, and to appear in public on the day of the Aſſumption of the Virgin, to which the Ethiopians pay a particular regard. The monarch invited me to that ceremony, and accordingly I went to it about eight o'clock. I ſaw about twelve thouſand men drawn up in battle array in the great court of the palace §. The Emperor's head was then covered with a piece of muſlin

* This muſt be a large pile of building, contrary to what we are told by ſome writers, who affirm that there are none of any conſiderable extent in Abyſſinia. Theſe travellers relate, that the monarch in queſtion generally keeps, as was before obſerved, his court in a camp, which is diſpoſed in the form of ſtreets. As he is ever attended by his nobles, officers, tradeſmen, &c., this camp never fails of being well ſupplied with proviſions, &c. But moſt writers affirm that the buildings in Abyſſinia are very mean, being ſo many huts made only of clay and little pieces of wood; that the Abyſſinians, when the Europeans firſt came among them about two centuries ago, had neither palaces, churches, nor walled towns: however, that the miſſionaries afterwards taught them to build theſe, but that very few of them are ſtanding at this time.

† It is related that the largeſt emeralds in the world come from this country.

‡ The French ſeldom or never fail to exalt their own monarch, on all occaſions, and in all places.

§ We are told that the Abyſſinian monarch is crowned in one of the chief churches with a ſort of coronet, enriched with glittering ſtones, and which their metropolitan places on his head, before his nobles and clergy; and that anthems are ſung, and guns fired on thoſe occaſions.

ſtreaked

ſtreaked with gold threads, which formed a kind of crown after the manner of the antients, having the middle part of his head bare, and he wore a veſt of blue velvet, adorned with gold flowers, which reached to the ground: his ſhoes were after the Indian faſhion, wrought with pearls in flowers. Two princes of the blood in ſplendid dreſſes waited for him at the gate of the palace, holding a magnificent canopy, under which the Emperor walked, preceded by his trumpets, kettle-drums, fifes, harps, hautboys, and other inſtruments, which formed an agreeable ſymphony. He was followed by the ſeven chief miniſters of the empire, who held each other by the arm, their heads being covered much after the ſame manner with that of the Emperor, with every one a lance in his hand. The miniſter who walked in the middle was bare-headed, and carried the imperial crown, which leaned againſt his ſtomach, and ſeemed to give him pain. This crown, which is cloſe, and adorned at the top with a croſs of jewels, is vaſtly magnificent. I marched in the ſame rank with the miniſters, in a Turkiſh dreſs, and led by an officer whoſe arm was under mine: the crown officers, all holding by one another in the ſame manner, followed, ſinging alternately in praiſe of the Emperor. The muſketeers dreſſed in cloſe-bodied veſts of different colours came afterwards, and were followed by archers armed with bows and arrows. The march was cloſed by the Emperor's led horſes, in ſplendid trappings, and covered with very rich gold ſtuffs which reached to the ground, and over theſe were very beautiful tiger-ſkins.

The patriarch, cloathed in his pontifical veſtments wrought with gold croſſes, ſtood at the chapel door, accompanied by near an hundred friars dreſſed in white: they were drawn up in two lines, each holding an iron croſs, ſome being within and others without the chapel. The patriarch at his entrance into the chapel called *Tenſa Chriſtos*, or the Church of the Reſurrection, took the Emperor by the right hand, and led him near to the altar through two lines of friars, each of whom held a lighted torch. The canopy was carried over the Emperor till ſuch time as he came to his deſk, which was covered with a rich carpet, and very like the deſks of the Italian prelates. The Emperor ſtood almoſt the whole time till the receiving of the ſacrament, which the patriarch adminiſtered to him under both kinds. The ceremonies of the maſs * are beautiful and majeſtic; but I have not ſo diſtinct an idea of them as to be able to deſcribe them in this place.

The ceremony being ended, two cannon were fired, in the ſame manner as at the entrance, and then the Emperor left the chapel, and returned to the palace in the ſame order he came to it. The miniſter who carried the crown gave it to the chief treaſurer, who carried it to the treaſury, attended by a company of fuſiliers. The Emperor being entered the great hall of the palace, ſeated himſelf on a very high throne; having the two princes, his ſons, on each ſide, and after them the miniſters. With regard to myſelf, I was placed oppoſite to the monarch. All ſtood ſilent, and with their arms acroſs. The Emperor, having taken ſome mead, and orange peel, which was preſented to him in a golden cup; ſuch as had any favour to ſue for came in; when advancing to the foot of the throne, one of the miniſters took their petitions, and read them aloud. The Emperor himſelf alſo read them ſometimes, and immediately anſwered them.

* By this expreſſion one would imagine that Dr. Poncet would have it ſuppoſed that the Ethiopians ſolemnize maſs as the Roman Catholics: but, according to the beſt authors, the religion of the Ethiopians ſeems to be a mixture of Chriſtianity and Judaiſm, the former of the two coming nearer to the Greek church than that of the Latins; for it is ſaid that they keep both the Jewiſh and Chriſtian ſabbath; that they uſe circumciſion and baptiſm. It is generally agreed that they adminiſter the ſacrament in both kinds; and believe in the real preſence, but not in tranſubſtantiation.

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The monarch dined that day in public, and in the moſt auguſt manner practiſed on certain occaſions. He ſat on a ſort of bed, and had a large table before him. There were ſeveral other lower ones for the lords of his court. The viands eat on theſe occaſions are beef, mutton, and fowls. They are generally toſſed up ragoo faſhion; but are ſeaſoned ſo ſtrongly with pepper; and other ſpices unknown to us, that an European cannot reliſh them. They are ſerved in China diſhes, and ſingly. I ſaw no wild fowl, and was aſſured that the Ethiopians never eat any. I was ſurpriſed to obſerve raw beef ſet upon the Emperor's table. It is ſeaſoned after a very particular manner. A piece of beef being cut into pieces, theſe are ſprinkled with the gall of the ox, which is an excellent diſſolvent, and they then are powdered with pepper and ſpices. This ragoo, which, according to them, is the moſt exquiſite diſh that can be taſted, was loathſome to my palate. The Emperor did not touch it, upon my aſſuring him that nothing would be more injurious to his health. There alſo is another way of ſeaſoning raw meats. Theſe people take, from the paunches of oxen, herbs which the beaſt had not yet digeſted. Theſe they mix with the meat; and adding muſtard, make a ragoo of the whole, which they call menta. This ragoo is ſtill more unpalatable than the former.

As the table at which I was ſeated ſtood near that of the Emperor, he ſpoke to me often. His diſcourſe generally turned on the perſon of our King, and the wonders of his reign. He told me he was charmed with the character which one of his ambaſſadors, at his return from India, gave of him; and that he conſidered our prince as the hero of Europe. All the diſhes are taſted here as in France; an officer taſting of them ſeverally as they are ſerved up to the Emperor. That monarch firſt drank a little brandy, preſented to him in a chryſtal veſſel; and mead during the whole entertainment. If he happens to commit any exceſs, it is hinted to him, on which occaſion he riſes from table that inſtant*.

The reader will probably wonder to hear, that in a country where there are ſuch excellent grapes, mead only ſhould be drunk. This ſurpriſed me at firſt; but I was told, that† wine made with grapes would not keep, on account of the violent heat; and as it corrupts ſo ſoon, the Emperor does not love it any more than the common people; whereas mead, which is univerſally liked, is made in manner following‡. They take barley, make it ſprout, and roaſt it in much the ſame manner as we do coffee, and then pound it. The ſame is done to a root called taddo, which grows in the country. They then take a veſſel varniſhed over, when pouring in ſome water, and a fourth part honey, they mix them; and to ten pounds of this water, put two ounces of barley, and two ounces of taddo. The whole is mixed together, and being left to ferment three hours in a warm place, they ſtir it from time to time; and three days after this they have excellent mead, pure, clarified, and of the colour of Spaniſh white wine. This is a delightful liquor, but requires a more vigorous ſtomach than mine. It is ſtrong; and the Abyſſinians draw a brandy from it, which is as good as ours.

After the entertainment, the Empreſs came and paid a viſit to the Emperor. She was covered with jewels, and her whole dreſs was magnificent. This princeſs is of a white complexion, and her air and gait declare her dignity. The moment ſhe ap-

* What European monarch would permit this?

† It is nevertheleſs ſaid by ſome travellers, that no preſent is more agreeable from an European to the Abyſſinian monarch than ſome bottles of our wine.

‡ One great reaſon very poſſibly why mead or metheglin is drunk ſo much in this country is, becauſe it abounds very much in honey. It is likewiſe ſaid that they have liquors made of wheat and rice.

peared, the whole court withdrew out of reſpect; but the Emperor bid me and the friar, who ſerved as interpreter, ſtay. The Empreſs conſulted me about certain inconveniences ſhe complained of; and afterwards aſked whether the French ladies are well ſhaped; ſhe likewiſe enquired about their dreſs, and what were their moſt uſual employments *.

The palace is large and ſpacious, and delightfully ſituated. It ſtands in the centre of the city, on an eminence which ſurveys the whole country. It is about a league round †. The walls are of free-ſtone, flanked with towers, on which are raiſed great ſtone-croſſes. There are four imperial chapels within the palace; and theſe are called Beit Chriſtian, as are other churches of the empire, that is, Houſes of the Chriſtians. An hundred friars officiate in them; and theſe friars have likewiſe the direction of a college, where the officers of the palace are taught to read the Scriptures.

The Princeſs Helcia, ſiſter to the Emperor, has a magnificent palace in the city of Gondar. As the princeſſes in Ethiopia are not allowed to marry foreigners, one of the chief lords of the Empire is her huſband. She goes thrice a week to the palace to viſit the Emperor, her brother, who has the greateſt eſteem and friendſhip for her. Whenever that lady appears in public, ſhe is mounted on a mule richly capariſoned; with two of her women (one on each ſide) carrying a canopy. She is ſurrounded by four or five hundred women ſinging verſes in her praiſe; and ſounding tabors in a very ſprightly tone. Some of the houſes in Gondar are built after the European manner; but moſt of them are in the form of a cone ‡.

Although the city of Gondar is three or four leagues in circumference, it yet has not the beautiful air of our cities, nor can ever have it, becauſe the houſes are but of one ſtory, and there are no ſhops; notwithſtanding which a great trade is carried on here §. All the merchants or tradeſmen meet in a vaſtly large open place, to tranſact their buſineſs, and there the ſeveral commodities are expoſed to ſale. The market laſts from morning till night, and commodities of every kind are ſold in it. Every trader has a place fit for his purpoſe, where the goods he ſells are ſpread on a mat. The monies current in this country are ‖ gold and ſalt. Gold is not coined with the prince's image, as in Europe, but continues in ingots, which the traders cut, as they have occaſion, from an ounce to half a dram, worth thirty pence of our money; and to prevent its being debaſed, there are goldſmiths every where, who make an eſſay of it. Rock-ſalt (exceedingly white and hard) is uſed as the ſmall money. It is taken out of the mountain Lafta, whence it is carried into the Emperor's warehouſes, and there cut into large flat pieces ¶ called amooli, and into half pieces called coorman. Every amooli is a foot long, and three inches thick. Ten of theſe amooli are worth

* If our traveller gave the Empreſs a genuine account of the manner in which the French ladies paſs their time, it muſt have appeared extremely odd to her.

† According to moſt relations of Abyſſinia, one would not have imagined that there had been any building of the vaſt dimenſions of this palace; nor that there were any cities in this country as large as our traveller afterwards declares Gondar to be. It is uſually ſaid that the houſes of the common people are only little huts of green boughs and clay. When relations of the ſame thing or place are directly oppoſite, a thinking man is naturally apt to be a ſceptic on thoſe occaſions.

‡ The French is, *à un entonnoir renverſe*, i. e. to a funnel ſtanding on the broad end.

§ The chief trade of the Abyſſinians is, they barter gold, emeralds, and fine horſes, for ſilks, ſtuffs, calicoes, linen, and carpets. Very few Abyſſinians travel into other countries, ſo that their trade is managed by Arabians, Jews, or Armenians. The Turks will not let them traffic with any other nation but themſelves; and on this account maintain a ſtrict guard upon the Red Sea, to keep out every other people.

‖ It is ſaid there are vaſt quantities of gold in this empire, though there are no gold mines wrought.

¶ The original ſays, *On le forme en tablettes*, which ſignifies literally, in the ſhape of lozenges.

three

three French crowns. They are broke according as the payment is greater or leſs; and this ſalt is employed not only as money, but likewiſe for domeſtic uſes.

There are about an hundred churches in the city of Gondar. The patriarch, who is the head in religious matters *, and reſides in a noble palace near the patriarchal church, is ſubordinate to the patriarch of Alexandria, who conſecrates him. He nominates the ſeveral ſuperiors of the monaſteries, and has an abſolute power over all the monks†, who are very numerous; there being no other prieſts in Ethiopia except theſe, as there are no other biſhops but the patriarch. The Emperor pays the latter the higheſt regard. He ordered me to viſit him, and gave me ſome curioſities to preſent him with. This prelate, whoſe name is Abona Marcos, received me very civilly; when putting a ſtole about my neck, and holding an enamelled croſs in his hand, he repeated certain prayers over my head, as a declaration that he would conſider me, from this time, as one of his flock and of his ſons. The prieſts have a great aſcendant over the people, but they ſometimes make an ill uſe of it. The Emperor Atee Baſilee, grandfather to the monarch who now ſways the ſceptre ſo glorioufly, cauſed ſeven thouſand of them to be thrown headlong from the mountain of Balbo, for rebelling againſt him. The reader may form a judgment of the vaſt multitude there are in this empire, from what I was one day told by the predeceſſor of the preſent patriarch, viz. that he had made, in one ordination, ten thouſand prieſts and ſix thouſand deacons. The whole ceremony of ordination conſiſts in this: the patriarch, being ſeated, reads the beginning of St. John's goſpel over the heads of ſuch as are to be ordained prieſts; and gives them his bleſſing with an iron croſs ‡ weighing ſeven or eight pounds, which he holds in his hand. As to the deacons, he only gives them his bleſſing without reading the goſpel.

The predeceſſor of the preſent patriarch, who had been the Emperor's tutor or governor, died, during my abode, in the city of Gondar. Though he had been removed on account of his irregular life, nevertheleſs the monarch, out of gratitude for the excellent education he had received from his preceptor, had always ſhewn him a particular affection. He fell ſick at Tanket, a country ſeat of his. The Emperor commanded me to viſit him, and deſired me to preſerve the life of a man who was dear to him. I accordingly ſtaid two days with him, to enquire into his diſtemper; when finding it would be impoſſible for him to recover, I did not adminiſter a ſingle doſe of phyſic, leſt I ſhould loſe my reputation among an ignorant people, who poſſibly would have reported that I had killed him; he dying two days after.

At my return, I met with the moſt extraordinary accident that ever befel me. I was coming from Gondar, attended by my ſervants, mounted on a mule; that beaſt being generally uſed in this country for travelling. The mule took fright on a ſudden, and run away with the utmoſt fury, though I did all that lay in my power to ſtop him. I croſſed with dreadful ſwiftneſs three vaſtly deep precipices, without receiving the leaſt hurt. I ſeemed, by a particular protection of heaven, as faſtened to the beaſt, who rather flew than ran. Moorat, whom the Emperor has ſent ambaſſador to France,

* According to the moſt approved travellers, the Emperor is head in ſpirituals as well as in temporals.

† Theſe monks do not dwell in cloiſters, but live in ſeparate huts, a great number of which are raiſed near ſome church, where every monk officiates in his turn; and each of theſe villages, if I may ſo term them, of huts, is ſubject to an abbot. Theſe monks till the ground, and ſupport themſelves by their labour, which cannot be ſaid of many of thoſe among the Roman Catholics. The Abyſſinian monks are not allowed to marry, which poſſibly muſt be underſtood only of ſuch as are in preſbyter's, or prieſt's orders, it being ſaid that ſub-preſbyters, deacons, and ſub-deacons may marry once.

‡ The clergy always have a croſs in their hands, which all who meet them kiſs. They have no images in their churches, but many pictures.

and is now in Grand Cairo, where he waits for his orders, as well as all my ſervants, were eye-witneſſes to this ſurprizing accident, which father Brevedent foretold me a little before he died *.

The Emperor ſeemed inconſolable on account of the old patriarch's death. He went into mourning ſix weeks; and, during the firſt fortnight, bewailed him twice a day. A purple dreſs is uſed (by princes) for mourning in Ethiopia, as in France.

The Ethiopians hate the Mohammedans and Europeans much alike, the occaſion of which is as follows: The Mohammedans riſing to great power in Ethiopia, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, ſeized upon the government; but the Abyſſinians abhorring their ſevere and odious yoke, called to their aſſiſtance the Portugueze, who, at that time, were famous in India, where they were juſt ſettled. Theſe new conquerors were extremely well pleaſed to have free acceſs to Ethiopia. Accordingly they marched againſt the Mohammedans, fought, defeated them entirely, and reſtored the imperial family to the throne. The important ſervice the Portugueze did on this occaſion, made them conſiderable in the court of Ethiopia, for which reaſon many of them ſettled there, and were honoured with the chief employments. Their numbers increaſing, their manners became depraved; and they at laſt grew ſo inſolent that the Ethiopians were fired with jealouſy, imagined that they deſigned to ſeize on their country, and make it dependant on the crown of Portugal. This ſuſpicion animated the common people, even to fury, againſt the Portugueze; upon which they immediately took up arms every where, and made a dreadful havoc of thoſe foreigners, at a time when they fancied themſelves moſt ſtrongly ſettled in the empire. Thoſe who eſcaped the maſſacre obtained leave to quit the country. Accordingly ſeven thouſand Portugueze families left it, and ſettled either in India, or on the coaſts of Africa. However, ſome ſtaid in the country; and from theſe families ſprung the white Ethiopians who are ſtill ſeen there; and from whom, we are told, the preſent Empreſs, mentioned above, is deſcended. Mohammedans are permitted to inhabit the city of Gondar, but only in the lower part of it, and in a diſtrict by themſelves. They are called gibertis, that is, ſlaves. The Ethiopians cannot bear to eat with them; they would not even touch any meat that had been killed by a Mohammedan, nor drink out of a cup which had touched his lips, unleſs a friar had firſt bleſſed it, by making the ſign of the croſs; repeating prayers; and blowing thrice over the cup, as though to drive the evil ſpirit from it. Whenever an Ethiopian meets a Mohammedan in the ſtreets, he ſalutes him with his left hand, which is a mark of contempt.

The empire of Ethiopia is of a vaſt extent †, and conſiſts of ſeveral kingdoms. That of Tigra, the viceroy whereof, named Gorekos, preſides over twenty-four principalities, which are ſo many little governments. The kingdom of Ago ‡ is one of the Emperor's new conqueſts, and was formerly a commonwealth, having its own laws and government. The Emperor of Ethiopia has always two armies on foot; one on the frontiers of the kingdom of Neroſea, and the other on the frontiers of the kingdom of Goyam, where the richeſt gold mines are found §. All the ore brought

* I am ſorry to find theſe weakneſſes in our traveller.

† Travellers whoſe veracity is moſt eſteemed relate, that the empire of Abyſſinia is not above a thouſand miles in circumference. Writers differ very much in their accounts of the extent of this empire, one reaſon of which may be, that ſome parts of it may have been ſubdued and diſmembered.

‡ Agau.

§ I had obſerved before, that moſt travellers affirm that no gold mines are wrought here.

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from theſe mines is carried to Gondar, where it is refined and caſt into ingots, which are depoſited in the imperial treaſury, whence they are never taken out, except to pay the troops and defray the expences of the court *.

The great power of the Emperor conſiſts in this, that he is abſolute maſter of whatever his ſubjects poſſeſs; he taking away, or beſtowing at pleaſure. Whenever the father of a family dies, the monarch ſeizes all his real eſtate, two-thirds of which he leaves to his children or his heirs. He beſtows the remaining third to another perſon, who hereby becomes his feudatory, and is obliged to ſerve in the wars at his own expence, and to furniſh ſoldiers in proportion to the eſtate he beſtows upon him. By that means the Abyſſinian monarch, who has a numberleſs multitude of theſe feudatories, can raiſe powerful armies in a ſhort time, and at a ſmall expence.

In every province is a comptroller's office, where an exact regiſter is kept of all poſſeſſions that revert to the imperial domain, by the death of the poſſeſſor, and which are afterwards beſtowed on feudatories. The manner in which perſons are inveſted with theſe fiefs or poſſeſſions are as follow: The monarch ſends to the perſon whom he has appointed his feudatory, a ſlip or piece of taffety, on which the following words are writ in gold letters, *Jeſus, Emperor of Ethiopia, of the Tribe of Juda, ever victorious over his enemies* †. The officer who carries this order from the Emperor, fixes the piece of ſilk, with ceremony, on the forehead of the new feudatory; and afterwards goes, attended by trumpets, kettle-drums, and other inſtruments, and ſome horſemen, and puts him in poſſeſſion of the new eſtate.

The Emperor's anceſtors uſed to appear in public on ſtated days, but the preſent monarch has freed himſelf from that ſervitude; he going abroad whenever he thinks proper, either with or without ſplendor. When he comes forth in ceremony, he is mounted on a horſe richly capariſoned, ſurrounded by a great body of horſe, and preceded and followed by a guard of two thouſand men. As the ſun is ſo intenſely hot in Ethiopia, that it flays the ſkin off the face, unleſs the utmoſt care be taken; to prevent this, the Emperor has a piece of thick paper, of the paſteboard kind, which being bent in a ſemi-circular form, and covered with a rich gold ſtuff, is fixed under his chin. This he does that he may not be troubled with an umbrella, but be cooled by the air both before and behind. The moſt uſual diverſion of this monarch is to exerciſe his troops, and ſhoot with a muſket, in which he is ſo expert, that he is thought to be the beſt markſman in all his empire.

The rains continue ſix months in Ethiopia, they beginning in April, and not ceaſing till the end of September. During the firſt three months, the weather is ſerene and beautiful in the day-time; but the inſtant the ſun ſets, it falls a raining, and continues to do ſo until ſun-riſe, on which occaſions there are commonly thunder and lightning. The cauſe of the overflowing of the Nile, which happens regularly every year in Egypt, has long been ſought, and falſely aſcribed to the melting of the ſnows, I being of opinion that no ſnow was ever ſeen in that country. We need ſearch for no other cauſe of this inundation, than thoſe rains which fall with ſo much violence, that they

* According to Dr. Poncet, the Abyſſinian monarch is very powerful; but others relate, that the Turks have quite clipped his wings. This was owing to the civil war which the Ethiopians carried on againſt him, which the Turks taking advantage of, ſeized on all his territories lying on the Red Sea, and by that means prevented his having the leaſt intercourſe with any nation but themſelves.

† It is ſaid that every Emperor, at his acceſſion, aſſumes a particular name, or rather motto, as the Beloved of God, Son of the Pillar of Sion, of the Seed of Jacob, of the Poſterity of David and Solomon; they having a tradition, that they are deſcended, by the Queen of Sheba, from Solomon.

ſeem to form a deluge *. The rivers then ſwell in an extraordinary manner, and, with their impetuoſity, carry along gold much purer than that taken out of the mines. The peaſants gather it up very carefully. There is ſcarce any country more populous, or more fruitful, than Ethiopia. All the plains, and even the mountains, of which there are a great number, are cultivated. We ſee entire plains covered with cardamum † and ginger, which diffuſes a very agreeable fragrancy; and the plant which produces it is four times the ſize of that of India. The multitude of large rivers which water Ethiopia, whoſe banks are always embelliſhed with lillies, junquils, tulips, and a vaſt variety of other flowers which I never ſaw in Europe, make this country a perfect paradiſe. The foreſts are filled with orange and lemon trees, jaſmin, pomegranate, and ſeveral other trees filled with flowers of exquiſite beauty and theſe ſhed delicious odours. We here find a tree which produces a ſort of roſes much more fragrant than ours.

I ſaw an animal of an extraordinary ſpecies in this country. It is not much larger than a cat, but has the face of a man, and a white beard ‡. Its voice is like that of a perſon's bewailing himſelf. This animal keeps always upon a tree; and, as I was aſſured, is brought forth and dies upon it. It is ſo very wild that there is no taming it. If a man catches one of them, and endeavours to preſerve it, though he takes ever ſo much pains, the creature waſtes, and quite pines with melancholy until it dies. One of them was taken down before me: the creature, fixing itſelf to the bough of a tree, by entwining its legs one within the other, died ſome days after.

As ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon is over, the Emperor uſually takes the field. He makes war on the Kings of Galla and Shangalla §, who are his moſt powerful enemies. Theſe princes, who were formerly tributaries to the Abyſſinian empire, obſerving its weakneſs, took that opportunity to ſhake off the yoke, and live independent. But the preſent Emperor commanded them to ſtand to their former engagements, which they refuſing, he proclaimed war againſt them. He defeated them in ſeveral battles, which has intimidated thoſe nations to ſuch a degree, that the moment the Ethiopian army appears in the field, the others retire upon inacceſſible mountains, and there ſell their lives very dear whenever they are attacked. This war was, at firſt, very bloody, a great number of brave men being cut to pieces daily, occaſioned by the ſoldiers poiſoning their arms with the juice of a fruit very much reſembling our red gooſeberries; ſo that whenever any perſon had the ill fortune to be wounded, he was a dead man. The Ethiopians, grieved at the numerous loſſes they ſuſtained, found, not long ſince, an infallible antidote againſt this violent poiſon, by making a poultice of ſand, which they beat up with their urine. This poultice being applied to the wound, draws forth the venom ſo ſucceſsfully, that the wounded perſon is cured in a few days ‖.

* The ableſt geographers and travellers ſeem to be of this opinion; they relating, that the waters of the Nile are very muddy and thick, particularly when ſwelled by the violent rains which fall between the tropics in the ſummer ſeaſon. Theſe waters falling into the low lands, leave a prolific mud, which renders the ſeveral countries where they lie very fruitful. All rivers between the tropics ſwell and fertilize the lands in this manner. We are not certain that the true heads or fountains of the Nile are yet diſcovered, which, according to ſome, riſe in woods, impervious to the ſun-beams.

† A medicinal and very aromatic ſpice, contained in huſks or ſhells brought from India and Arabia. There are three kinds of it. Cardomum is warm and dry; it is ſaid to ſtrengthen the vitals, diſpel wind, and aid digeſtion.

‡ I ſuppoſe it is of the monkey kind.

§ I do not know whether this is the country called Shan Kala, or that called Sangara in our maps.

‖ Some think, that the ſeveral particulars related concerning poiſoned arrows are all a fiction; as likewiſe what we are told concerning poiſons which deſtroy perſons in a certain term of years.

The Emperor, before he takes the field, cauſes the day of his march to be proclaimed; and orders his tents to be pitched in a wide plain within ſight of the city of Gondar. The tents are all magnificent. That of the Emperor is of red velvet embroidered with gold. Three days after, this monarch orders his two large ſilver kettle-drums to be carried through the whole city; mounts on horſeback, and goes to Arringon, the rendezvous of the whole army. The Emperor ſpends three days in reviewing them, after which they enter upon action, which does not laſt above three months. His armies are ſo numerous, that I was aſſured that which the Emperor commanded in 1699, conſiſted of four or five hundred thouſand men *.

The palace of Arringon is as magnificent as that of Gondar, which is almoſt uninhabited when the monarch is abſent from it. However, four or five thouſand men are left about it, to guard the crown which is depoſited there. This garriſon is commanded by one of the chief miniſters, who is not permitted to ſtir once out of the palace. My ill health prevented my following the Emperor to the army. He returned from it ſome days before Chriſtmas-day, which he ſolemnized, in his capital city, ten days later than we; neither the Ethiopians, nor the Chriſtians of the Eaſt, having reformed their calendar, Epiphany is, in Ethiopia, one of the moſt ſolemn feſtivals, and is called Gottas, or the day of waſhing; the natives bathing themſelves that day in commemoration of our Saviour's baptiſm. The Emperor, attended by his whole court, goes to Kaa, a palace near Gondar, where is a magnificent baſon of water, which is employed for that pious ceremony. On ſolemn feſtivals, of which there are a great number in Ethiopia, the Emperor cauſes an ox to be given to each of his officers, and he ſometimes beſtows two thouſand oxen for that purpoſe.

The Europeans have long been in an error in reſpect to the colour of the Ethiopians, which is owing to their confounding them with the blacks of Nubia, their neighbours. The natural hue of the Abyſſinians is a brown, olive colour †. Their ſtature is tall and majeſtic, the features of their faces are well expreſſed; and they have fine large eyes, a handſome noſe, thin lips, and white teeth; whereas the people of Sennar and Nubia have flat noſes, thick lips, and very black faces ‡.

The dreſs of perſons of quality is a veſt of ſilk or fine cotton, with a kind of ſcarf. Tradeſpeople are dreſſed after the ſame manner, but with this difference, that they wear no ſilk, and the cotton cloth they uſe is coarſer. With regard to the common people, they wear only cotton drawers, and a ſcarf, which covers the reſt of the body §. The manner of ſaluting in Ethiopia is very particular; they take one another by their right hands, and carry it mutually to their reſpective mouths. They alſo wind the ſcarf of the perſon whom they ſalute round him, by which means

* Either our traveller was impoſed upon, or ſome other writers who treat of Ethiopia are miſtaken; unleſs as I obſerved above, that the then Emperor ſhould have aggrandized his power far beyond that of many of his predeceſſors. However, as the common people are his ſlaves, and every perſon of diſtinction is obliged to bring up his youngeſt ſon, in order for him to ſerve under the Emperor in the field, this monarch may poſſibly be able to raiſe a prodigious army.

† Yet all travellers I have met with, declare them to be of a deep black colour. The reſt of the deſcription anſwers very well to what I have read. They are farther ſaid to be extremely lively, to be of a very tractable diſpoſition; and that they might make great progreſs in knowledge, had they opportunities for improving themſelves in it.

‡ It is ſurpriſing, that the Abyſſinians ſhould be only tawny, and their neighbours of ſo black a hue; unleſs the ſituation of Abyſſinia, or ſome other circumſtance, ſhould cauſe this alteration.

§ Some travellers relate, that the poor people have only a ſmall piece of ſkin or coarſe ſtuff wrapped round their loins; in ſhort, that they go almoſt naked.

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ſuch as wear no veſts, remain half naked when any perſon compliments him in this manner.

The Emperor's name is Jeſus. Though he be but forty-one, he has many children; eight princes, and three princeſſes. The Emperor is poſſeſſed of great qualities; he being of a lively and ſagacious genius, of an affable and ſweet temper, and is a hero in ſtature. I did not ſee any man in all Ethiopia ſo finely ſhaped as himſelf. He delights in the polite arts and the ſciences, but his favourite paſſion is war. He is ever brave and intrepid in battle, and always at the head of his troops. He has an extraordinary love for juſtice, which he cauſes to be exactly adminiſtered to all his ſubjects; but as he does not delight in blood *, it is a pain to him to order any criminal for execution. Being thus poſſeſſed of ſuch exalted qualities, he is equally the darling and terror of his ſubjects, who revere him to adoration. I have been told that a Chriſtian is not permitted to ſhed the blood of another Chriſtian, without the moſt cogent reaſons for it; and therefore the Emperor inſiſts upon having the moſt ſtrict inquiries made before a criminal is condemned to die. The executions here are hanging or beheading †. Some are ſentenced to forfeit their poſſeſſions, on which occaſion all perſons whatſoever are forbid, upon the moſt ſevere penalties, to aſſiſt, or even ſo much as to give them the leaſt ſuſtenance, whence theſe unhappy creatures wander up and down like wild beaſts. As the Emperor is a prince of great humanity, he is eaſily prevailed upon to pardon them. It is ſurpriſing, that as the Ethiopians are ſo very active and haſty, we yet ſhould ſcarce ever hear of a murder, or of any of thoſe enormous crimes which ſtrike the mind with horror, committed among them. Beſides the regard that is paid to religion, I am perſuaded that the ſtrict juſtice which is adminiſtered, and the excellent polity found in this empire, contribute greatly to the integrity and innocence of the inhabitants.

I had carried with me into Ethiopia a cheſt of chemical medicines, the making of which took up ſix or ſeven years. The Emperor enquired very minutely into the manner of preparing theſe medicines, how they were adminiſtered, what effects they had, and the ſeveral diſeaſes to which they were applied. Not contented with this account by word of mouth, he had it taken down in writing. But the circumſtance which I admired moſt was his comprehending, and being exceedingly well pleaſed with the ſeveral phyſical reaſons I gave him concerning all theſe matters. I informed him of the compoſition of a kind of bezoar ſtone, which I myſelf had always employed very ſucceſsfully in curing intermitting fevers of every kind, as the Emperor and two of the princes, his children, experienced. He alſo would make me ſhew him the manner in which oils are extracted chemically.

For this purpoſe he ſent me to Tzemba, a monaſtery ſituated on the river Reb, half a league from Gondar. The abbot, who is revered by the Emperor, on account of his great probity and virtue, received me with the utmoſt civility. He is a venerable ſage of ninety, and one of the moſt learned men in the whole empire. I ſet up my utenſils there, and made all the neceſſary preparations. The Emperor came to us

* As Dr. Poncet had ſaid above, that the favourite paſſion of this monarch is war, it is not very conſiſtent to obſerve afterwards, that he does not delight in blood. Dr. Poncet's character of this Emperor ſeems all in the ſtrain of panegyric.

† It is alſo ſaid, that criminals are often ſtoned or beat to death with clubs, murderers excepted, who may be either killed, tortured, or made ſlaves of, as the friends of the murdered perſon think proper. Perſons of quality are only baniſhed. Adulterers are put to death; but thieves are only whipped, and obliged to make reſtitution. It is alſo related, that there are no lawyers in this country, the parties pleading their own cauſes.

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incognito. I made many experiments before him, as well as communicated ſeveral ſecrets, which he attended to with ſurpriſing curioſity. I think it incumbent on me to adviſe all perſons who would carry medicines into Ethiopia, to take none but thoſe of a chemical kind, becauſe electuaries and ſyrups are apt to corrupt under the line; whereas chemical oils and ſpirits may be eaſily conveyed without loſing their virtue, heat not having the leaſt effect on them.

As I ſtaid three weeks with the monarch at Tzemba, he, being of a very inquiſitive turn of mind, as was before obſerved, frequently diſcourſed with me upon the ſubject of religion; expreſſed a great deſire to be made acquainted with our doctrine, and to be informed of thoſe particulars wherein we differ from the religion of the Cophts *, which is profeſſed in Ethiopia. I endeavoured to ſatisfy him to the beſt of my abilities; but confeſſed, that not having ſtudied the abſtruſe points in divinity, I therefore had brought with me one of the ableſt men both for mathematics and divinity in Europe. The Emperor then ſighing, cried, I find that I have ſuſtained a great loſs. I will own that I was grievouſly afflicted when I called to mind that death had bereaved me of Father de Brevedent, my dear companion; becauſe that monk, who was a perſon of great abilities, and a very inſinuating addreſs, would have embraced this favourable opportunity for converting this great Prince, and inſtructing him thoroughly in the principles of the Catholic church †.

One day when the abbot of the monaſtery, my interpreter, and I were together, the Emperor was very urgent with me to give my direct opinion with regard to the perſon of Chriſt. I anſwered, that we did not believe that Chriſt's human nature was abſorbed and loſt in his divine nature, in like manner as a drop of wine is abſorbed and loſt in the ſea, as is the doctrine of the Cophts and Ethiopians, which the Emperor told me it was; but that our belief is, that the word, which is the ſecond perſon in

* This is the name of a people, or rather of a ſect of Chriſtians of Egypt. They are great lovers of the cloiſtered life, and have many religious of both ſexes. None can be admitted into a religious houſe without firſt obtaining leave from his biſhop. Theſe religious make a vow of perpetual chaſtity, bid an eternal adieu to their parents and poſſeſſions, and have no property in any thing. They live in deſerts, and have no other cloathing but woollen garments; girding themſelves with a piece of leather. They never touch meat, except in the moſt urgent neceſſity; and are even forced to deny themſelves every kind of delicious food, and to abſtain from all kinds of aliments, which are not abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of life. They paſs their lives in prayer, in working, and in the ſtudy of the Scriptures. All of them, the ſuperiors and ſick excepted, ſleep on mats ſpread on the ground. They are not allowed to pull off their cloaths to ungird themſelves, nor two of them to ſleep on the ſame mat, nor near one another. They are obliged to obſerve the canonical hours, and proſtrate themſelves every evening, an hundred and fifty times with their faces to the ground, extending their arms in form of a croſs, keeping their fiſts clinched, and making the ſign of the croſs at every proſtration. When they are not employed in hard work, they are allowed but one meal a day, and that in the evening. Other authors relate, that the religious Cophts of both ſexes are of the dregs of the people. They ſubſiſt entirely on alms, lead a very ſevere and mortified life, and never eat any meat, except when on a journey. The convents of their women are properly hoſpitals, and moſt of theſe nuns are widows, whom their poverty brought into them. The Cophts are ſubject to a titular patriarch of Alexandria. They are divided into three orders, the clergy, the nobles, and the plebeians. The nobles (if they may be ſo called) are only ſo many farmer generals in Egypt, under the Grand Seignior. Theſe are very rich, but the reſt of the Cophts are vaſtly poor, and both theſe orders of the laiety are very ignorant. Some Romiſh writers have reduced the errors of the Cophts to ſix heads. They have ſometimes united with the church of Rome, but never in earneſt, and only when forced to it through neceſſity. The Coptic is the old language of the Egyptians, intermixed with Greek; and the characters of that language are like thoſe of the Greek. The Cophts have not ſpoken their antient language theſe many years, that being found only in their books, the Arabic being the language of the country. There are verſions of the Scriptures in Coptic.

† Dr. Poncet talks in ſo religious a ſtrain, that I ſhould almoſt ſuſpect that he himſelf was a friar, in the diſguiſe of a phyſician.

the bleſſed Trinity, was really made man; ſo that this Man-God, whom we call Jeſus Chriſt, had two natures; the divine, as being the Word and the ſecond perſon of the bleſſed Trinity; and the human nature, in which he appeared truly as man, ſuffered really in his body, and voluntarily ſubmitted to death, in order to ſave all mankind. When I had done ſpeaking, the Emperor turned to the abbot, and, as I thought, diſcourſed with him concerning the particulars I had been treating of. They did not ſeem to expreſs the leaſt ſurprize; and it is my opinion, that they do not differ very much from the Catholic church in this article. From that time, the abbot expreſſed greater friendſhip for me than ever. During the ſtay which the Emperor made in Tzemba, one of his moſt uſual diverſions was to ſee his pages ride according to the rules of their Manege, at which they are very expert.

From Tzemba to the ſources of the Nile, the diſtance is not above threeſcore French leagues. I intended to ſee thoſe famous ſprings, concerning which ſo many particulars are told in Europe, and the Emperor was pleaſed to order a party of horſe to attend me; but it was not poſſible for me to embrace this favourable opportunity, I being at that time grievouſly afflicted with a pain at my ſtomach, which I have felt for many years. I therefore deſired Moorat, one of the Emperor's chief miniſters, and uncle to the embaſſador above mentioned, to give me ſome account of them. Moorat is a venerable old man, an hundred and four years of age, who, during upwards of threeſcore years, was employed in negotiations of the utmoſt importance at the Great Mogul's court, and thoſe of the reſt of the monarchs of India. The Emperor has ſo much regard for this miniſter, that he commonly calls him Baba Moorat, or Father Moorat. Here follows what he related to me concerning the ſources of the Nile, which he had viſited frequently, and enquired into with the utmoſt care.

In the kingdom of Goyame * is a very high mountain, at the top of which are two very large ſprings, the one to the eaſt, and the other to the weſt. Theſe two ſources form two rivulets, which ruſh down with great impetuoſity towards the middle of the mountain, upon a looſe ſpongy earth, covered with ruſhes and reeds †. Theſe waters appear

* It is called Gojam by ſome travellers, and by them reckoned as one of the nine provinces of the Abyſſinian empire.

† The antients fixed the ſources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon, in the tenth degree of ſouthern latitude; but modern travellers place them about the twelfth degree of north latitude; and conſequently, ſuppoſe its courſe to be about 300 leagues leſs than the antients. This river is ſaid to riſe at the foot of a great mountain in Gojam, and to iſſue from two fountains, or two eyes, as the natives call them, diſtant about 30 paces from each other, and each of the dimenſions of one of our wells, or of a coach-wheel. Father Lobo, the Jeſuit, who, it is ſaid, diſcovered theſe ſources about the beginning of the laſt century, relates, that the largeſt of theſe two ſources being ſounded, they found a bottom at the depth of 16 or 17 feet; but that poſſibly the ſounding-line might meet in the way with the roots of briars, growing on the margins, which perhaps prevented its deſcending lower. The other being ſounded, they found 16 palms. The inhabitants, who are heathens, worſhip the greateſt ſource, and ſacrifice to it ſeveral oxen, the fleſh of which they eat as holy, and throw the bones in a place appointed for that purpoſe. Herodotus mentioned the ſacrifices of the oxen made at the ſources of the Nile, upwards of two thouſand years ſince. The natives about theſe ſources are called Agaus, in the kingdom of Gojam, in twelve degrees of north latitude, and fifty-five of longitude. The ſources are in a plain about three-fourths of a league round, and ſurrounded with mountains. After this they fall into a ſmall lake, next run under ground the diſtance of a muſket-ſhot; then wind, firſt north-eaſt, and after flowing entirely eaſtward, enter the great lake of Dambea; and leaving this lake, they fall among rocks, which almoſt conceal this river from ſight, whence it runs a very long way ſouthward, afterwards turns weſtward, and at laſt runs back towards its ſource, which it leaves about ten leagues eaſtward. Thus it forms a peninſula, which poſſibly was that called by the ancients, the iſland of Meroe, and by the moderns, the iſland Guegyre. It then flows through the reſt of Abyſſinia, Nubia, and Egypt, moſt of whoſe cities are watered by it. I ſhall not take upon me to determine

appear but ten or twelve leagues from thence, where uniting, they form the river Nile, which ſoon ſwells, by the addition of the waters of ſeveral other rivers, that empty themſelves into it. A wonderful circumſtance is, that the Nile runs through the middle of a lake, without blending its waters with it. This lake is ſo very large, that it is called Bahal Dembea, or the ſea of Dembea *. The country round it is enchantingly beautiful; on every ſide are ſeen towns, and delightful groves of laurel-trees: it is about an hundred leagues in length, and thirty-five or forty broad. The water of this ſtream is ſoft and agreeable, and much lighter than that of the Nile. About the middle of the lake is an iſland, wherein ſtands one of the Emperor's palaces, which, though not ſo large as that of Gondar, is yet equally beautiful and magnificent.

The Emperor went thither, and I had the honour of accompanying him. He himſelf got into a little boat, in which are three rowers, and the nephew of Moorat, with myſelf, followed him in another. Theſe boats, which will not hold above ſix perſons, are made of bulruſh mats, joined together very neatly, but without pitch or tar. Though theſe bulruſhes are joined extremely cloſe, I yet cannot conceive how it is poſſible for the boats in queſtion to keep out water.

We ſtaid three days in that enchanting palace, where I made ſome chemical experiments, with which the Emperor was highly pleaſed. This palace is ſurrounded with walls; and there are two churches in it, under the care of certain friars who lead a conventual life. One of theſe churches is dedicated to St. Claudius, and gives the name to the iſland, which is about a league in circumference.

One day, whilſt we were in this iſland, word was brought the Emperor that four hippopotamus's or river horſes, appeared in the lake †. We had the pleaſure to ſee them half an hour. They drove the water before them, and ſprung forward to a great height. The ſkin of two of theſe animals was white, and that of the other two were red. Their heads reſembled that of a horſe, but their ears were ſhorter. I could not form a judgment of the reſt of their bodies, I having ſeen them but confuſedly. Theſe hippopotami are amphibious creatures which come out of the water in order to graze upon the ſhore, whence they often carry off goats and ſheep, and feed upon them. Their ſkins are highly valued, and ſhields are made of them, which are proof againſt a lance or muſket-ball. The Ethiopians eat the fleſh of thoſe animals, which muſt certainly be unwholeſome.

The way of taking them is as follows: whenever an Ethiopian ſpies one of them, he follows him with a drawn ſabre, and cuts off his legs. The animal being by this means rendered unable to ſwim, makes to the ſhore, and there loſes the reſt of his blood. The Emperor ordered the cannon to be fired at theſe hippopotamus's; but as

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mine, how much the above relation ought to be depended upon, for, whilſt the Jeſuits affirm that the Nile riſes from two fountains, others affirm that it flows but from one, and that ſituated in a plain, twelve days journey from Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia. What is moſt to be depended upon, is the courſe of the Nile from its famous cataracts, the firſt of which is not far from the Lake Dambea.

* We find Dambea or Dembya in our maps. It is reckoned as one of the principalities or provinces of the Ethiopian empire. In our maps we find a great lake about Dembya, but it is there called Tzana Lake, and to the ſouth of it, the head or fountains of the Nile are ſpecified.

† Some ſay this animal is as large as the crocodile; that he will come out of the water, and go even upon the tops of mountains to graze; and that he is at perpetual war with the crocodile. Thevenot informs us, that he ſaw one in Egypt as large as a camel, and that its ſkin was almoſt muſket-proof. This hyppopotamus was brought to Cairo, where Thevenot ſaw it. Ludolf thinks this animal to be the behemoth mentioned in Job.

the markſmen were not quick enough, the animals plunged back into the water, and diſappeared.

The Emperor went from the iſland of St. Claudius to Arringon, where there is a garriſon, as I before obſerved; and I myſelf went to Emfras, a league diſtant from Gondar. The city of Emfras is not ſo large as Gondar, but more agreeable, more pleaſingly ſituated, and the houſes are better built; they are all ſeparated one from the other by evergreen hedges, which are covered with fruits and flowers, and intermixed with trees planted at an equal diſtance. Moſt of the towns in Ethiopia are in this form; the Emperor's palace ſtands on an eminence which ſurveys the whole city.

Emfras is famous for the trade carried on there in ſlaves and civet. So prodigious a number of civet-cats * are brought here, that ſome traders have three hundred of them. This animal (as its name imports) is a kind of cat, and is brought up with great difficulty. It is fed thrice a week with raw beef, and the other days with a ſort of milk-pottage. The Ethiopians perfume this animal from time to time with odours, and ſcrape or take off, once a week, an oily ſubſtance, which iſſues from its body with the ſweat. This excrement is called civet, from the name of the animal. This ſubſtance is put up carefully into an ox's horn, which they ſtop very cloſe.

I arrived at Emfras at the time of the vintage, which in Ethiopia is always in February, and not in Autumn, as in Europe. I there ſaw bunches of grapes which weighed upwards of eight pounds, the ſtones whereof were as big as large nuts; there are ſome of all colours; the white grapes, though extremely well taſted, are not eſteemed by the Abyſſinians; and aſking the cauſe of it, I had reaſon to conjecture by the anſwer, that it is becauſe they are of the ſame colour with the Portugueſe †. The Abyſſinian friars inſpire the common people with ſo great an averſion for the Europeans, who are white in compariſon of them, that they cauſe them to deſpiſe and even hate every thing that reſembles them in colour.

Emfras is the only city in Ethiopia where the Mohammedans are allowed the public exerciſe of their religion, and where their houſes are intermixed with thoſe of the Chriſtians.

The Ethiopians have but one wife, but would be very glad were a plurality permitted; and that ſome text in the goſpel could be found to countenance ſuch a practice. Whilſt I was at Tzemba with the Emperor, he aſked my opinion about this matter. I anſwered, that a plurality of wives was neither neceſſary to man, nor agreeable to God, ſince he had created but one wife for Adam; and this was what our Lord hinted at, when he told the Jews, that the only reaſon why Moſes allowed them a plurality was becauſe of the hardneſs of their hearts; bnt that things had not been ſo from the

* According to ſome authors, this animal is about the ſize of a large polecat, and its eyes are ſaid to ſhine like thoſe of a cat in the night. The colour predominant in this animal is black; it is very furious, and will often break its teeth againſt the iron, when pent in a cage. Many think that the receptacle of the civet is a bag below the anus; and that it does not ariſe from its ſweat. Some imagine that it is the hyæna mentioned by Ariſtotle, which was a ſmaller ſort of hyæna; but others think the civet-cat was unknown to the antients. The author of Spectacle de la Nature, Vol. I ſays that the civet-cat is peculiar to America, and larger than the houſe cat; but ſome authors I have read, and particularly one, mentioned below, relates that this animal is alſo found in Guinea. The name is ſaid to be derived from zibet or zebed, an Arabic word ſignifying froth, or foam, the liquid which comes from the civet-cat being frothy, and is put into a ſweat by being drove about in the cage in which it is confined, with a little ſtick. Mr. John Atkins, of Plaiſtow, in Eſſex, a gentleman, I believe, of the greateſt veracity, informs us in the note, page 52, of his voyages, printed at London, 1735, "That the civet is about as large as a ram-cat, and comes from Sherbro in Guinea; its head is like the fox's; the male only affords the perfume, at the rate of three or four grains a day, gathered with a quill, out of a little cod or hole, near the inteſtinum rectum."

† This is whimſical enough.

beginning.

beginning. The Abyſſinian monks are vaſtly ſevere to ſuch men as have above one, but the lay judges are much more indulgent.

The Ethiopians profeſs the Chriſtian religion. They admit the holy ſcriptures and ſacraments; they believe the tranſubſtantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of our Saviour *; they invoke the ſaints as we (the Romaniſts) do; receive the communion under both kinds; and conſecrate like the Greeks, with leavened bread; they keep four lents, as is the cuſtom of the Eaſterns, viz. the great lent, which continues fifty days, that of St. Peter and St. Paul, which ſometimes laſts forty days and ſometimes leſs, as Eaſter falls higher or lower; that of our Lady's Aſſumption, which continues a fortnight, and that of Advent, which laſts three weeks. During theſe ſeveral lents the Abyſſinians eat neither eggs, butter, nor cheeſe, and take no ſuſtenance whilſt the ſun is up; but they eat and drink till midnight after it is ſet. Ethiopia not producing olives, the natives are obliged to make uſe of an oil they extract from a berry of that country: it is agreeable enough to the taſte. They obſerve a no leſs rigorous faſt every Wedneſday and Friday throughout the year. They always pray before meals. The peaſants an hour before ſun-ſet leave their work to go to prayers, they never eating till after they have acquitted themſelves of that duty. No perſon is diſpenſed from faſting, to which all perſons, whether old or young, and even the ſick, are equally engaged. Children are commonly brought to the communion when about ten years old, and from that time they are obliged to faſt.

The declaration which they make of their ſins is very imperfect, and is performed in manner following: they go and fall proſtrate at the feet of the prieſt, who is ſeated, and there accuſe themſelves in general of being great ſinners, and that they merit hell, without once ſpecifying any of the particular ſins they may have committed. After this declaration, the prieſt, holding the book of the goſpels in his left hand, and the croſs in his right, touches with the croſs the eyes, ears, noſe, mouth, and hands of the penitent, repeating ſome prayers; he afterwards reads the goſpel, makes ſeveral ſigns of the croſs over him, enjoins him a certain penance, and diſmiſſes him.

The Ethiopians appear with much greater modeſty and awe in their churches than people generally do in Europe. They never enter them but bare-footed, for which reaſon the pavement of their churches is covered with carpets. No one is heard to ſpeak, or blow his noſe in them, or ſeen to turn his head. Every perſon who goes to church is obliged to put on clean linen, otherwiſe he would be refuſed admittance. When the Lord's Supper is adminiſtered, all perſons, the prieſt and communicants excepted, withdraw; I know not whether this be done out of humility, as thinking themſelves unworthy to partake of the divine myſteries.

Their churches are very neat, and adorned with pictures, but never with ſtatues or images in relievo. Nevertheleſs the Emperor accepted of ſome crucifixes of that ſort, which I had the honour to preſent him, as likewiſe ſeveral miniature paintings, which he kiſſed reſpectfully, and ordered them to be put into his cloſet. The paintings in miniature were images of ſaints, whoſe names he cauſed to be writ under them, in Ethiopic characters. It was on this occaſion the Emperor told me, that we were all of the ſame religion, and differed only in the ceremonies. They perfume with incenſe almoſt continually during their maſſes and the office. Though they have no muſic books they yet chaunt in a juſt and agreeable manner, and muſical inſtruments are ſounded on theſe occaſions. The friars riſe twice in the night to ſing pſalms. The

* This is denied by the moſt approved writers on Abyſſinia, as well as ſome other points mentioned by our traveller.

dreſs of their monks when out of church, is very like that of the ſeculars; and they are diſtinguiſhed only by a yellow or purple leather cap wore on their heads. The diverſity of colours diſtinguiſhes their orders. The friars in general are greatly eſteemed in Ethiopia.

The Abyſſinians borrowed circumciſion from the Jews. A child is circumciſed the ſeventh day after its birth; and is not baptized till afterwards, except it is in danger of dying, for then its baptiſm would not be deferred a moment. They do not conſider circumciſion as a ſacrament, but merely as a ceremony, practiſed in imitation of our Saviour, who thought it requiſite to be circumciſed. I have been aſſured that the Popes of Rome had tolerated circumciſion in Abyſſinia, but with this reſtriction, that they were not to conſider it as neceſſary to ſalvation *. I could add many other curious particulars.

Perceiving that my health decayed daily, I reſolved to return to France, and to deſire leave of the Emperor for that purpoſe. He ſeemed very uneaſy when I told him my deſign, and therefore gave freſh orders to have the utmoſt care taken of me, he being afraid that I was diſſatisfied. He offered me houſes and lands, and even a very conſiderable eſtabliſhment; but how deſirous ſoever I might be to ſerve ſo gracious a prince, who poſſeſſed ſuch exalted qualities; I obſerved to him, that ever ſince the grievous fit of ſickneſs which had like to have been fatal to me at Barko, I could not recover my health, though I had tried the ſeveral powers of phyſic, and made uſe of all the precautions imaginable. That I found it would not be poſſible for me to recover unleſs I went into another climate; in ſhort, except I returned to my native country. I declared that it was the greateſt pain to me to think of leaving ſo gracious a King; but that I ſhould certainly die if I continued any longer in Ethiopia. The Emperor then granted, though with the utmoſt reluctance, the favour I ſo earneſtly requeſted; but upon this condition, that I ſhould return to his court as ſoon as I had recovered my health; and in order to bind me by the moſt ſacred of all engagements, he obliged me to ſwear upon the holy goſpels that I would keep my word.

The eſteem he entertained for our monarch, from the character I had drawn, as well as from the particulars others had told him, made the Emperor deſirous of entering into an alliance with a prince whoſe reputation was ſo great in every part of the world †; and for that purpoſe to ſend an ambaſſador with credentials and preſents. At firſt he

* With reſpect to the religion of the Abyſſinians, this is what I find in the moſt approved writers. It was obſerved before that their religion is a mixture of Chriſtianity and Judaiſm. Circumciſion is performed by an old woman, but prieſts baptize. Infants are baptized by a gentle immerſion and ſprinkling with water, but adult perſons are plunged thrice in ſome pond or river. They receive the ſacraments under both kinds; and the liquor uſed on theſe occaſions is made of the bruiſed ſtones of raiſins, infuſed in water, which, after giving the bread, the deacon delivers to the communicant in a ſpoon. They likewiſe burn perfumes. All perſons receive the ſacrament once a month, or oftner if they think proper. They acknowledge the ſame books of ſcripture as we do. They admit the councils of Nice, Conſtantinople, and Epheſus. They uſe the Nicene Creed, but not that of the Apoſtles. They declare that the three perſons in the Trinity are one God. They acknowledge but two ſacraments, Baptiſm and the laſt Supper. They believe in the real preſence, but not in tranſubſtantiation. They ſay, that there are not two natures and two wills in Chriſt. Auricular confeſſion is not practiſed by them. They believe the immortality of the ſoul, and that the ſouls of good men are not admitted into heaven till the reſurrection. They invoke ſaints, angels, and the Virgin Mary. They obſerve Chriſtmas, Eaſter, Whitſuntide, and other Feſtivals; and faſt the days of Lent, beſides ſome others. The Emperor is, as was before obſerved, head both in ſpirituals and temporals. Their patriarch, who is conſecrated by him of Alexandria, confers orders on their clergy, who are principally monks. The monarch, and the chief nobility take deacons orders. The people uſe lighted tapers at divine ſervice. They always ſtand in their churches, which are kept very neat, and they never ſpit in them. During divine ſervice they are allowed to lean on crutches.

† The reader may have obſerved, in the courſe of theſe ſeveral travels, that the French take all opportunities of exalting their country and their monarch.

pitched upon an abbot called Abona Gregorios* ; and, in that view, commanded me to teach him the Latin tongue. As this friar was a perſon of very good ſenſe, and ſpoke and wrote Arabic perfectly, he made, in a very ſhort time, a very conſiderable progreſs in that language ; but as the Abyſſinian monarchs employ foreigners in embaſſies, rather than natives, it was no difficult matter for Moorat to get his nephew appointed ambaſſador to France. The Emperor declared him publicly ſuch ; and accordingly ordered his preſents to be got ready, conſiſting in elephants, horſes, Ethiopian children, &c.

As I was once waiting upon the Emperor, before he was fixed with regard to the choice of an ambaſſador, he ſent for the princes, his children ; when directing himſelf to one of the youngeſt, who was about eight or nine years of age, he declared, that he had ſome thoughts of ſending him into France, the fineſt country in the world †. The young prince anſwered, with a great deal of ready wit, that it would be the utmoſt pain to him to leave His Majeſty ; however, that if he thought it proper for him to undertake this voyage, he was ready to obey his commands. The Emperor, directing himſelf afterwards to me, aſked what treatment his ſon would meet with at the court of France ; to which I replied, that all thoſe honours would be ſhewn him, which were due to the greateſt and moſt powerful monarch in Africa. He is too young at preſent, ſaid the Emperor ; and the voyage is too long and too hazardous ; but I perhaps may ſend him one of theſe days, when he is older, and more able to undergo the fatigues of ſuch a voyage.

My departure being fixed, the Emperor admitted me to the audience of leave with the uſual ceremonies. As ſoon as I came into his preſence, the chief treaſurer brought a bracelet of gold, and this the Emperor himſelf was pleaſed to fix round my arm, trumpets ſounding and kettle-drums beating. The honour paid in Ethiopia on this occaſion is equivalent to the order of knighthood in Europe. He afterwards preſented me with the ceremonial mantle ; and as it was dinner time, he was ſo gracious as to bid me ſtay ; and made me dine at a table, which, though not ſo high as his own, ſtood very near it. The entertainment being ended, I took leave of the Emperor, who commanded the chief treaſurer to furniſh me with every thing I might want.

The 2d of May 1700 was fixed for my departure. An officer, with a guard of an hundred horſe, was ordered to eſcort me to the frontiers of the empire, together with an interpreter who could ſpeak the languages of the ſeveral provinces we were to paſs through, every province having its peculiar tongue ‡. Several merchants who were going to Meſſua §, joined company with me, they being very deſirous of embracing this opportunity of travelling with ſo much ſafety. Though Moorat ‖, the ambaſſador, intreated me to ſet out as ſoon as poſſible, for fear of the rains, which began to fall every night ; he himſelf was not able to go ſo ſoon, being detained by the Emperor. We agreed upon Duvarna as the place of our rendezvous, in order that we might ſet out together. I was prodigiouſly affected at my taking leave of this monarch, who gave me all poſſible demonſtrations of his affection, and ſeemed ſorry to part with me. I can never think of that prince but with the deepeſt ſenſe of the obligations I owe him ; and would my health have permitted I ſhould have devoted myſelf entirely to him, and ſacrificed the remainder of my days to his ſervice. The chief noblemen of the court

* Our authors commonly write this word thus, Abbuna.

† Many of my readers will probably look upon this, and what follows, as a flouriſh.

‡ I ſuppoſe theſe are only ſo many dialects.

§ I imagine this is the iſland, in the Red Sea, called Matzuma in our maps, lying near the port of Erquico, which is that, as I ſuppoſe, our traveller elſewhere calls Arcouva.

‖ Our traveller tells us a little above, that Moorat the miniſter, got his nephew appointed ambaſſador. This nephew muſt therefore have alſo been named Moorat, or our author muſt have committed a miſtake.

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did me the honour to accompany me two leagues, purſuant to the orders given them for that purpoſe.

We took the city of Emfras, which I mentioned before, in our way. The officer, our conductor, always arrived an hour before us at the place appointed for our quarters. He went and alighted either at the governor's houſe, or at that of the principal perſon of the village; and ſhewed him the orders of the court, written on a roll of parchment. This roll is put in a ſmall gourd, which, being tied with ſilken ſtrings, hangs about the officer's neck. The moment of his arrival, the chief perſons of the town or place aſſemble before the governor's door, where, in their preſence, he takes off his gourd, breaks it, and pulls out the little roll of parchment, called in their language, Ati Heſes, or the Emperor's order. He afterwards preſents it very reſpectfully to the governor; telling him, at the ſame time, that if he does not comply with the contents, he muſt anſwer it with his head. Every order, the diſobedience to which is death, is writ in red letters. The governor, as a teſtimony of his reſpect and compliance, takes and lays it on his head; and afterwards iſſues a command, throughout his whole province, for defraying the expence of the officer and of all thoſe in his retinue.

We employed one day in travelling from Gondar to Emfras, and were obliged to go over a high mountain, through very bad roads. On this mountain ſtands a large monaſtery, with a church dedicated to St. Anne. This place is famous, and pilgrims viſit it from a great diſtance. In this monaſtery is a ſpring, the water of which is extremely clear and cool; and pilgrims drink of it out of devotion. They affirm that many miraculous cures are wrought by it, at the interceſſion of St. Anne, whom the Abyſſinians conſider as a great ſaint.

We arrived at Emfras the 3d of May, and took up our quarters in a fine houſe belonging to old Moorat, where I was entertained three days. In this city I heard a concert compoſed of a harp and a ſort of violin which is very like ours. I alſo was at a kind of dramatic entertainment. The actors ſing verſes in honour of the perſon whom they are to divert, and play a thouſand feats of activity. Some perform a grand dance to the ſound of ſmall kettle-drums; and being very nimble and light, they throw themſelves into a thouſand antic poſtures. Others holding a naked ſabre in one hand, and a buckler in the other, repreſent combats in their dancing*; and leap in ſo ſurpriſing a manner, that no one but thoſe who had been ſpectators on ſuch occaſions could think it poſſible. One of theſe dancers brought me a ring, and deſiring me to hide it myſelf, or get ſome other perſon to hide it, ſaid he would find it out. I took it, and hid it ſo cunningly that I thought it impoſſible for him ever to find out the place. However, I was ſurpriſed, a moment after, to ſee him come up, dancing in cadence, and whiſper in my ear, that he had the ring, and conſequently that I had not hid it artfully. Others held a lance in one hand, and a glaſs filled with mead in the other, and leaped to a prodigious height without ſpilling a drop.

From Emfras we went and lay at Coga, formerly the reſidence of the Emperors of Ethiopia. The city is ſmall but delightfully ſituated, and the places round it are vaſtly agreeable. I took up my quarters at the houſe of the governor of the province, who paid me great honours, as did the reſt of the governors and heads of villages, at whoſe houſes I lodged in the way. At Coga, our conductor began to entruſt the baggage with the lords of the ſeveral villages, who ordered them to be carried to the frontier, in the manner related above. I have not given a very accurate account of

* This ſeems to be ſomething like the Pyrrhic dance of the ancients, ſaid to be invented by Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles, and performed by the dancers ſtriking on the ſhields with their arms to the ſound of muſical inſtruments.

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the various places through which we travelled; I being at that time too weak and indiſpoſed to take the notice I ſhould otherwiſe have done.

We employed ſeven or eight days in croſſing the province of Ogara, where the heats are leſs violent than in other places, which is owing to the many very high mountains in that neighbourhood. I was told, that ice is found on them at certain ſeaſons of the year, but I dare not aſſert this for a truth. Some houſes, on theſe mountains, are cut in the rock; and I was ſhewed a place, where certain young folks hiding themſelves in order to carouze, were all petrified. Thoſe who informed me of this particular, declared that theſe young debauchees are ſeen to this day in the ſeveral poſtures they were in when this ſad accident happened. I am of opinion, that theſe are ſome of the petrifications in which nature is ſometimes pleaſed to ſport herſelf *. There are ſo great a number of houſes in theſe mountains, that the whole ſeem one continued city, and they are built in an orbicular form. The roofs, which are in the figure of a cone, are made of bulruſhes, and ſupported by walls raiſed about ten or twelve feet from the ground. The houſes are very neat within, and adorned with Indian reeds artfully diſpoſed. On all ſides we ſee markets, where cattle and proviſions of every kind are ſold. The place in queſtion is prodigiouſly populous.

* Our traveller's mentioning theſe petrifications, (which no doubt are fictitious,) puts me in mind of a relation publiſhed in one of our newſpapers ſome years ſince (1), and which was greatly taken notice of at that time, as containing ſome amazing particulars. The article, as tranſcribed from that paper now before me, is as follows:

"London.

"Caſſem Aga, the preſent envoy of Tripoli to His Britannic Majeſty, having received an account of the diſcovery of a petrified town in Africa, where the inhabitants, cattle, trees, and every thing are turned into ſtone; it was given to the interpreter to His Majeſty for the oriental languages (2), who has tranſlated it from the Arabic of the Envoy's own hand-writing, into French, which in Engliſh is as follows:

"Praiſe to God alone.

"A friend of mine having deſired me to tell him in writing, what I have heard concerning the petrified town, I ſhall give himſelf a relation thereof, as I had it from ſeveral perſons, and particularly from one man of credit, who went on the ſpot, purpoſely to ſatisfy himſelf concerning the truth of it; and the account he gives is as follows.

"That the town lies two days journey ſouth from Ouguela, which is diſtant from Tripoli S. E. ſeventeen days march with the caravans. That when he came to the town, which is large and of an orbicular form, wherein are ſeveral ſpacious as well as narrow ſtreets, full of ſhops, and defended by a very large and magnificient caſtle, he ſaw many petrified trees, in and about the town, moſt of them olives and palms, but all turned into ſtone of a blue or aſh colour.

"That the inhabitants are alſo petrified: The men whilſt following their ſeveral occupations; ſome with ſtuffs or ſilks in their hands, others with bread. In ſhort, all of them in ſome action; and the women with their infants at the breaſt; and others in ſtrict embraces with men, all turned into ſtone. That he entered the caſtle by three different gates, but that there are more; and that he ſaw, in the caſtle, a man petrified, lying on a bed of ſtone, as were the very centinels ſtanding at the gates, with their pikes and javelins in their hands.

"That he alſo ſaw ſeveral ſorts of animals, ſuch as camels, oxen, horſes, aſſes, ſheep, and birds, all turned into ſtone of the colour abovementioned." This romantic ſtory ſeems to be copied from a relation of M. le Maire, who travelled at the expence of Count de Toulouſe, and is inſerted in Lucas's Voyages, Tom. II. pag. 97. Amſterdam 1714, 12mo.

(1) In November, 1728.

(2) This was Mr. Dadichi, born in Aleppo, and educated at Paris; a gentleman famous for his uncommon ſkill in the eaſtern languages; in thoſe of Greece and Rome; in the ſeveral polite modern ones, and in every part of literature; all which were ſet off by a very communicative diſpoſition, of which I was ſo happy as to receive many teſtimonies.

This relation of the petrified town I myſelf tranſlated into Engliſh, from the MS. given me by Mr. Dadichi. During my ſtay in Paris, the ingenious and learned M. de Bremond, a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, and of our Royal Society in London, and tranſlator of our Philoſophical Tranſactions into French, promiſed to favour me with a profeſt refutation (in MS.) of this Tripoline ſtory: but he being afterwards extremely ill, I was obliged to leave France without it.

From

From the province of Ogara * we entered into that of Siry, where the language of Tigra begins to be ſpoken. Before we arrived at Siry, the capital of this province, we croſſed the river of Tekeſel, or the dreadful, ſo called becauſe of its rapidity. It is four times as broad as the Seine in Paris, and is croſſed in boats, there being no bridge over it. This is the fineſt and moſt fruitful province I met with in all Abyſſinia. We there ſee very beautiful wide extended plains, watered with ſprings, and interſperſed with large foreſts of orange, lemon, pomegranate, and jeſſamin trees. Theſe trees are ſo common in Ethiopia, that they grow there and flouriſh without the leaſt culture or care. The fields and meadows are covered with tulips, ranunculuses, pinks, lilies; roſe-buſhes which produce red and white roſes; and a thouſand other ſorts of flowers unknown to us, all which embalm the air with a ſtronger and more delicious fragrance, than thoſe of the moſt lovely rural ſcenes in Provence. The officer who conducted us, has a very fine country ſeat in this province, and I was entertained a week at it. I began to obſerve, in this place, that the ſwelling which I had in the orifice of my ſtomach grew leſs; and that exerciſe, and the country air, gave me an appetite, and had a good effect upon my conſtitution in general. In this country ſeat I received the viſit which the governor of the province honoured me with by the Emperor's order. He cauſed a young elephant to be brought thither, which the embaſſador was to carry into France, and preſent to the King; ſuch being the import of his orders incloſed in the ſmall gourds.

From the province of Siry we went into that of Adooa †, the capital whereof is called by the ſame name. The governor of this province is one of the ſeven chief miniſters of the empire. The Emperor beſtowed one of his daughters in marriage on the ſon of this governor, who preſides over twenty-four leſſer government or principalities. Being arrived at his chief city, he ordered a moſt ſplendid tent to be ſet up in his palace for my reception. He lodged me in a very noble apartment, and entertained me ſixteen days with a magnificence ſuitable to his dignity and rank. This governor was the perſon appointed to furniſh me abundantly with all things neceſſary for my embarking on the Red Sea, and this he did in the moſt obliging manner poſſible. Here I eat ſome Ethiopian beef (of the wild kind) which is thought a dainty in this country, and indeed it is extremely well taſted and delicate. The wild Abyſſinian oxen have no horns, and are not ſo large as ours in France.

There are alſo a vaſt number of roe-bucks in this province, but I did not ſee many hinds or ſtags. After returning thanks to this governor, from whom we had received numberleſs favours, we continued our journey. We paſt through a foreſt full of apes of all ſizes, which climbed up the trees with ſurpriſing agility; and diverted us very much with their ever-varying leaps. We afterwards entered into the province of Saravi, where the little elephant I was to carry into France, died, which gave me ſome uneaſineſs.

In this province are found the fineſt horſes in all Ethiopia, and the imperial ſtables are filled with them. There the embaſſador was ordered to procure the horſes he was

* I do not find that the names, given by our traveller, of the ſeveral provinces of the Abyſſinian Empire, are any way like thoſe I find in other authors who have wrote on this country. The provinces, as ſpecified in ſome other authors, ſtand thus. 1. Ambara. 2. Begamedry. 3. Dambea. 4 Shoa. 5. Gojam. 6. Bugna. 7. Samen. 8. Gonga. 9. Walaka. The chief city in Ethiopia, in thoſe authors, is called Ambara, from the firſt province; whereas it is called Gondar by our traveller, as the reader may have ſeen above. Poſſibly the Abyſſinian monarchs may have built, or removed to Gondar of late years.

† Adoua, in French.

to

to take into France. Theſe animals, which are full of fire, and of the ſize of thoſe of Arabia, always carry their heads aloft. They are not ſhod; the Ethiopians never ſhoeing their horſes, or any other beaſts of burden.

From Saravi we arrived at laſt at Duvarna, the chief city of the kingdom of Tigra*. There are two governors in this province, but for what reaſon I know not, nor their ſeveral juriſdictions. They are called Barnagas, or Kings of the Sea, probably becauſe of their being in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea.

Duvarna is divided into two cities, the upper and the lower, the latter of which is inhabited by the Mohammedans. All commodities that come into Ethiopia, by the Red Sea, paſs through Duvarna. This city, which is about two leagues round, is, as it were, the general ſtorehouſe of all the commodities of India. All its houſes are built of ſquare ſtones, and the roofs are ſo many terraſſes. The river of Moraba, which flows at the foot of this city, empties itſelf into the Tekeſel†. It is not broad, but vaſtly rapid, and cannot be croſſed without danger. We were two months and a half in travelling from Gondar to this city, where I was to wait for Moorat.

Soon after my arrival an expreſs came to the two governors with the ſad news of the death of Prince Baſilius, the Emperor's eldeſt ſon, and preſumptive heir to the crown. This youth, who died at about nineteen years of age, was maſter of all the qualities that can diſtinguiſh a prince. Abſtracted from his exterior graces, he poſſeſſed the ſeveral virtues that can adorn the human mind, he being a perſon of good ſenſe, brave, juſt, and generous, which made him the delight of the whole court. He was ſnatched away by a malignant fever, at his return from a campaign made under the Emperor againſt the Gallas, in which he had ſignalized himſelf; he purſuing the enemy with ſo much vigour that eight fell by his hand. This prince had a tender regard for the people, whoſe parent he would have been, had Heaven indulged him a longer courſe of years, a proof of which he gave the night before his death. The monarch being come to pay him a viſit, attended by the chief noblemen of the court, the prince ſaid that he had but one requeſt to make: it is this, ſir, ſaid he; comfort your ſubjects, who are grievouſly oppreſſed by the inſatiable avarice of your miniſters and governors. The Emperor was ſo affected with theſe words, that he could not forbear ſhedding tears; promiſing, at the ſame time, to look carefully into the matter. I was told this particular by the perſon who brought the news of his death to Duvarna, with the order for offering up prayers for the deceaſed prince, and weeping for him, as is the uſual cuſtom. The circumſtances related concerning his virtues are worthy of everlaſting remembrance. The Emperor happening to fall into an ambuſcade of the enemy, the young prince rode with all imaginable ſpeed to his aſſiſtance; ruſhed among the thickeſt of the foe; charged them on all ſides; and behaved ſo gallantly, that he ſaved his father's life at the hazard of his own.

The Emperor, either out of policy or for diverſion ſake, ſometimes diſguiſes himſelf, and withdraws, with two or three confidents, ſo that none elſe know what is become of him. He once abſented himſelf during two months, which made the prince, his ſon, prodigiouſly uneaſy, it being ſuppoſed that the Emperor was dead.

Some of the moſt conſiderable noblemen of the court, who were very deſirous of raiſing themſelves, by flattering the ambition of the young prince, adviſed him to aſſume the helm of government, and to cauſe himſelf to be declared Emperor; obſerving it might naturally be feared, that in the then preſent poſture of affairs, ſome of his brothers

* I find a province called Tigr, in Moll's maps. In all probability this is what is here called Tigra; though it does not there ſeem to lie near the Red Sea, as Dr. Poncet places it.

† The Tacaze, I ſuppoſe, as it is called in our maps.

might anticipate him, and ſtir up certain provinces. They promiſed, at the ſame time, to be faithful to him; and declared that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for his ſake.

The prince, who was extremely fond of his father, and inviolably attached to his intereſt, rejected with indignation the propoſal made him by thoſe venal courtiers; and declared that he would never aſcend the throne till ſuch time as he ſaw his father's body. The monarch returned ſome days after, and was informed by a faithful courtier, of the ſeveral pernicious counſels which had been given his ſon. As he is a very wiſe and diſcreet monarch, he made no ſtir upon this occaſion; however, the flatterers diſappeared, and have never been ſeen ſince. The preſumptive heir to the crown has a principality annexed to his perſon. I travelled through this principality in my way to Duvarna. The city is called Heleni, and we there ſee a very noble monaſtery, and a moſt magnificent church. It is the fineſt and largeſt in all Ethiopia, and dedicated to St. Helena, which, probably, is the reaſon why the city is called Heleni. In the centre of the large ſquare or court before the church, are three ſpires, in a pyramidical form, made of granit*, and covered with hieroglyphicks. Among theſe figures, I obſerved, on every face, a lock cut, which is ſomething extraordinary, as the Ethiopians do not employ locks, nor ſo much as know the uſe of them. Though theſe ſpires have no pedeſtals, they ſeem as high as the obeliſk, placed on its pedeſtal, before St. Peter's in Rome. This country is thought to have been that of the Queen of Sheba †; ſeveral villages in the juriſdiction of that principality being called Sabaim to this day. In the mountains is dug marble, no ways inferior to that of Europe; but a more conſiderable circumſtance is, the people find a great deal of gold, even in ploughing the ground; and ſome pieces of gold, which I thought very pure, were brought me privately. The friars belonging to this church wear garments of yellow ſkins, of which their ſkull-caps are alſo made.

Upon the arrival of the courier which brought the ſad news of Prince Baſilius's death, the barnagas's cauſed it to be publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, in the ſeveral towns under their juriſdiction. All perſons mourned, which is performed by ſhaving the head; and this is done by men, women, and children, throughout the whole empire. On the morrow the two governors, followed by the ſoldiery and a numberleſs multitude of people, went to the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, where a ſolemn ſervice was performed in commemoration of the deceaſed prince; after which they returned to the palace in the ſame order. The two barnagas's ſet down in a ſpacious hall, ſeating me between them; afterwards the officers and perſons of diſtinction of both ſexes placed themſelves round the hall. Women with tabors, and men having none, placed themſelves in the middle of the hall, and began to ſing a ſort of ſong in honour of the prince, and this in ſo very mournful a tone, that I could not forbear weeping. The ceremony laſted about an hour. Some, as a token of their grief, ſcratched their faces till the blood came, or burnt their temples with wax-tapers ‡. None but perſons of quality were in this hall; the common people being in the courts, where they vented cries in ſo doleful a ſtrain, as muſt have moved the moſt ſtony hearts. Theſe ceremonies laſted three days, as is the uſual cuſtom.

I am to obſerve, that whenever an Ethiopian dies, dreadful cries are heard on every ſide. All the neighbours meet in the houſe of deceaſed, and weep with the relations

* A kind of marble.

† It is ſaid that the Abyſſinian monarchs fancy themſelves to be deſcended from Maqueda, (or Nizaule, according to Joſephus) Queen of the South, or Sheba.

‡ This muſt be a very odd manner of expreſſing grief.

who come there for that purpoſe. The dead body is waſhed with peculiar ceremonies; and after being wrapped in a winding-ſheet of new cotton, it is laid in a coffin ſtanding in the middle of a hall, where wax-tapers are burning. They then redouble their wailings and tears, tabors ſounding all the time. Some addreſs themſelves in prayer, to Heaven for the ſoul of the deceaſed; others repeat verſes in his praiſe; tear their hair, ſcratch their faces, or burn their fleſh with torches as an indication of their grief. This ceremony, which is prodigiouſly affecting, laſts till the friars come and take up the body. After ſinging certain pſalms, and making the ſeveral perfumings with incenſe, they begin to walk, holding an iron croſs in their right hand, and a prayer-book in their left. They themſelves carry the body, and ſing pſalms all the way: the relations and friends of the deceaſed follow after, ſtill continuing their lamentations, tabors beating all the way. All have their heads ſhaved, which is the indication of mourning, as I obſerved before. When they paſs before any church, the proceſſion halts: then they offer up certain prayers, and afterwards proceed forward till they come to the place of burial. Here they again begin the perfumings with incenſe; ſing pſalms for ſome time in a mournful tone, and lay the body in the ground. Perſons of ſome conſideration are buried in the churches, and the vulgar in common church-yards, where a great number of croſſes are ſet up, much after the ſame manner as in the convents of the Carthuſians. The company then return to the houſe of the deceaſed, where a feaſt is made. They meet there morning and evening, during three days, in order to weep; and all this time they take no ſuſtenance except in that place. The three days being ended, they ſeparate till the eighth day after the interment; and aſſemble in order to weep for two hours once a week, which cuſtom they obſerve the whole year round; and this is their anniverſary *.

When a prince, who is heir to the crown, or ſome other perſon of very great diſtinction dies, the Emperor does not concern himſelf, for three months, with public affairs, unleſs they are extremely urgent. As this monarch intended to ſend an ambaſſador into France, he commanded Moorat to come to him; gave him his orders and credential letters for the King; and after inveſting him with the ceremonial mantle, in a public audience, bid him ſet out. However, his journey was no ways fortunate, the horſes which he was to preſent to our monarch dying on the road; and as Moorat was obliged to ſend to court for a freſh ſupply, this accident retarded our progreſs ſo much, that I reſolved to go before to Matzuma† to give orders for our embarkation, and wait for him there.

The evening before my departure, the barnagas's, after ſending away the forces which had conducted me as far as Duvarna, ordered an hundred foot ſoldiers, armed with lances, and headed by an officer on horſeback, to be in readineſs to march on the morrow, to guard me to Matzuma. I diſmiſſed part of my ſervants, and kept only thirty. I ſet out from Duvarna the eighth of September 1700, and with great difficulty and danger croſſed Moraba ‡, a very rapid river.

From Duvarna the lords of the ſeveral villages do not cauſe their vaſſals to carry the baggage; but employ, for that purpoſe, certain oxen, called bers, which are of a

* All writers on Ethiopia that have fallen into my hands agree that the Abyſſinians make great howlings at the death of their relations and friends; that the corpſe, after being waſhed and perfumed, is wrapt in a cloth; and being carried on a bier by ſome of the clergy, (as is the cuſtom among the Romaniſts) theſe read certain paſſages out of the Pſalms over it, they having no expreſs funeral ſervice. It is farther ſaid that the Abyſſinians never uſe coffins; and that the relations and friends mourn ſome time in tattered garments.

† Meſſua in the original.

‡ I find a river called Mareb in Mell.

different kind from thoſe called frida *, theſe being the common oxen. Theſe beaſts, whoſe fleſh is not eaten, will go a prodigious way in a ſhort time. I employed twenty, part of them carrying our moſt conſiderable proviſions for the voyage, and the reſt our tents; we, ever ſince the rainy ſeaſon was ended, lying during the night, in the fields.

The inhabitants of this country, who are partly Mohammedans and partly Chriſtians, bring proviſions to the caravans which paſs that way. Being told, that within a day's journey of our road ſtood a famous monaſtery, I was determined to go and ſee it, and for that purpoſe left the great road; taking with me twenty of the ſoldiers, with their commanding officer, for the greater ſecurity. We were above half a day in aſcending a very ſteep mountain, which is quite covered with trees. Being got to the ſummit of it, we found a croſs and the monaſtery ſought after.

This religious houſe ſtands in the middle of a foreſt, in a dreadful ſolitude. It is well built, and has a very extenſive view, we thence diſcovering the Red Sea, and a vaſt extent of country. In this monaſtery are an hundred friars, who lead a life of very great auſterity, and are cloathed after the ſame manner with thoſe of Heleni. Their cells are ſo very ſmall, that a man can ſcarce lie down at full length in them. They, like the reſt of the monks of Ethiopia, eat no fleſh. They are perpetually fixed in contemplation on God and holy things, which is their whole employment. I there ſaw a man of about threeſcore and ſix years of age, who, during ſeven years, had ſubſiſted on nothing but the leaves of the wild olive-tree, which extreme mortification made him ſpit blood in a violent manner. I gave him ſome phyſic, and preſcribed a regimen not quite ſo ſevere as that he had hitherto obſerved. He was a very handſome, affable man, and brother to the governor of Tigra. The abbot of the monaſtery gave us a moſt affectionate reception. The inſtant we arrived, he waſhed and kiſſed our feet, during which the friars ſaid certain prayers. This ceremony being ended, we proceeded, in proceſſion, to the church, the friars ſtill ſinging; and then we went into an apartment, where a repaſt was brought us, which was only bread dipped in butter, and ſome beer, neither wine nor mead being drunk in that convent; nor is any wine ever uſed except for the ſolemnizing maſs. The abbot was always in our company, but did not eat with us.

Taking leave, on the morrow, of the abbot and friars, who did me the honour to accompany me a great way, I returned to our caravan, and purſued my journey, but did not meet with any thing remarkable in it. A week after our ſetting out from Duvarna, we arrived at Arcoova, a little town ſtanding on the Red Sea, and which the geographers erroneouſly call Arequies †, where he ſtaid but one night. On the morrow we croſſed in a boat an arm of the ſea, and went to Meſſua ‡, a ſmall iſland, or rather a barren rock, on which a fortreſs ſtands. It belongs to the Grand Signior, and is the reſidence of a baſſa.

This fortreſs is a very trifling place, and might eaſily be taken by a man of war well manned. During my ſtay there an Engliſh ſhip came and caſt anchor before it, which threw all the people of the iſland into the utmoſt conſternation. They were going to quit it, when the captain of the ſhip put his long-boat aſhore, to aſſure the commandant that he needed not be under any apprehenſion from the Engliſh, they being friends to the Grand Signior. The baſſa of Meſſua appoints the governor of Suaquem §,

* Or Freeda.

† I ſuppoſe, as was before obſerved, this to be what is called Erquiko or Arquika in our maps.

‡ Or Matzuma.

§ Saquem.

a town

a town ſubject to the Turkiſh empire, and ſtanding on the Red Sea. Here is the fiſhery for pearls and tortoiſes, of which a great trade is carried on; and this is a conſiderable addition to the Grand Signior's revenues. The baſſa of Meſſua ſhewed me the higheſt civilities, at the recommendation of the Emperor of Ethiopia, who is much dreaded in that country, and with great reaſon, ſince the Abyſſinians might eaſily ſeize upon that place *, which they formerly poſſeſſed, by ſtarving it out, and refuſing water to the inhabitants of Meſſua, who are forced to fetch all they want from Arcoova, there not being any in the iſland.

During my ſtay at the Ethiopian court, I was told that the Dutch had endeavoured more than once to trade with the Ethiopians; but whether it be owing to the difference of their religions, or that the mighty power which the Dutch have gained in India gave them umbrage, it is certain that the Ethiopians do not care to be concerned with them: and I have often heard them ſay, that they will never put any confidence in Chriſtians who neither faſt, invoke the ſaints, nor believe in tranſubſtantiation †.

The Engliſh likewiſe are deſirous of trading with the Ethiopians; and I myſelf know that one Agapyri, an Armenian merchant, had agreed to introduce them into this country, the trade of which would be advantageous to the Engliſh, ſince, beſides gold, civet, elephants' teeth, &c. they might draw from Abyſſinia aloes, myrrh, caſſia, tamarinds, and coffee, which is not much eſteemed by the Ethiopians. I was told that coffee was formerly tranſplanted from Abyſſinia into Yeman, or Arabia Felix, which now ſupplies it; the Ethiopians in this age, never raiſing the plant which produces it, except merely out of curioſity.

The plant which produces coffee‡, is very like the myrtle-ſhrub. Its leaves are always green, but larger, and more tufted. It bears a fruit like a piſtacho-nut, having a huſk containing two berries, and this is what we call coffee. This huſk is green at firſt, but grows brown as it ripens. Coffee is not put into boiling water, to prevent its ſprouting, as ſome have aſſerted; it being taken out of the huſks, and ſent away without any farther preparation.

I was uneaſy at the ambaſſador Moorat's ſtay, being afraid of loſing the opportunity of the monſoons. I therefore wrote word to inform him, that I was reſolved to go to Gedda §, and wait for him in that town; to which he anſwered, I might do as I judged proper, and that he would endeavour to meet me there, in which he had been prevented by the death of Prince Baſilius, and the many difficulties he had met with in the journey. I then diſmiſſed all my ſervants, and rewarded them in ſo liberal a

* How much does this differ from what is declared by other writers, who tell us that the Grand Signior has quite curbed the power of the Abyſſinian monarchs. Poſſibly this may be owing to the Jeſuits, who, after they were drove from Abyſſinia, endeavoured to make the Emperor of it appear inconſiderable to the Europeans.

† This very poſſibly may be only a flouriſh of our phyſician's, as the moſt approved writers on Ethiopia agree that the Abyſſinians do not believe in tranſubſtantiation; and diſclaim moſt other points of the Popiſh doctrine, as purgatory, ſervice in an unknown tongue, image-worſhip, auricular confeſſion, extreme unction, celibacy of the clergy, &c.

‡ Coffee was firſt drunk in England in 1652. The coffee-ſhrub grows to about the height of eight or ten feet, and its bark is grey; the twigs riſe by pairs, and the leaves on the twigs in the ſame manner; the leaves are about four inches long and two broad in the middle; they are ſhaped much like the bay-leaf; the fruit hangs to the twig, ſometimes one, two, or more in the ſame place. The natives plant theſe ſhrubs in a rich ſoil, which is watered by artificial channels; and as, after three or four years, the ſhrubs begin to decline, new ones are planted. The berries are dried in the ſun, and the outward huſks are afterwards taken off by hand-mills, which huſks, roaſted, the Arabians uſe inſtead of coffee-berries. When the berries are roaſted, the beſt way of keeping them is in ſome warm place, damps taking off the briſkneſs of their flavour.

§ Sidon, or Jedda.

manner,

85521

manner, as could not but give them an eſteem for the French nation. They all melted into tears, and would fain have followed me, but I did not think proper to take them any further. This being done, I took leave of the baſſa of Meſſua; and, the 28th of October, went on board a bark built at Surat.

I did not care to truſt myſelf in any of the ſhips of the country, they appearing to me crazy and very unſafe. The boards, though pitched over, are tied together only with ropes, that are far from ſtrong, any more than the ſails, which are only of matts made with the leaves of the domi. However, theſe veſſels, though ſo badly equipped, and worſe ſteered, carry a conſiderable lading; and though there are not above ſeven or eight men to manage them, they are of great ſervice in every part of this ſea.

Two days after our leaving Meſſoua, we came to a little iſland called Dehelec. The ſhips which come from India, take in freſh water and proviſions here, of which there is great abundance, except bread, the inhabitants themſelves often wanting it, they ſubſiſting uſually on fiſh and fleſh. We ſtaid a week in this iſland, on account of the contrary winds; but the inſtant a favourable gale ſprung up, we ſailed to another iſland, called Abugafar, or Father of Pardon. The captain went aſhore, and carried a torch to the ſepulchre of this Abugafar. The Mohammedans would be afraid of being caſt away, were they to omit this ceremony; and even frequently go out of their courſe to viſit this pretended ſaint. We afterwards ſailed, in the high ſea, amidſt ſhelves and banks of ſand, of which there are great numbers, and almoſt upon a level with the top of the water, which makes the ſailing this way very dangerous; but as the pilots are very well acquainted with them, they ſail through them without being under the leaſt apprehenſions, though this part of the ſea is filled with them. We arrived, the ſixth day, at Kotumbul, a very high rock ſtanding in the ſea, within half a league of the continent of Arabia. We caſt anchor between the bank and the land, and ſpent the night there. The next day we coaſted along Arabia, and caſt anchor before Ibrahim Merſa, or Abraham's Anchoring-place. We continued our courſe; and, after ſailing a week, landed at Conſita *, a pretty town, ſubject to the King of Mecca, and the firſt ſea-port in his dominions, ſouthward. People are glad to go aſhore here, they paying but one duty, whereas they are forced to pay two in other places. There are very fine warehouſes in this city; and there the goods brought aſhore are ſtored, after which they are ſent by land on camels to Judda, which is five or ſix days journey from it. We lay at anchor a week before Conſita, expecting a wind, and in order to reſt ourſelves. A great trade is carried on in this city, it being frequented by a vaſt number of Mohammedan merchants, Arabians, and Indians. Such Indians as are idolaters are not admitted into it. Proviſions are more plentiful and cheaper here than at Judda, where we arrived the fifth of December 1700. From Kotumbul to Judda, we ſailed only in the day-time, and caſt anchor every night, for fear of the banks of ſand.

Judda or Siden is a large city, on the ſea-ſhore, within half a days journey from Mecca †. The port or rather the road, is ſafe enough, though the north-weſt wind blows into it. The bottom is pretty good in certain places, and there is depth of water enough for ſmall ſhips, but ſhips of a large burden are obliged to keep within a league of it. I went aſhore, and took up my quarters in an Okel ‡, which is com-

* I do not meet with this name, or that of any of the iſlands above in our maps.

† It is the port town of Mecca where the pilgrims uſually land, and it belongs to the Grand Signior. The country round it is very barren. The Arabians bring vaſt quantities of coffee hither.

‡ Oquel.

poſed

poſed of four ranges of houſes, three ſtory high, with a court in the middle. The loweſt ſtory conſiſts of warehouſes, and the other ſtories are for travellers. There are no other inns in this country, nor in Turkey: and there are a conſiderable number of Okels in Judda. The inſtant a traveller is arrived, he enquires for rooms and warehouſes that may ſuit him; paying, to the owner, a certain price, which is ever fixed. I gave four crowns a month for two rooms, a terraſs, and a kitchen. Theſe Okels are as ſo many aſylums and conſecrated places, where a traveller needs not fear being inſulted or robbed. One great inconvenience is, the landlords never provide a ſingle thing; ſo that a lodger is obliged to purchaſe his own furniture, and buy and dreſs all his own proviſions, unleſs his ſervants do this.

Two days after my arrival in Judda, the King of Mecca * came thither with an army of twenty thouſand men †. He cauſed his tents to be pitched, and encamped before the gate of the city which leads to Mecca. I ſaw him. He is about threeſcore; of a majeſtic ſtature, and has an aſpect that ſtrikes terror. The right ſide of his lower lip is divided. He is not applauded either by his ſubjects or his neighbours, for gentleneſs or clemency. He forced the baſſa who commands in Judda, by order of the Grand Signior, to give him fifteen thouſand gold crowns; threatening to diveſt him of his government, in caſe he did not comply inſtantly. He likewiſe oppreſſed all ſuch merchants, ſubjects of the Grand Signior, as are ſettled there for carrying on their traffic, making them pay thirty thouſand gold crowns. Theſe two ſums he diſtributed among his ſoldiers, who are ever very numerous, by which means he is ever maſter of the field. Caravans come yearly from India and Turkey, in pilgrimage to Mecca. Some of them are vaſtly rich; the merchants going in theſe caravans, for the conveniency of tranſporting their Indian goods into Europe, and thoſe of Europe into India. When theſe caravans arrive at Mecca, a great fair is held in it, to which reſort a numberleſs multitude of Mohammedan merchants, who bring the moſt precious commodities of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, which are there bartered. The King of Mecca plundered the caravans of India and Turkey in 1699, and 1700. This prince is called Xerif, or Supremely Noble ‡, becauſe he pretends to be deſcended from the prophet Mohammed. The Grand Signior uſed, during a long courſe of years, to give the inveſtiture of this kingdom; but the preſent Xerif, who is a very haughty prince, will not ſubmit to his authority, but calls him, out of contempt, Elon Mamluc, or Son of a Slave.

Medina § is the chief city of his kingdom. It is famous for being the ſeat of Mohammed's tomb, as Mecca is for giving birth to him. The monarch does not reſide much

* Mecca ſtands in a valley, almoſt ſurrounded with mountains. It is twice the bigneſs of Medina, and the houſes, which are low, are built of brick. In the center of the town ſtands the Kaaba, or Houſe of God, which the Mohammedans declare to have been built by Abraham. Here pilgrims perform their devotions, but are not allowed to enter the Kaaba. Though this city is ſo much revered by the Mohammedans, it yet has been ſeveral times beſieged, plundered, and burnt.

† The inland parts of Arabia are ſubject to a great variety of petty princes who wander from place to place, and encamp wherever they find paſture, and water for their cattle. The boundaries of theſe petty princes can ſcarce be fixed; but thoſe who govern near the ſea coaſts may be better aſcertained. Such Arabians as inhabit towns, are very few in number compared to thoſe who live in tents, and rove from place to place. The ſovereign of Mecca is one of the moſt powerful princes in Arabia. His dominions, which extend along the ſhores of the Red Sea, are ſaid to be two hundred and ſixty leagues in length, and about fifty in breadth.

‡ This Xerif, and ſome others, are alſo called Emirs, both which are ſaid to ſignify the ſacerdotal and regal office, as, before them, (the Kâlif) among the Saracens.

§ The Arabians called it Medina Al-nabi, or City of the Prophet. It conſiſts of about a thouſand houſes of brick and ſtone. There are many moſques in this city, the chief whereof is called the Moſt Holy. In a tower in this temple ſtands Mohammed's tomb, which it is ſaid the pilgrims are not permitted to

much in Medina, he being generally at the head of his armies. The Turks, upon their arrival at Medina, undreſs themſelves out of reſpect, keeping on nothing but a ſcarf which covers the middle of their body; and travel in this geer, three or four leagues. Thoſe who do not care to ſubmit to this, pay a ſum of money, in order to make a ſacrifice to God in honour of Mohammed.

The Chriſtians, and particularly the Franks, cannot ſettle in Judda becauſe of the neighbourhood of Mecca, the Mohammedans never permitting them to do it. Nevertheleſs a great trade is carried on here; ſuch ſhips as return from India caſting anchor before it. The Grand Signior commonly keeps thirty large ſhips in theſe ſeas for the conveying of merchandize *. Theſe ſhips have no cannon, though they are large enough to carry an hundred. All things are dear at Judda, not excepting water, becauſe of the vaſt reſort of ſuch numbers of different nations; a pint of water, of Paris meaſure, coſting two-pence or three-pence †, and that becauſe it is brought four leagues. The walls of this town are very weak; the fortreſs which ſtands towards the ſea, is a little better; but it could not be able to ſuſtain a ſiege, though there are ſome pieces of cannon for its defence. Moſt of the houſes are of ſtone; and the roofs are ſo many terraſſes, after the manner of the Eaſterns.

There was ſhewn me, on the ſea-ſhore, within two muſket-ſhot of the city, a ſepulchre which my guides declared to be that of Eve. The country round Judda is quite diſagreeable; nothing being ſeen but barren rocks, and uncultivated places full of ſand. I would gladly have viſited Mecca, but no Chriſtian is permitted to go thither upon pain of death. There is no river between Judda and Mecca, as ſome have falſely aſſerted; there being only a ſpring whence the water drank in Judda is drawn.

After ſtaying a month in this town, I received advice that it would be ſome time before Moorat the ambaſſador arrived in it; and alſo that he would be obliged to ſtay a year longer in Abyſſinia, ſhould he neglect the opportunity of the monſoons. For this reaſon I reſolved to embark in the ſhips which were now preparing to ſail for Suez; and to viſit Mount Sinai, whither Moorat had appointed me to go, in caſe he did not come to Judda.

Accordingly I embarked, the 12th of January 1700, in one of the ſhips which the Grand Signior had ordered to be built in Surat. Though theſe ſhips are of very great burden, they yet have but one deck ‡. The ſides are ſo high, that the talleſt man could not reach up to them. The ropes of theſe ſhips are very thick and hard, and their maſts and ſails differ but little from ours. One thing very particular in theſe veſſels is, a kind of ciſterns, which are ſo capacious, that they contain water enough to ſupply an hundred and fifty men during five months. Theſe ciſterns are ſo well varniſhed within, that they preſerve the water very pure and clean, and much better than the hogſheads uſed in Europe. It was with great difficulty we got from among the ſand-banks which lie about Judda, and are found in every part of that ſea; and for this reaſon we kept as near as poſſible to the ſhore, which lay on our ſtarboard-ſide. We caſt anchor every evening, for fear of running on one of theſe banks, which

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to ſee. The ſtory of Mohammed's coffin being ſuſpended by a loadſtone is a fiction. Pilgrims commonly viſit this tomb at their return from Mecca. The place of this ſepulchre is called, by way of eminence, the Meadow, or Garden.

* The Red Sea was prodigiouſly frequented before the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope; but we are told that, of late years, few ſhips go higher than Mocha, except the Turkiſh gallies, and the veſſels which convey the Mohammedan pilgrims to Mecca.

† About three-half-pence, Engliſh money.

‡ I ſuppoſe theſe are gallies.

the pilots avoid very ſkilfully. They are ſeen every where riſing to the ſurface of the water; and the pilots paſs boldly through them, which is owing to their great experience of theſe ſeas from their infancy; many of them being born on board theſe ſhips, which may be conſidered as ſo many floating warehouſes. After ſailing five or ſix days, we caſt anchor before the iſland of Haſſama, within two leagues of the continent. This iſland is not inhabited, but we took in very good water there. From that place, to Suez ſhips drop anchor every night near the ſhore; on which occaſions the Arabs never fail to bring refreſhments.

Twelve or thirteen days after our departure from Haſſama, we came to the road of Yamboe. This is a pretty large town, defended by a caſtle ſtanding on the ſea-ſide, the fortifications whereof are in a very poor condition *. It belongs to the King of Mecca. I did not viſit it, becauſe the Arabs, who are hovering up and down every where thereabouts, rob travellers, and abuſe ſuch as go aſhore. We were ſtopped a week in this road by contrary winds. Two days after our leaving Yamboe, we caſt anchor between two ſands, where there aroſe ſo furious a ſtorm, that two of our cables broke, ſo that we had like to have periſhed; but, very happily, the ſtorm did not laſt long.

We went aſhore at Meeula†, a town about the ſame extent as Yamboe, which alſo has a caſtle, but it is weak. From thence we ſailed to Chiurma, a very good harbour, where ſhips are ſecured from ſtorms. Here we meet with no town or village, but only tents inhabited by Arabs. We did not arrive at Chiurma till the 22d of April, occaſioned by the contrary winds. The monſoons being far advanced, I thought it would be impoſſible to proceed any farther by ſea, for which reaſon I landed at Chiurma, where I procured camels, which in ſix days carried me to Tor ‡. Tor is ſubject to the Grand Signior. There is a garriſon in the caſtle, with an aga who commands in it; and a great number of Greek Chriſtians are found in the village. They have a monaſtery agreeably to their worſhip, which is ſubject to the great one of Mount Sinai. I was here told that the Archbiſhop of the monaſtery of Mount Sinai, who was paralytic, hearing of my arrival at Judda, had ſent to Tor, to invite me to go and ſee him. Accordingly I ſet out for that famous monaſtery; and it was three days before I reached it; the roads being vaſtly troubleſome, we were obliged to travel over very ſteep mountains. The monaſtery of Mount Sinai ſtands at the foot of the mountain; and the gates of that religious houſe are always walled up, on account of the incurſions of the Arabs. I was drawn up into it § by ropes faſtened to a pulley, and my baggage after the ſame manner ‖.

I immediately paid my compliments to the Archbiſhop, who is a venerable man, aged ninety-three years. One ſide of him was ſtruck with the palſy, a ſight which grieved me very much, I having known him ſome years before; and had recovered him at Grand Cairo, when labouring under a fit of ſickneſs. On this occaſion I was ſo fortunate, as to enable him to celebrate maſs, pontifically, on Eaſter Sunday, which he, till then, had not ſtrength enough to do for a long time.

* It has a tolerable good harbour, and is now the port town to Medina. Some ſay that this caſtle is ſtrong enough to reſiſt the attacks of the wild Arabs, but not to ſtand a profeſſed ſiege in form.

† Mieula.

‡ From Tor, according to a tradition of the natives, may be ſeen the place where the Iſraelites went over the Red Sea. The ſea, in that part, is about five leagues over; and in the middle of the channel about 35 fathoms deep.

§ It is ſaid that travellers are let up and down in a baſket.

‖ Certain travellers relate, that the monks have abandoned this monaſtery, on account of the wild Arabs plundering the camels which were bringing proviſions to them, and that they retired to Tor.

This monaſtery is a very ſolid building, and its walls are very ſtrong. The church is magnificent, it having been raiſed by the Emperor Juſtinian, as the friars told me. They are fifty in number, excluſive of thoſe who go about and aſk alms. They lead a very mortified life; they never drink wine, nor eat meat, even when very ſick. The water they drink is excellent, it being taken from a ſpring riſing in the middle of the monaſtery. Thrice a week they are allowed a ſmall glaſs of brandy, made with dates. They keep a very ſtrict faſt during the four Lents obſerved in the eaſtern church; and, out of thoſe ſeaſons, they eat pulſe and dried fiſh. They riſe in the night to chant the office, and paſs the greateſt part of it in the choir. They ſhewed me a ſhrine of white marble, covered with a rich piece of cloth of gold, in which St. Catherine's body is depoſited, but unſeen. They only ſhew us one of the ſaint's hands, which is quite withered, but the fingers are ſtill covered with gold rings. The Archbiſhop, who is likewiſe abbot of the monaſtery, has under him a prior who has little or no power, except during the abbot's abſence *. I had the curioſity to go to the top of the mountain, to the ſpot where God delivered the two tables of the law to Moſes; the Archbiſhop being ſo kind as to ſend ſome of his friars with me.

We went up, four thouſand ſteps at leaſt, before we got to the top of this famous mountain, where a good neat chapel is built. We afterwards had a ſight of that of Elias †. We breakfaſted at the ſpring; and then returned, heartily tired, to the religious houſe. The neighbouring mountain is ſtill higher, but I had not the courage to go upon it, I being almoſt ſpent with the firſt day's journey. It is on this ſecond mountain that St. Catherine's body is ſaid to have been conveyed by angels after her martyrdom.

I waited a month in this religious houſe, in expectation of the ambaſſador Moorat. I now began to be tired, and had given him quite over, when advice was brought that he was come almoſt to the monaſtery, which gave me the higheſt ſatisfaction. I then went and met him, and preſented him to the Archbiſhop, who received him very graciouſly. Moorat informed me of the ſeveral diſappointments he had met with in his journey. He ſaid that the death of Prince Baſilius was the firſt thing which retarded him; that the Emperor, notwithſtanding his grief, had admitted him to audience, and commanded him to ſet out; and that he made ſome ſtay in Duvarna, in expectation of new orders from his ſovereign. He acquainted me with the ill treatment he had received from the King of Mecca, he having forced from him the Ethiopian children he

* It is called St. Catherine's Monaſtery, whither the monks pretend the body of that ſaint was brought, after ſhe had been beheaded in Alexandria. The Greeks have been in poſſeſſion of this monaſtery above 1400 years, it being firſt given them by ſome of the Grecian Emperors. There is a tradition, that Mohammed confirmed the then abbot and religious of this houſe, as well as all their ſucceſſors, in the full enjoyment of it, and the ſeveral lands about it, upon condition that they ſhould treat all the neighbouring Arabs hoſpitably; which condition the monks afterwards complied with exactly; till the Arabs plundered the caravans which were bringing proviſions to the monaſtery, on which occaſions the friars forſook it, and withdrew to Tor. This convent was ſurrounded by a very thick, ſtrong, high wall, to ſecure it from the attacks of the wild Arabs; and being ſituated on the brow of a very ſteep rock, the friars uſed to let down the proviſions (which were chiefly corn) they furniſhed the Arabs with, by a rope; and as for the pilgrims, they were taken up, and let down in a baſket. The aſcent from the foot of the mountain to Sinai is vaſtly ſteep.

† In the way down this mountain, a great ſtone is ſhewn, which, according to the monks, is the place where Elias reſted himſelf, after his flying from Jezebel. A little below this, the Mohammedans ſhew the print made by Mohammed's camel, in the rock, as he was travelling this way. This print they kiſs very devoutly. Thus we have a place where both Chriſtians and Mohammedans employ their frauds, in order to impoſe on the weak and ſuperſtitious. This country is ſaid to be vaſtly pleaſant and fruitful, which poſſibly might be the reaſon why the children of Iſrael continued ſo many years in it.

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was carrying into France; and, to add to his misfortune, the veſſel on board of which the preſents were put, had been caſt away near Tor: that nine large ſhips laden with coffee had ſtayed in this port, by their having ſet ſail too late, and loſing the ſeaſon of the monſoons. This delay has made coffee very dear in Grand Cairo, as thoſe ſhips were not able to reach Suez, where they unlade, and are freighted with other goods, as linens, corn, rice, and other proviſions, which are brought from Grand Cairo, and bartered for thoſe of India.

After Moorat had reſted five days at Mount Sinai, we ſet forwards towards Tor, where his retinue waited for him. We ſtaid but one night in this harbour, and proceeded by land, on the morrow, for Suez; travelling almoſt continually by the ſea-ſide. We reached the laſt-mentioned town in five days.

Suez is a ſmall city at the bottom of the gulph of the Red Sea; and is the port to Cairo, whence it is diſtant three days journey. The town above mentioned is commanded by a caſtle built in the antient taſte, and poorly fortified. There is a governor with a garriſon of two hundred men; and there are very fine warehouſes*. The country is no ways agreeable, the only objects round it being deſarts, interſperſed with rocks and ſands. This town, like that of Judda, has no water, which is brought from the adjacent parts, but then it is cheaper.

Upon my arrival at Tor, I wrote to Monſieur Maillet, the French conſul at Cairo, to inform him of the ambaſſador's arrival. He wrote me an anſwer, by which I was deſired to make all the haſte poſſible to Grand Cairo. I complied with his requeſt, and took the opportunity of the firſt caravan that ſet out, it conſiſting of about eight thouſand camels. I mounted a dromedary, and after going three leagues with the caravan, I went on before them, and reached Grand Cairo in four-and-twenty hours. Theſe dromedaries are ſmaller than camels. They go very hard, but very ſwift-footed; and will travel four-and-twenty hours without halting, and are employed only to carry men. Being arrived at Grand Cairo, I informed our conſul of the reſult of our journey; and got ready a fine houſe for the ambaſſador, who arrived two days after.

Monſieur Maillet, the inſtant he heard he was come, ſent him refreſhments of every kind; and then agreed, in concert with Moorat, that I ſhould embark for France, in order to inform our court of the ſeveral particulars related above.

I could ſay much more concerning Ethiopia; could treat of the government of that mighty empire; of its religious and civil employments, courts of judicature; of the botany, and even phyſic of the Abyſſinians; but to do this, I muſt firſt enjoy the repoſe which is earneſtly ſought for, by thoſe who undertake long and laborious travels: and the air of France muſt firſt have reſtored me to my health, the ſweets of which cannot be taſted, except it be perfect. We phyſicians, who cure other people, often have not ſkill enough to cure ourſelves.

* Suez has no water near it, by reaſon that the plains round are all of ſand. Its inhabitants ſubſiſt wholly by trade, which is very conſiderable, as all the goods which come out of India into Europe, by the Red Sea, are unladed here, and carried from thence to Grand Cairo and Alexandria. Some imagine Suez to be the antient Poſſidium, and others Arſinoe. The town is a little above the place where the Iſraelites croſſed the Red Sea. The Gulph of Suez is ſeparated from the Mediterranean, by an iſthmus only fifty leagues broad, by which Aſia is joined to Africa. Some Egyptian monarchs had formed a deſign to cut through this iſthmus, in order to join the two ſeas, but to no purpoſe. The town of Suez does not now contain above 200 houſes, and has a good harbour enough, which yet is too ſhallow for ſhips of burthen. It is almoſt a deſart, when foreign veſſels and the Turkiſh gallies are not there; but when theſe are lying before it, it is full of people.

A JOURNEY TO DAR-FÛR,

A KINGDOM IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

*BY Mr. BROWNE.**

CHAP. I.—*Design to penetrate into the Interior of Africa — Difficulties — Caravan from Soudan or Dar-Fûr — Preparations — Departure from Assiut — Journey to El-wah — Mountains — Desert — Charjé in El-wah — Bulak — Beir îs — Mughes — Desert of Sheb — Desert of Selimé — Leghéa — Natrôn Spring — Difficulties — Enter the Kingdom of Fûr — Sweini — Detention — Representations to the Melek — Residence — New Difficulties — Villany of Agent — Sultan's Letter — Enmity of the People against Franks — El Fasher — Illness — Conversations with the Melek Misellim — Relapse — Robbery — Cobbé — Manners — Return to El Fusher — The Melek Ibrahim — Amusements — Incidents — Audience of the Sultân Abd-el-rachman-el-rashîd — His Personal Character — Ceremonies of the Court.*

MY views to the south of Egypt having been frustrated during the last year, I was reduced to the alternative of abandoning any further projects in that quarter, or of waiting for a more seasonable opportunity. As it was reported that such an one would soon offer, I did not hesitate to prefer the latter, though strongly dissuaded from it, as generally happens to those whose designs are any way analogous to mine. The Europeans in this quarter, as well as the natives, being immersed in commerce from their early years, are unable to conceive the advantages promised by voyages of discovery, to which no immediate profit is attached; and accordingly as they know the hazard great, and imagine the achievement frivolous and useless, even from the best motives they are rather inclined to discourage, than to animate, any one who undertakes them.

From conviction sufficiently clear, arising both from reading and the sentiments of those who were best informed on the subject, that the river whose source Mr. Bruce describes is not the true Nile, I thought it an object of still greater importance, that the source of the more western river should be investigated. But what might have been a matter of choice, was with me only the result of necessity. The idea of reaching the sources of this river, (the Bahr-el-abiad,) laid down in the maps apparently at about two hundred leagues farther south than Sennaar, seemed to me so hopeless, that this object alone would hardly have induced me to undertake such a voyage. I should rather have been inclined to attempt Abyssinia, and endeavoured to certify, as well as circumstances might permit, how far authentic former narratives had been, and what might offer that was new to European observation. For this purpose the obvious and most easy route was by the Red Sea to Masouah. But all accounts concurred in mag-

* Browne's Travels, London, 1799, 1806, &c.

nifying

nifying the difficulty, and almoſt impoſſibility, of an European paſſing there undiſcovered; and, being diſcovered, of his penetrating any farther.

The road from Kahira to Sennaar was the one I ſhould have preferred; but the deſolation and anarchy then prevailing in Nubia, which had prevented me from paſſing the former year, would not probably have allowed me better ſucceſs in this. Beſides, the city of Sennaar was then occupied by the ſlaves of the laſt Mecque, or King, who had depoſed and put to death their maſter, and ſtill continued to uſurp the government. By taking the route of Dar-Fûr, I was taught to believe that I might hope for the advantages of a regular government; and with proper management might expect every favour from the monarch. The local inconvenience of being ſo much farther removed from Abyſſinia was indeed obvious; but, on the other hand, the choice of more than one route was, it ſeemed likely, thereby offered; which, in a place where progreſs is ſo uncertain, and contingencies ſo numerous, would be a matter of no inconſiderable importance.

At the moment of my return from Aſſûan to Aſſiût, the caravan of jelabs from Dar-Fûr, called *Caſſlet-es-Soudân* *, the Soudân caravan, arrived at El-wah. It was then reported that the ſale of their merchandize and ſlaves, of which they had no great quantity, would be completed in about two months, and that then they would return home. Their ſtay, however, was protracted during the whole of that winter; and in the month of March 1793 they commenced their departure from Kahira for the Upper Egypt. They were ſlow in collecting all that was neceſſary for the journey, and I made uſe of the time ſo allowed to draw information from various quarters concerning what was requiſite for the voyage. From what cauſe I know not, but at that time the perſons of whom I made enquiry gave no intimation that the treatment of Chriſtians in their country was marked by any aſperity. The late Sultan of Fûr, indeed, as I afterwards learned, had been remarkable for his mildneſs and liberality to all deſcriptions of perſons. But this was not all — a native of Soudân is, in Kahira, the moſt obſequious and ſervile of the human race. He behaves towards a Chriſtian whom he meets there nearly as to one of the true believers. In his own country he repays with intereſt the contempt that has been ſhewn him by the Egyptians.

On the 21ſt April 1793, I ſet out from Bulak, having embarked on the Nile; and on the eighth day, the wind having been often unfavourable, arrived at Aſſiût. The firſt care was to provide camels for the route, and theſe were unfortunately at that time ſcarce. Five however I at length obtained, at about 13l. ſterling each. We had alſo made our proviſion of food, &c. required for the journey; and the caravan having at length aſſembled, after about fifty days the expected moment of departure arrived. It was the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year, and conſequently unfavourable to travelling. Theſe merchants however, diſpoſed as they are to indolence, and governed by preſent ſenſations, when their profit is concerned, eſteem the variations of climate unworthy of a thought: and long habit has familiarized them with ſuch degrees of heat, that what is inſupportable to northern nations is with them no ſerious motive for the remiſſion of labour.

The route taken by the Soudân caravan is in part the ſame as that traverſed by Poncet, in the beginning of the preſent century, on his way to Abyſſinia. He paſſed by Sheb and Selimé, and thence ſtriking acroſs the deſart ſouth-eaſt, croſſed the Nile at Moſcho. We continued our march from Selimé, almoſt due ſouth, or with a ſmall

* Soudân in Arabic correſponds to our Nigritia, merely general words for the country of the blacks.

variation to the weſt. Our party having left Aſſiût on the 25th May, encamped on the mountain above it till the 28th when it proceeded by ſhort ſtages towards El-wah. The Jelabs commonly pay the Muggrebines for their protection, or rather for forbearing to plunder them, at the rate of about a patacke for each camel. I refuſed them this tribute, alleging that I was not of the number of merchants who uſually trade to Soudân, but a ſtranger who was employed on buſineſs to the Sultan; and though my refuſal occaſioned a ſlight diſpute, the Arabs thought proper to relinquiſh their claim. The camels were heavily laden, and the Jelabs travelled ſlowly, and in detached parties, each conſulting his own convenience, till the 31ſt of the ſame month, when we came to Gebel Rumlie, an high rocky mountain, which we were to deſcend. It forms the weſtern ſide of the ridge, which conſtitutes, as it were, the wall of Egypt, and the eaſtern boundary of the low deſert, in which lie the Oaſes. It conſiſts of a coarſe tufa, and is of rugged and difficult deſcent. The road ſeems in many places to have been opened by art. We were a full hour in reaching the bottom. The camels not without great pain carrying their loads on the ſteep declivity, and being often in danger of falling.

From the ſummit of this rock the view loſt itſelf in an extenſive valley, conſiſting chiefly of rocks and ſand, but diverſified by ſmall buſhes of the date tree, and other marks of vegetation, near the ſpring where we deſigned to repoſe. Nothing could exceed the ſterility of the mountain we had paſſed. Having reached the plain, it became neceſſary to unload the camels, and allow them ſome reſt. We were employed four hours and a half, the following morning, in paſſing from the foot of the mountain to Ainé Dizé, the firſt place where water is found, and the northern extremity of the great Oaſis. An hot wind blowing during the meridian hours, the thermometer here ſtood during that time under the ſhade of the tent at 116 degrees.

In marching from Ainé Dizé to Chargé, eight hours were employed. Excepting a ſmall ſpace near the ſpring, all is waſte. The chabir, or leader, choſe to notify his approach to the town by beating drums, (two of which he had borne before him as marks of his office, and as occaſion might require, to collect the travellers when diſperſed,) and by other tokens of joy, as firing ſmall arms, ſhooting, &c. One of my camels, in deſcending the mountain, had fallen and injured his right ſhoulder, which, as a cure could not ſuddenly have place, obliged me to change him for another.

There is a gîndi or officer at Charjé, and another at Beirîs, both belonging to Ibrahim-bey-el-kebir, to whom thoſe villages appertain; and to them is entruſted the management of what relates to the caravan during the time of its ſtay there. We left Charjé on Friday the 7th of June, and having paſſed another deſert ſpace, after ſix hours reached another village, called Bulak. This is a wretchedly poor place, the houſes being only ſmall ſquare pieces of ground incloſed with a wall of clay, or unburned bricks, and generally without a roof. It furniſhes good water, and the people live by the ſale of their dates. The caravan remained a day at Bulak, and having left it on Sunday the 9th, arrived at Beirîs on Monday the 10th, after nearly fourteen hours march through a barren tract. Here the chabir thought proper to go through the ſame ceremony as at Charjé.

On the 13th we employed two hours in paſſing from Beirîs to Mugheſs, the laſt village of the Oaſis toward the ſouthern deſert. We left Mugheſs on the morning of the 15th, and on Thurſday the 20th, in the morning, arrived at Sheb. At this place, by digging to the depth of a few feet in the ſand, is found a ſupply of indifferent water. A tribe of the wandering Arabs, called Ababde, who come from the neighbourhood

of the Nile, ſometimes infeſts it. Sheb is marked by the production of a great quantity of native alum, as the name imports. The ſurface, near which the alum is found, abounds with a reddiſh ſtone; and in many places is ſeen argillaceous earth. Having left Sheb on the 21ſt, we arrived at Selimé on the 23d. This is a ſmall verdant ſpot, at the foot of a ridge of rocks of no great height, nor apparently extending very far. It affords the beſt water of any place on the route; but though there be verdure enough to relieve the eye from the dry ſterility of the ſurrounding ſurface, it affords no vegetable fit for the ſupport either of man or beaſt. At Selimé is a ſmall building, which has apparently been raiſed by ſome of the tribes reſting there, that place being much frequented by the roving parties paſſing the deſert in different directions. The building conſiſts only of looſe ſtones, but the jelabs related many fables concerning it; as that it had of old been inhabited by a princeſs who, like the Amazons, drew the bow, and wielded the battle-axe, with her own hand; that ſhe was attended by a large number of followers, who ſpread terror all over Nubia, &c.; and that her name was Selimé*.

On the 24th we reſted, and having proceeded the following morning, employed five days more in reaching Leghea. Water there is ſcarce, and far inferior in quality to that of Selimé, having a brackiſh taſte. The camels throughout the caravan began now to be exceſſively weak and jaded, and the chabir was at a loſs for the true road: for though ſeveral perſons in the caravan had traverſed this deſert ten or twelve times, they were not unfrequently unable to determine which was the right courſe. One of the party was ſent forward to diſcover ſome known object that might be our guide, and after having been abſent thirty-ſix hours he returned. While we remained here we felt much inconvenience from a ſuffocating wind that blew from the ſouth, and raiſed the ſand in clouds. On the 2d of July the caravan left Leghea; and on the eighth, after a ſevere and fatiguing march, reached the Bir-el-Malha, or ſalt ſpring. The vicinity of this ſpring is remarkable for the production of natron, which ſubſtance appears under different circumſtances, and is of different quality from that of Terané. It is very white and ſolid; and on immerſion in water becomes hot, and diſcharges a great portion of its air.

Small quantities of it are carried by the jelabs to Egypt, where it is ſold at a high price, and is uſed principally in making ſnuff. The water found at this place is very unpalatable, being brackiſh.

A troop of the natives of Zeghawa met us at this well. It is their practice to ſtation a ſmall party there, when caravans are expected, who remunerate themſelves for the fatigue of a ten days journey by ſupplying proviſions, and what elſe may be wanted by travellers, at an exorbitant rate. Many of our companions at this time had great need of their aſſiſtance, as their ſupply had been originally inſufficient, and many camels had periſhed on the road. The vicinity of the Bir-el-Malha is occaſionally infeſted by the Cubba-Beeſh, a wandering tribe, who, mounted on the ſwifteſt dromedaries, rapidly traverſe the deſert, and live by plundering the defenceleſs. As they are, however, unfurniſhed with fire-arms, ſo numerous a body as ours was not in much danger from their attack.

We remained at the Bir-el-Malha till the 12th; on which day we left that place, and travelled with little interruption till the 20th, and then encamped at a ſpot called

* In paſſing the deſert, partly from want of water, partly from being overloaded, (theſe animals being then ſcarce and dear in Egypt,) ſo many camels died, that ſeveral merchants of the caravan were obliged to bury their goods in the ſand near Selimé, whither they afterwards ſent for them.

Medwa,

Medwa, where however is no ſupply of water. One of my camels having fallen, we were obliged to purchaſe water of the Mahréa Arabs * whom we met, or to take up what had lodged in cavities on the earth, in conſequence of the rains which were then beginning to fall.

On the 23d we came to the firſt ſprings within the limits of Fûr, which are in this place called Wadi Maſrûk. The white ant, termis, was here exceedingly vexatious, building his covered way to every thing within the tent, and deſtroying all within his reach. This together with the rains, which were now increaſing, and began to pour in a torrent through the valley, obliged us to abandon the tents, and take ſhelter in the next village, (Sweini,) where I obtained an apartment in the houſe of Ali-el-Chatîb, one of the principal merchants eſtabliſhed in the country. In it I paſſed eight or ten days, not having arrived at Cobbé, one of the towns whither the jelabs chiefly reſort, till the ſeventh of Auguſt.

At Sweini reſides generally a melek or governor on the part of the Sultan of Dar-Fûr; and there all ſtrangers, as well as merchants of the country, coming with the caravan, are obliged to wait, till the pleaſure of the monarch in diſpoſing of them be known.

Coming as I did under conſiderable exceptions from the general rule of merchants trading to that country, and, in the Arabic language, rather as Daif-es-Sultan, the King's ſtranger, in which light the people of the country had hitherto viewed me, I expected to obtain, without delay, permiſſion to continue my journey to the royal reſidence. I obſerved to the melek of Sweini and other public officers, in one among many converſations I had with them, that "intending to viſit the Sultan, I ſhould hardly have expected to be put back with frivolous excuſes, as the non-payment of duties which you dare not explicitly demand of me, and tributes under the name of preſents, which have never yet been exacted of a ſtranger. If any duties be payable, beyond what have already been diſcharged, you are perfectly at liberty to detain all, or ſuch part, of the articles I bring with me, as you judge ſufficient to anſwer your claim; but not to refuſe me permiſſion to go to the Sultan, with whom I have buſineſs. Or if other reaſons operate to prevent my requeſt being complied with, and any ſuſpicions prevail relative to my views in coming here, I deſire, without further delay, to be furniſhed with the means of returning to Egypt, before I ſuffer, as commonly happens to ſtrangers, from the effects of the climate, while I am yet in the habit of travelling, and while the funds are yet unexhauſted which ſhould ſupport me in my progreſs farther."

The miſrepreſentations which had been made concerning me, and which had by this time reached the Sultan, manacled the hands of the melek, and prevented my remonſtrance from having any effect. But candour and ingenuouſneſs have no part in the character of ſlaves; and the antient obſervation is moſt juſt, that "when a man becomes a ſlave he loſes half his virtue." I therefore remained in perfect ignorance of the reaſons of my detention. Perhaps indeed, without implicating himſelf, the melek could not have declared them; or perhaps he was not thoroughly informed as to their nature. The plot that had been laid againſt me might indeed have deceived much abler heads than theirs, on whoſe caprices my fate depended.

* The Mahréa Arabs have the art of making wicker baſkets, of ſo cloſe a texture that they carry in them milk, water, bouza. Much of the earthen ware made by the people of Dar-Fûr is glazed, I know not with what compoſition.

Finding

Finding no mode of advancing, till the reſt of the caravan had obtained the ſame permiſſion, I reſolved to follow the example of the other jelabs, and wait patiently the event. The houſe I was in conſiſted of a multitude of diſtinct apartments, built with clay, and covered with a ſlanting thatched roof, but not cloſed by doors. The hoſpitality of the owner allowed all who could find place in it to lodge themſelves without diſtinction. At length, after the expiration of about ten days, an order from the Sultan arrived, directing that all the jelabs ſhould be allowed to proceed to their houſes on paying the duties aſſeſſed on them.

The circumſtances attending myſelf were peculiar; and many of the diſadvantages I had to contend with could not be well foreſeen: it is therefore neceſſary to mark them, that if any occaſion ſhould offer they may be ſerviceable to others, and for this reaſon they ſhall be detailed at conſiderable length.

Before leaving Kahira, I was appriſed, that all commerce in Dar-Fûr was conducted by means of ſimple exchange. To carry on this in ſuch a way as not to be groſsly defrauded, eſpecially having my attention engroſſed by other objects, and in utter ignorance of the articles fit for bargain and ſale in this country, ſeemed wholly impoſſible; I therefore ſought for a perſon who might go through this buſineſs for me, at leaſt with ſome ſhare of probity. Such a one aroſe to the notice of my friends there; and knowing nothing more of the man, as indeed I could not know any thing more, than the character they gave of him, I took him on the general recommendation of being honeſt, and underſtanding the buſineſs in which he was likely to be employed. The perſon recommended had been a ſlave-broker in the market of Kahira; a circumſtance, which, had it been known to me earlier, would probably have prevented my employing him. Till the moment of departure I had obſerved in him keenneſs but no fraud, and in general that ſubmiſſive acquieſcence and abſolute devotion to the will of the ſuperior, for which the lower claſs of Kahirines are externally, at leaſt, remarkable. The hour for commencing our march, however, ſeemed with him the ſignal for diſobedience and inſulting behaviour; and we were not yet far removed from the confines of Egypt, when this miſconduct was carried to ſuch an exceſs, that I once levelled my gun at him, with a view of inſpiring terror. The merchants around us interfered, and for the time this paſſed off, but the man only ſought an opportunity of revenge, which the prejudices of the people of Soudan, in direct oppoſition to my former information, too ſoon afforded him means to gratify.

The letters with which I was provided for different merchants in this diſtrict, under whoſe roof I might have had a ſafe lodging, could be of no uſe to me till I had ſeen the Sultan; for till then no perſon knew in what character to receive me. The object of this man therefore was to prevent my introduction to the Sultan, and to preclude me from any opportunity of repreſenting my caſe. We were no ſooner arrived at Sweini, than he found means to employ one of his aſſociates, who had been ſome years eſtabliſhed in the place, to go to the Monarch, and infuſe into his mind ſuſpicions of me as a Frank and an infidel, who came to his country for no good purpoſe, and whoſe deſigns it behoved him to guard againſt; and to ſuggeſt to him, that it would not be proper I ſhould remain at large, nor yet immediately come to his preſence, but that ſome perſon ſhould be commiſſioned to watch over and report my actions, and thus fruſtrate my ſuppoſed evil intentions. He added, as I afterwards found, many anecdotes, falſified or exaggerated, of the enquiries I had made, the way I had been employed, and my general behaviour on the road.

Nor was the villain himſelf idle during the time his coadjutor was thus laudably engaged. I have already mentioned that there were no doors to the apartments of the

houſe we were in. He took advantage of this circumſtance, and my momentary abſence, to take out of a box which had been broken on the road, a quantity of red coral, the moſt valuable article in my package. As the box remained locked, it was not till long after that I diſcovered this loſs. By the help of this commodity he expected to make his way with the great. At the end of a few days this agent returned, bearing a ſpecious letter, impreſſed with the Sultan's ſeal, ordering that no officer on the road ſhould preſume to detain me, or to take any thing from me, till I came to the houſe of Ibrahim-el-Wohaiſhi, (the name of this very agent,) in Cobbé, where I was to reſt myſelf, till further orders ſhould be given for my admiſſion to his preſence. I was not indeed at that time privy to the plot, yet if I could have obtained a knowledge of it, it might not have been eaſy immediately to counteract its influence; nevertheleſs, I ſuſpected ſomething might have been practiſed againſt me.

An order from the deſpot, which, while it was to protect me from his officers on the road, obliged me to confine myſelf to a particular ſpot, was a matter of ſurpriſe to me; but ſubmiſſion was unavoidable, as I was at that time unprovided even with the means of remonſtrance. Had the machinations of my adverſaries, which went much farther than my confinement, having been actually employed againſt my life, been at that time known to me, this ſeverity would not have cauſed any aſtoniſhment, and the means of redreſs might have been leſs doubtful. But ſuſpenſe filled the void of poſitive ſuffering —a ſuſpenſe to which no apparent remedy ſuggeſted itſelf. Thoſe who had known me in Egypt or on the road were diſperſed to the eaſt and weſt, and the people of the place were ill diſpoſed to form any communication with me, being filled with religious horror of one ſuppoſed an infidel, but of yet undefined impiety, and whoſe colour, variouſly regarded as the ſign of diſeaſe, the mark of divine diſpleaſure, or at leaſt, the unequivocal proof of inferiority of ſpecies, had averted their wonted hoſpitality, cloſed their compaſſion, and inflamed their perſonal pride and religious fury.

It was in this ſituation that, ſeeing no means of immediate relief, I began to feel impatience; which, as I continued in a ſtate of perfect inactivity, communicated the more rapidly its pernicious influence to my ſtate of health. On the fourteenth day after my arrival, I was attacked with a violent fever, attended with extreme pain in the head. How long it laſted I cannot preciſely ſay, having on the ſecond day loſt my recollection. It was afterwards recalled by the effect of a dyſentery, which laſted for two days, and left me too weak to aſſiſt myſelf. I had reflection enough to know, that of the aliments there to be procured, ſcarcely any could be found that would not be pernicious. After the firſt attack, therefore, I confined myſelf to the uſe of bark and water, which laſt I drank in great quantities.

A little more than a month had elapſed, when the ſymptoms appearing to diminiſh, I again preſſed to be permitted to viſit the reſidence of the Sultan. But I had reaſon to regret my impatience; for having at length obtained leave, I proceeded to El Faſher, only to repeat my ſuffering. The rainy ſeaſon was almoſt at an end, but the air, which ſtill continued inſalubrious, fatigue and anxiety renewed the malady, which, after extreme abſtinence, and having gone through the ſhort catalogue of remedies which I had had the precaution to take with me, I found unabated. Exceſſive headachs, laſſitude, thirſt, occaſional conſtipation, ſucceeded by extreme irritation of the viſcera, continued for ſeveral months to ſhew the inefficacy of my precautions, and to incapacitate me from all perſonal exertion. At length the heat of the enſuing ſummer gradually increaſing, and producing regular and continued tranſpiration, and the ſtate of the air then meliorated, having removed the cauſe of indiſpoſition, it was not long before I gained a certain degree of ſtrength.

Arrived at El Faſher, I was firſt introduced to the Melek Miſellim, one of the principal miniſters. This man, when young, had been a ſlave, and engaged in domeſtic offices of the palace, but having been detected uſing ſome familiarities with one of the women, the monarch had ordered him to be deprived of the enſigns of manhood. Ignorant and uneducated, he appeared to have a certain quickneſs of apprehenſion, which, together with uncommon gaiety of humour, had rendered him acceptable at court, where he appeared more as a buffoon than a miniſter of ſtate. He received me with a rude ſtare as an object he was unuſed to, which was followed by a mingled ſmile of contempt and averſion. He was ſeated with ſome other of the royal attendants, under a kind of awning of cotton cloth, on a mat ſpread upon the ſand. After the common ſalutations, the melek and his company entered into converſation on the nature of my viſit to the country; and each made his remarks on my perſon, and offered his conjectures as to my character and intentions.

Their converſation was partly carried on in their vernacular idiom, partly in Arabic. At length a wooden bowl of *polenta*, and another of dried meat, were ſet before them. My illneſs deprived me of all inclination to eat; and obſerving the company not much inclined to invite me to join them, and yet embarraſſed how to avoid that ceremony, I relieved them by declining it, and deſiring them to begin. When they were ſatiated, (and they loſe no time in eating,) a great number of fooliſh queſtions were aſked me about Europe, ſome of which I waved, and ſatisfied them as to others in the beſt manner I was able.

One of the principal queſtions was, whether the Engliſh paid the Jizié to the Othman Emperor? This, as is well known, is a capitation tax, paid by the Greeks and others, for liberty to worſhip after their own manner. I replied, that England was ſo remote from the Imperial dominions, that no war between the two countries could well have place, till all the reſt of Europe ſhould have ſubmitted to the Mohammedan arms, which had not hitherto come to paſs: but that, for the purpoſes of trade, the inhabitants of the one country frequented the other, and by mutual agreement were conſidered as perſonally ſecure; that preſents were occaſionally made by the Britiſh King to the Emperor, in token of amity, but not as a mark of ſubjection; and that the latter, on his part, as it did not appear that the decrees of the Almighty had fixed this as the moment of general converſion to the true faith, in virtue of his diſpenſing power, and ſwayed by the general law of hoſpitality to ſtrangers, ſanctioned by the authority of the prophet, judged it lawful, and even a matter of political expediency, to tolerate ſuch Europeans as conducted themſelves inoffenſively in his dominions, though they did not pay the Jizié. I thought it neceſſary to enter into this explanation of the terms on which I conceived myſelf to ſtand in relation to them, having by this time learned how rigidly they were diſpoſed to adhere to the letter of the Prophet's dictum, viz. that no infidels are to be ſpared but ſuch as pay the capitation tax. When I obſerved they grew tired of aſking queſtions, I ſeized the opportunity of explaining why I came there, and what favour I expected ſhould be ſhewn me.

"Melek," ſaid I, "having come from a far diſtant country to Miſr, (Kahira,) I was there made acquainted with the magnificence, the extended empire, and, above all, the juſtice and hoſpitality of the King Abd-el-rachmân; whoſe dominion be eternal! Having been uſed to wander over various countries as a derwiſh, to learn wiſdom from the aged, and to collect remedies for diſeaſes from the herbs that ſpring in various ſoils, I grew deſirous of ſeeing Dar-Fûr. I was told that my perſon and property would be ſecure, and that permiſſion would be given me to go wherever I might think proper. Since my arrival within the confines, I have found that all theſe

aſſurances were fallacious; my inclinations have been thwarted, my perſon treated with indignity, and my property plundered, while compliance has been refuſed even to my moſt reaſonable demands. I aſk redreſs.—What I have already ſuffered from the officers of the Sultan is paſſed, and cannot now be remedied, but I deſire protection for the future. I deſire the puniſhment of the man who has robbed me, and reſtitution of what has been taken. Nor is this all, I particularly deſire permiſſion to go to Sennaar, in order to proceed to Habbeſh. I was prevented from going there laſt year by the ſtraight road. Habbeſh is a Chriſtian country, abounding in ſlaves and gold. There are alſo many herbs valuable in medicine. Being there, I may eaſily join my countrymen, merchants who come to Moccha, in the Bahr Yemeni. I deſire the Sultan will allow me to proceed thither; and, if it be neceſſary, grant me his protection, and three or four perſons, deſerving confidence, to attend me to the frontiers of Kordofân. I have a ſmall preſent to offer him, conſiſting of ſuch things as my circumſtances permitted me to bring; I hope he may not refuſe to receive it, and to grant me the favour I aſk." He anſwered, "Merchant, you are welcome to the Dar; the King is kind to ſtrangers, and he will favour you in all you wiſh. Whatever you want you have only to demand. He has ordered a ſack of wheat and four ſheep to be ſent you. At this time it is not poſſible to paſs through Kordofân; the Sultan has a great army there, and when the country ſhall be in ſubjection to him you may paſs unmoleſted. When you are admitted to his preſence, you will tell him who has robbed you, and what you have loſt, and he will cauſe it to be reſtored." It was now the hour of prayer, and when the company commenced their ablutions I retired.

During three or four days enſuing I ſuffered ſo violent a relapſe as to be unable to perform the common offices of life, and even to ſuppoſe that it was nearly at an end. The moment any ſymptom of amelioration appeared, I ſent word to the melek that it was my wiſh to be introduced to the Sultan, and then as ſoon as poſſible to be diſmiſſed. No reply was made to this meſſage; but the following day he came to the tent with ſome of his attendants, and deſired to ſee the merchandize that I had brought with me. As to part of the articles, conſiſting of wearing apparel ſuited to the great, &c. I very readily complied; but this was not ſufficient; the melek inſiſted alſo on ſeeing the contents of a ſmall cheſt, which chiefly held articles uſeful to myſelf, but not deſigned for ſale. There were alſo in it ſome Engliſh piſtols, of which I intended to avail myſelf as preſents at Sennaar, or wherever elſe I might be able to penetrate. I therefore poſitively refuſed to open the cheſt. He then threatened to have it broke open—I remained unmoved. At length his attendants proceeding to break it open, *Ali Hamad*, the man who was with me, with his uſual villainy, took the key from its concealment and opened the box. Every thing was taken out and examined minutely—many ſmall articles appeared no more. The piſtols were reſerved to be taken by the Sultan, (after a violent but fruitleſs altercation,) at the valuation made by his own ſervants; and my teleſcopes, books, of which they knew not the uſe, wearing apparel, &c. were graciouſly left me.

The valuation was to be made the following day, which was done quite againſt my conſent, and in contempt of my warmeſt remonſtrances. Some part of the articles were ſtated at their full value, and others far below it. The whole was eſtimated at thirty-eight head of ſlaves, being at the market price worth about eighty, excluſively of a preſent of value for the Sultan. A pair of double-barrelled piſtols, ſilver-mounted, which had coſt twenty guineas in London, were valued at one ſlave, which is commonly purchaſable, by thoſe who are experienced in that traffic, for the value of fifteen piaſtres in Egyptian commodities. On this I exclaimed, that if they meant to plunder,

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and bargain and ſale were not conducted in this country by conſent of the parties, but by force, it would be better to take the whole gratis. No anſwer was made, but the day following two camels were brought me as a preſent.

The violent manner in which my property had been ſeized, and the general ill treatment I had received, much augmented the diſorder, already ſevere. I had now been fifteen days in the tent, expoſed to great variations of temperature, it being at the cloſe of the rainy ſeaſon, and ſo entirely diſregarded, that though tormented with thirſt, I could rarely obtain water to drink. I judged that the only means of reſtoration which remained were, to return to Cobbé, and avail myſelf of the ſhelter of a clay houſe, and that privacy and quiet, the want of which I had ſo ſenſibly felt. Being in poſſeſſion of the greater part of my property, and having left me only ſo much as would ſupply the wants of a few months, the melek did not ſeem very anxious about my ſtay. I hired two Arabs, and with the camels that had been given me, and the property that remained, made my way on the third day to the place whence I came.

In the intervals of my illneſs, I viſited the chief perſons of the place; and as the eyes of the people became habituated to me, I found my ſituation growing ſomewhat more tolerable. Idle, as I certainly was, during this winter, with reſpect to the immediate objects of my voyage, I grew of courſe more familiar with the manners and particular dialect of the country: for the Arabic, which is ſpoken here, differs materially from the vernacular idiom of Egypt. I ſeldom, indeed, joined in the parties where meriſi * was introduced, becauſe it was important not to hazard becoming concerned in the riots, which are the frequent conſequence of their inebriation. But I was often diverted by the mode of conducting a bargain, which ſometimes laſts for ſeveral hours; and I liſtened, perhaps not wholly without inſtruction, to their legal arguments, and the cool diſcuſſions of right, which are the conſequence of often ſubmitting diſputes to arbitration. I could ſmile at the quibbling diſtinctions, by which the niceties of external obſervance are ſettled; but I had generally reaſon to be ſatisfied with their theory of morals.

It is uſual for the graver men, during the heat of the day, to ſit and converſe under a ſhed erected for the purpoſe. When convaleſcent, I ſeldom failed to be of this party; for though the converſation contained few ſallies of wit, much leſs profundity of obſervation, yet it was carried on without ill humour, with mutual forbearance, and on the whole in an equable courſe. Perhaps indeed the ſociety appeared leſs dull, as diſſipating reflections which my ſituation rendered unpleaſant.

The following ſummer (1794), having in ſome degree recovered my ſtrength, I determined to go and reſide for a time near the Sultan, as well to have an opportunity of ſupplicating for redreſs of what I had already ſuffered, as to ſeize any moment that might offer of preſſing my requeſt for permiſſion to advance. On leaving the houſe which I had inhabited at Cobbé, a diſpute had ariſen with the owner of it, who wanted me to ſign a declaration that nothing had been loſt during my reſidence in his houſe. This, which was directly the reverſe of the truth, I refuſed to do; and in conſequence he called an aſſembly of Fukkara or ſacred judges. The reſult, after much conteſt, ſerved to ſkreen him from the reſponſibility legally attached to his conduct, without averting the charge, and determined me never to return to his roof.

On my arrival at El Faſher, my good friend the Melek Miſellim being employed by his maſter in the ſouth, I went under the protection of the Melek Ibrahim, one of

* A fermented liquor, called bûza or meriſi.

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the oldeſt perſons in authority there, and lodged myſelf (as all ſtrangers are obliged to lodge in the incloſure of ſome of the natives) in the houſe of a man named Muſa, now only an inconſiderable officer, though one of the ſons of Sultan Bokar. This Muſa was one of the moſt upright and diſintereſted men I have known in that country, and indeed among the Mohammedans of any country. Calm and dignified in his demeanor, though poor and deſtitute of power, he never inſulted, though his religion taught him to hate. No motive could have been ſtrong enough to induce him to eat out of the ſame plate with a Caffre, but he was punctiliouſly obſervant of the rights of hoſpitality which that religion alſo dictated, and daily provided me with a portion of food from his kitchen. He often ſaid that, as it was a precept of my faith to hate the Prophet, he was bound to encourage the ſame ſentiment towards me; but that he was neither obliged to injure me, nor excuſed in doing ſo.

The Melek Ibrahim is a man of about ſixty years of age, tall but not athletic, and characteriſed by the roughneſs rather than the expreſſion of his features. He has no beard, and the little hair which remains either on his head or face is grey. His manners and even the motions of his body are ungraceful, and without the eaſe of ſuperior rank, or the majeſty of ſuperior intellect. Yet his underſtanding ſeems clear and comprehenſive, and his ſagacity not unworthy the ſtation aſſigned him—one of the firſt in the empire. He is indeed a bigot in matters of faith, but in all that concerns not the prevailing ſuperſtition, his judgment is cool, and little liable to error. He once held the reputation of integrity above the reſt of his order, but his preſent riches render this character ambiguous. Generoſity, however, holds no place among his virtues. The uniform tenor of his life is governed by mean avarice; and though the moſt opulent man in the empire, except the Sultan, ſo little does he poſſeſs of Arabian hoſpitality, that the man uſed to be regarded as unhappy who went ſupperleſs to his evening councils. He had never yet ſeen a Frank, and regarded me nearly as the Britiſh or French commonalty view the dwarfiſh Goîtres of the Alps. I could collect from his converſation that he looked on Europeans as a ſmall tribe, cut off by the ſingularity of colour and features, and ſtill more by their impiety, from the reſt of mankind.

When I entered the court where he was ſitting, he bad me welcome, and received with complacency a preſent which, in compliance with cuſtom, I brought on the occaſion. He even thanked me for it; but expreſſed ſtrong ſurpriſe at my journey to Dar-Fûr. I complained of the injuries done me, and he aſſured me of redreſs for the paſt, and protection for the future: at the ſame time it was clear that he eſteemed the preſent a tribute, and conceived that perſonal ſafety was more than I could reaſonably expect. His conduct afterwards was a further proof of his ſentiments; for though I remained at El Faſher three entire months, I ſaw him only when I forced myſelf on his notice, and experienced no return of civility, much leſs any compenſation for what I had already ſuffered.

During this time I was ſolicitous to attend regularly the levees of the Sultan, which are from ſix in the morning till ten; but could very rarely obtain admittance, and when I did had no opportunity of ſpeaking. Whether the general prejudice againſt me, or the machinations of my enemies, produced this pointed diſregard, which, as was ſaid, a ſtranger ſcarcely ever experienced before, circumſtances afforded no ſufficient ground to decide. I ſuſpected the former; but probably both had their ſhare.

On returning to my temporary habitation, a ſhed, as was uſual with me on the ſun's approach to the meridian, fatigued with heat, oppreſſed with thirſt, and not without inclination for food, my repaſt was commonly a kind of bread gently acid, moiſtened with

with water. I grew acquainted with a few of the people who attend the court, as well as with many ſtrangers who were ſuitors there. Their converſation ſometimes amuſed me, but more often I found their continued and unmeaning queſtions haraſſing and importunate, and their remarks either abſurd or offenſive. The tædium of ſolitude, unfurniſhed with the means to render it agreeable, was however removed. I occaſionally frequented the markets, which are uſually held from four o'clock in the afternoon till ſunſet: but my perſon being there ſtill ſtrange, the crowd that aſſembled inclined me to a precipitate retreat.

The Fûrians here ſeemed unacquainted with the ſports of the field. I occaſionally went out with a gun after the commencement of the rainy ſeaſon, when the face of the country became green; but little offered itſelf worthy attention, either in the animal or vegetable kingdoms. During the early part of the ſummer the earth had been parched, and deſtitute of all vegetation.

After waiting in fruitleſs expectation at El Faſher, as the time of my departure was drawing near, an accident happened, which, though not of the moſt pleaſing kind, contributed to make me noticed, and obtained for me at length an interview with the Sultan.—The ſlaves of the houſe uſed frequently to collect round me, as if to examine a ſtrange object. I joked occaſionally with them, without any other view than that of momentary relaxation. One day as I was reading in the hut, one of them, a girl about fifteen, came to the door of it, when, from a whim of the moment, I ſeized the cloth that was round her waiſt, which dropped and left her naked. Chance ſo determined that the owner of the ſlave paſſed at the moment and ſaw her. The publicity of the place precluded any view of farther familiarity, but the tumult which ſucceeded appeared to mark the moſt heinous of crimes, and to threaten the moſt exemplary vengeance. The man threw his turban on the earth, and exclaimed, "Ye believers in the Prophet, hear me! Ye faithful, avenge me!" with other ſimilar expreſſions. "A Caffre has violated the property of a deſcendant of Mohammed;" (meaning himſelf, which was utterly falſe.) When a number of people was collected around him, he related the ſuppoſed injury he had received in the ſtrongeſt terms, and exhorted them to take their arms and ſacrifice the Caffre. He had charged a carbine, and affected to come forward to execute his threats, when ſome one of the company who had advanced fartheſt, and ſaw me, called out to the reſt that I was armed, and prepared to reſiſt.

It was then agreed among the aſſembly that ſome method of puniſhment might be found that promiſed more ſecurity and profit to the complainant, and would be more formidable to the guilty. The man whom I have already mentioned as my broker was to take the ſlave, as if ſhe had really been violated *, and agreed to pay whatever her maſter ſhould charge as the price. The latter had the modeſty to aſk ten head of ſlaves. He was then to make his demand on me for the value of ten ſlaves, and if I carried the matter before the cadi, which he ſuppoſed I ſhould hardly venture to do, he had ſuborned witneſſes to prove that I had received of him property to that amount.

On my removal from Cobbé to El Faſher, I had cauſed my ſmall remaining property, among which were few articles of value, but many of much uſe to me, to be lodged in the houſe of Hoſſein (the owner of the ſlave) and his companion. On my

* By the law of the Prophet, any illicit connection with the female ſlave of another makes the perſon guilty reſponſible for her value to the owner. Thus the perſonal injury is expiated. The public offence of zinna, whoredom, incurs a puniſhment varying according to the character and circumſtances of the offender; but the poſitive teſtimony of four witneſſes is neceſſary to eſtabliſh this fact.

return

return thither, which happened within a few days after the accident, I claimed it: they reſiſted, as they alleged, at the ſuit of my broker, and would not deliver it till the value of ten ſlaves ſhould be paid to him. I had from the firſt conſidered their conduct as ſo violent, that if it reached the ears of the government, the claim muſt unqueſtionably be abandoned; and indeed my adverſaries had only reſted their expectations on the timidity which they had been accuſtomed to obſerve in Chriſtians of the country, whoſe accuſation and condemnation are in fact the ſame. I had not neglected to give the tranſaction all the notoriety I could, without having recourſe to public authority, and thoſe to whom I had applied were decidedly in my favour. I therefore now went to my adverſaries, Hoſſein and his compānion, and in their preſence offered to Ali Hamad a promiſſory note for the value of ten ſlaves, at the market price on my arrival in Kahira. It was refuſed; and my cheſt, in which were ſome German dollars and other articles, was ſtill detained by them; the reſt was given up.

In the mean time much had been ſaid on the ſubject, both among the natives and foreigners; and the flagrant injuſtice I was likely to ſuffer forcibly ſtruck all that were not in a ſtate to profit by it, but none more than the Egyptian merchants: they were indignant to ſee that ſo enormous a penalty ſhould be forfeited to thoſe who had no claim but effrontery to demand it; and that they had no ſhare, and were too numerous to expect to be all rewarded for connivance; accordingly ſome of them were diligent in carrying the news to the monarch.

It is not to be imagined that he would have moved in the buſineſs, from any love of juſtice, or commiſſeration with the ſufferings of a perſon to whom himſelf had ſhewn ſuch pointed diſregard, not to ſay manifeſt injuſtice. But he was told that the Franks enjoyed great favour with the Senjiaks, and that whatever one of their number ſuffered in Fûr, might be retaliated on the jelabs on their arrival at Kahira, with very little effort, by getting their property there ſeized by the magiſtrate, either as an indemnification for what ſhould have been loſt, or a ſecurity for what might happen. Add to this, he thought his own dignity compromiſed, ſhould a foreigner thus be permitted to vindicate himſelf by force in his coūntry. I had indeed been told that the Sultan was appriſed of the tranſaction previouſly to my departure from El Faſher, and that he intended to grant me redreſs; but after waiting about fifteen days without hearing any thing farther of his intentions, weary of ſuffering, I determined to return. I had been there but a ſhort time when a fulganawy (meſſenger) arrived expreſs from the court, with orders for me to repair to El Faſher immediately. The object of the meſſage was kept in profound ſecrecy, nor could I diſcover whether it portended good or evil. I left Cobbé the ſame evening, and arrived at the end of my journey the following day about noon.

I repaired as before to the Melek Ibrahim, who on the following day introduced me at the public audience. The Sultan, as he retired to the palace after it was over, ordered all the parties to appear. Being come within the inner court, he ſtopped the white mule on which he was mounted, and began a ſhort harangue, addreſſing himſelf to Hoſſein and Ali Hamad, my ſervant, in which he cenſured, in a rapid and energetic ſtyle, their conduct towards me. "One," ſaid he, turning to Ali, "calls himſelf wakîl of the Frank; if he were a Sherîf and a Mûſlîm, as he pretends, he would know that the law of the Prophet permits not a Mûſlîm to be wakîl to a Caffre: another calls himſelf his friend; but both are agreed in robbing him of his property, and uſurping the authority of the laws. Henceforth I am his wakîl, and will protect him." He then ordered all the parties to repair to the houſe of Muſa Wullad Jelfûn, melek of the

jelabs, under whoſe appropriate juriſdiction are all foreign merchants. Here it may not be improper to relate briefly how I had been before received by the Sultan.

On my firſt audience I was too ill to make much obſervation: I was ſeated at a diſtance from him; the viſit was ſhort, and I had no opportunity of opening a converſation. He was placed on his ſeat (*cûrſi*) at the door of his tent. Some perſon had mentioned to him my watch, and a copy of Erpenius's Grammar, which I had with me. He aſked to ſee both; but after caſting his eyes on each he returned them. The preſent I had brought was ſhewn him, for which he thanked me, and roſe to retire.

During the following ſummer, the firſt time I got admiſſion to him, he was holding a diwan in the outer court. He was then mounted on a white mule, clothed with a ſcarlet beniſh, and had on his head a white turban; which, however, together with part of his face, was covered with a thick muſlin. On his feet were yellow boots, and the ſaddle on which he was ſeated was of crimſon velvet, without any ornament of gold or ſilver. His ſword, which was broad and ſtraight, and adorned with a hilt of maſſy gold, was held horizontally in his right hand. A ſmall canopy of muſlin was ſupported over his head. Amid the noiſe and hurry of above a thouſand perſons who were there aſſembled, I was unable to make myſelf heard, which the nature of my ſituation obliged me to attempt, though not exactly conformable to the etiquette of the court, that, almoſt to the excluſion of ſtrangers, had appropriated the diwan to the troops, the Arabs, and others connected with the government.

On another occaſion I contrived to gain admittance to the interior court by a bribe. The Sultan was hearing a cauſe of a private nature, the proceedings on which were only in the Fûrian language. He was ſeated on a kind of chair, كورسي, which was covered with a Turkey carpet, and wore a red ſilk turban; his face was then uncovered: the imperial ſword was placed acroſs his knees, and his hands were engaged with a chaplet of red coral. Being near him I fixed my eyes on him, in order to have a perfect idea of his countenance, which, being ſhort-ſighted, and not thinking it very decent to uſe a glaſs in his preſence, I had hitherto ſcarcely found an opportunity of acquiring. He ſeemed evidently diſcompoſed at my having obſerved him thus, and the moment the cauſe was at an end he retired very abruptly. Some perſons to whom I afterwards remarked the circumſtance, ſeemed to think that his attendants had taught him to fear the magic of the Franks, to the operation of which their habit of taking likeneſſes is imagined by ſome of the Orientals to conduce. He is a man rather under the middle ſize, of a complexion aduſt or dry, with eyes full of fire, and features abounding in expreſſion. His beard is ſhort but full, and his countenance, though perfectly black, materially differing from the negro; though fifty or fifty-five years of age, he poſſeſſes much alertneſs and activity.

At another of my viſits I found him in the interior court, ſtanding, with a long ſtaff tipped with ſilver in his right hand, on which he leaned, and the ſword in his left. He then had choſen to adorn his head with the folds of a red ſilk turban, compoſed of the ſame material as the weſtern Arabs uſe for a cincture. The melek Ibrahim preſented him, in my name, with a ſmall piece of ſilk and cotton, of the manufacture of Damaſcus. He returned anſwer, *Barak ulla fi!*—May the bleſſing of God be on him!—a phraſe in general uſe on receiving any favour, and inſtantly retired, without giving me time to urge the requeſt of which I intended the offering ſhould be the precurſor. It is expected of all perſons that, on coming to El Faſher, they ſhould bring with them a preſent of greater or leſs value, according to the nature of the buſineſs in hand. It is no leſs uſual before leaving the royal reſidence, to aſk permiſſion of the Sultan for that purpoſe. With this latter form, which was to me unpleaſant, I ſome-

times complied, but more frequently omitted it: but on this occaſion, having been long reſident there, I thought fit to make a laſt effort to promote my deſign. The day preceding that which I had fixed for my return happened to be a great public audience: I found the monarch ſeated on his throne (*cûrſi*), under a lofty canopy, compoſed not of one material, but of various ſtuffs of Syrian and even of Indian fabric, hung looſely on a light frame of wood, no two pieces of the ſame pattern. The place he ſat in was ſpread with ſmall Turkey carpets. The meleks were ſeated at ſome diſtance on the right and left, and behind them a line of guards, with caps, ornamented in front with a ſmall piece of copper and a black oſtrich feather. Each bore a ſpear in his hand, and a target of the hide of the hippopotamus on the oppoſite arm. Their dreſs conſiſted only of a cotton ſhirt of the manufacture of the country. Behind the throne were fourteen or fifteen eunuchs, clothed indeed ſplendidly in habiliments of cloth or ſilk, but clumſily adjuſted, without any regard to ſize or colour. The ſpace in front was filled with ſuitors and ſpectators, to the number of more than fifteen hundred. A kind of hired encomiaſt ſtood on the monarch's left hand, crying out, *a plein gorge*, during the whole ceremony, "See the buffaloe (جاموس), the offspring of a buffaloe, a bull of bulls, the elephant of ſuperior ſtrength, the powerful Sultan Abd-el-rachmân-el-raſhîd! May God prolong thy life!—O Maſter—May God aſſiſt thee, and render thee victorious!"

From this audience, as from thoſe which had preceded it, I was obliged to retire as I had come, without effecting any purpoſe. I was told there were occaſions when the Sultan wears a kind of crown, as is common with other African monarchs; but of this practice I had no opportunity to bear teſtimony. When he appeared in public, a number of troops armed with light ſpears uſually attended him, and ſeveral of his ſlaves were employed to bear a kind of umbrella over his head, which concealed his face from the multitude. When he paſſes, all the ſpectators are obliged to appear barefooted, and commonly to kneel—his ſubjects bow to the earth, but this compliance is not expected from foreigners. Even the meleks, when they approach the throne, creep on their hands and knees, which gave occaſion to an Egyptian to remark, that the jarea* in Fûr was a melek, and the melek a jarea—alluding to the ſervile behaviour of the miniſters, and the publicity of women in the domeſtic offices of the palace.

The Sultan Abd-el-rachmân, ſoon after he became poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority, with the oſtenſible motive of teſtifying his attachment to the religion of the Prophet, but more perhaps with a view of obtaining greater weight among his ſubjects, by ſome mark of the conſideration of the firſt of Mohammedan princes, thought proper to ſend a preſent to Conſtantinople. It conſiſted of three of the choiceſt eunuchs, and three of the moſt beautiful female ſlaves that could be procured. The Othman Emperor, when they were preſented, had, it is ſaid, never heard of the Sultan of Dar-Fûr, but he returned an highly-ornamented ſabre, a rich peliſſe, and a ring ſet with a ſingle diamond of no inconſiderable value.

* A female ſlave.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.—*Reſidence with the Melek Muſa—Diſſimulation of the Arabs—Incidents—Return to Cobbé—Endeavours to proceed farther into Africa—Neceſſity of exerciſing Medicine—Feſtival—Puniſhment of Conſpirators—Art of the Sultan—Atrocious Conduct of my Kahirine Servant—At length find an Opportunity of Departure, after a conſtrained Reſidence in Dar-Fûr of nearly Three Years.*

MY reception with Muſa Wullad Jelfûn was very different from that which I had experienced in the houſe of Miſellim, or Ibrahim. All the principal people ſaluted me, and ſought my converſation. The melek, by thoſe who knew him, was eſteemed a man of conſummate diſſimulation, and boundleſs ambition; quick of apprehenſion, deciſive, and energetic. I found him eaſy and dignified in his manner; and, by his communication with foreigners perhaps, more poliſhed, and better informed, than the reſt of his order. His behaviour toward myſelf was complacent; and he affected to ſeek opportunities of hearing my ſentiments on ſuch ſubjects as occurred. During three days we were generally ſeated with him, and partook of his table, which was remarkable for the abundant ſupply, if not for the delicacy of the food. On theſe occaſions I was indeed frequently haraſſed with queſtions, the ſimplicity of which diſguſted me, and was even in ſome inſtances indirectly reviled for my ſuppoſed attachment to a ſect, whoſe tenets among Mohammedans are thought abſurd and even impious. However, when they were led to imagine that the favour of the Sultan was beginning to brighten my proſpects, their diſpoſition on that head appeared much more eaſy and tolerant. But I was alſo frequently impreſſed with the clear intelligence, and penetrating ſagacity, with which the claims of the reſpective ſuitors were inveſtigated, and the equity and firmneſs with which they were terminated by this officer. Oftener than once even, during my ſhort abode with him, the beſt conſtructed plans to diſguiſe the truth, and elude the purpoſes of juſtice, were laid open, and rendered abortive; for it is remarkable with how much artifice the Arabs, however ignorant in other reſpects, defend themſelves, whether right or wrong, as long as they have any profit to hope, or loſs to dread. So clear is their diſcernment, ſo retentive their memory, and ſo firm their reſolution on theſe occaſions, that no word, no look, not even an involuntary movement, eſcapes them, which can in the ſmalleſt degree betray their cauſe; and the longeſt croſs-examination, or queſtions put at the greateſt diſtance of time, will bring to light no fact unfavourable to the intereſt which they are to defend.

In obedience to the Sultan's command, I gave in an exact ſtatement of the property I had loſt, and ſubſtantiated the proof by the ſtrongeſt circumſtantial evidence. With regard to the ſlave, the moſt complete redreſs was accorded me. The charge brought againſt me was judged abſolutely futile, and ſhe was reſtored to her maſter; while he, on the other hand, was compelled to give up the cheſt, &c. which had been violently withheld. The plunder which had fallen into the hands of my ſervant and his accomplice was not ſo eaſily reſtored. The melek, tired of gratuitous juſtice, began to think that a lucrative compoſition was more eligible. The offenders, who had been obſtinate in the firſt inſtance, ſeeing how the cauſe relative to the jarea (female ſlave) had been decided, thought proper to offer to the melek marks of their gratitude for the lenity they expected from him; and the Sultan was unwilling to imagine that the ſufferings of a Caffre could fall heavy on himſelf at the day of final retribution. In fact, his diſguſt at the complaints continually preferred, and jealouſy and reſentment againſt ſome of the Egyptians, who in this and other inſtances appeared

to have uſurped his authority, certainly influenced him in the firſt part of the proceedings, rather than any love of juſtice.

At length the melek, who in reality was ſupreme arbiter of the conteſt, contented himſelf with giving me in intrinſic value about four head of ſlaves, inſtead of twenty-four or twenty-five, which at firſt he had unequivocally declared due to me, and promiſed I ſhould receive. And thus the matter was terminated.

I a ſecond time retired to Cobbé, with little expectation of ever leaving the country. Of the property which the King's agents had on my arrival purchaſed, no part of the price had yet been diſcharged. I had been inſulted with the mockery of juſtice, yet obliged to thank my oppreſſors for the compenſation with their corruption and malignity alone had rendered incomplete.

I had not indeed omitted to renew to the melek Muſa, the requeſt which had been previouſly made to Miſellim and Ibrahim. I explained to him in the manner leaſt exceptionable, my intention in coming thither, completely did away all the ſuſpicions, which my enemies had at firſt been aſſiduous to excite, and too ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing; and concluded with deſiring permiſſion to go to Sennaar, or to accompany the firſt ſelatea (an armed expedition for the purpoſe of acquiring ſlaves) to the ſouth or ſouth-weſt; or finally to have a ſafe-conduct, and one of the Sultan's ſlaves, acknowledged as ſuch, to accompany me to Bergoo, (the firſt Mohammedan kingdom to the weſt). By the firſt roûte I hoped to have reached Abyſſinia; or, if that had been impracticable, to have gone through Nubia to Egypt, or by Suakem to the Red Sea, and thence to Mocha or Jidda. By the ſecond I was almoſt certain of ſettling ſome important points relative to the White River, poſſibly of tracing it to its ſource. And by the third, either of paſſing directly weſt, and tracing the courſe of the Niger, or of penetrating through Bornou and Fezzan to Tripoli.

To the firſt propoſal, he anſwered in a manner which gave me no reaſon to doubt his ſincerity, that the road to Sennaar was at preſent impaſſable, the Sultan being as yet maſter of but one half of Kordofan; that the natives of all that part of it which remained unſubdued, were his implacable foes, and would infallibly deſtroy any perſon who came from Dar-Fûr; that he thought, however, if I waited another year, that route might poſſibly be more ſecure; and in caſe it ſhould be ſo, that he would uſe all his efforts to obtain the Sultan's permiſſion for my departure. Of the Selatea he ſaid, that I ſhould only encounter certain death by attempting it, as between the jealouſy of thoſe who accompanied me, and the actual hoſtility of the country attacked, there would be no hope of eſcaping. I hinted that the Sultan might give me a few attendants, whom I was very ready to pay, and an order to enable me to paſs unmoleſted, as his phyſician in ſearch of herbs. He replied that he would propoſe ſuch a meaſure, but did not expect it would receive the Sultan's approbation, whom he repreſented as very adverſe to ſtrangers, and ſtill ſuſpicious of me individually, in conſequence of the reports that had been ſpread on my arrival. To the third propoſal, he anſwered, that he had no hope of my ſucceeding; and if I ſhould attempt it, would by no means be anſwerable for what might happen, ſince the utmoſt diſtruſt ſubſiſted between the monarchs of Fûr and Bergoo, and the moſt implacable enmity to Chriſtians in the latter country. He concluded with ſtrongly recommending it to me to ſeize the firſt opportunity of returning to Egypt; but aſſured me, that if he could accompliſh either of the meaſures I ſo much wiſhed, he would not fail to inform me, and afford me the neceſſary aid. I left matters thus when I retired to Cobbé, dejected, and little expecting to realize even my leaſt ſanguine hopes. Not more than ſix weeks after this converſation had taken place, I was ſent for in haſte to attend the melek, who was confined

fined by an old diſorder in his lungs. I found him yet ſenſible, but his eyes were fixed, and the extremities incapable of motion. In five hours afterwards he expired. Thus were blaſted my returning hopes of ſucceſs; for no mediator now remained between myſelf and the monarch, and no longer was there near the court a man, even of ſeeming liberality and good ſenſe, to whom my projects might ſafely be opened.

The tranſactions I had been engaged in, and my frequent appearance in public, had given me a degree of notoriety, which I ſhunned rather than ſought. Having learned by accident that I was in poſſeſſion of a few medicines, which indeed were rather ſtudiouſly concealed, all the town grew indiſpoſed, and ſought for remedies. Under various pretences, I as often as poſſible declined adminiſtering any; but one or two of the ſick having recovered, ſpread the news of their ſuppoſed cure, with ſuch additions as they thought proper. It then became neceſſary for me to attend at El Faſher, whither I was ſent for on ſeveral occaſions, in the courſe of the ſubſequent year. Soon after Muſa's death, a meſſenger arrived requiring my preſence, but, as is uſual with them, without ſpecifying the object. Judging it might poſſibly be ſomething favourable to my intereſts, I uſed all poſſible diſpatch. On my arrival I was directed to attend the faqui ſeradge, the principal imam, who was ill of a fiſtula. It appeared that palliatives could afford him no relief, and I declined the reſponſibility attached to more violent remedies. On this occaſion however the Sultan had ſeen me, and addreſſed me perſonally, telling me that he ſhould give orders for the payment of what was due to me, and that he ſhould conſult my inclination in all things. I began to preſs my requeſt for permiſſion to travel; but to this he turned a deaf ear, and ſoon left the place of audience. Another time I was called to a melek, a man of advanced age, who had been blind of one eye for nine years, but was much diſpleaſed at being told his diſorder was incurable. Many inſtances of the ſame kind occurred.

The ſame winter I was ſent for by Miſellim, to receive a part of what was due to me. He was at Gidîd, a town about forty miles from Cobbé. I was not long detained, having been permitted to return in a few hours after my arrival. But the payment was made in oxen, a commodity to me of very little value. They however afforded me ſubſiſtence for ſome months, which otherwiſe probably I ſhould have wanted.

The firſt week of the month Rabîa-el-achir, this year, was diſtinguiſhed by a feſtival which I conceive peculiar to this country — the Geled-el-Nahâs, the leathering of the kettle-drum. It laſts eight or ten days ſucceſſively; during which time the meleks and great men offer to the monarch conſiderable preſents. I have known the melek of jelabs take with him in his viſit of congratulation preſents of various kinds, worth ſixty head of ſlaves. Almoſt all, except abſolute mendicants, are obliged to come forward with ſome offering proportioned to their rank. In recompence of this involuntary generoſity on the part of the people, a kindneſs almoſt as involuntary, but ſomewhat cheaper, is exhibited on the part of the Sultan — his kitchen during the time is devoted to the public ſervice. But as too great a number of animals is frequently ſlaughtered on the firſt day, the meat often remains to be devoured in a corrupt ſtate; which gave occaſion to ſome one to remark, that the feſtivals of Fûr reſembled thoſe of the leopard *. The celebrity is alſo marked by a review of the troops. But as

* It is not uſual with Mohammedans to eat meat in ſuch a ſtate. It is reported in Soudan, I know not how truly, that the leopard after he has ſeized his prey, leaves it till it become putrid before he eats of it.

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their equeſtrian exerciſes are no more than a clumſy imitation of thoſe of the Mamlûks, a more particular deſcription of them would afford nothing new. They ſerve however to characteriſe the mode of warfare, where victory is always the effect of perſonal exertion. The monarch and his chief officers have fine horſes of Dongola, which they mount without ſkill, carrying in one hand five or ſix javelins, in the uſe of which they are adequately expert.

During the ſummer of 1794, five men, who had exerciſed conſiderable authority in ſome of the provinces, were brought to El Faſher as priſoners. It was ſaid that they had been detected in treaſonable correſpondence with the hoſtile leader (Haſhem) in Kordofân. They did not undergo any form of trial, but as the Sultan choſe to give credit to the depoſitions that were made againſt them, his command iſſued for their execution. Three of them were very young men, the youngeſt not appearing to be more than ſeventeen years of age. Two of them were eunuchs. A little after noon they were brought, chained and fettered, into the market-place before one of the entrances of the palace, eſcorted by a few of the royal ſlaves, armed with ſpears. Several of the meleks, by the monarch's expreſs order, were preſent, to witneſs, as he termed it, what they might expect to ſuffer if they failed in their fidelity. The executioner allowed them time only to utter ſome ſhort prayer, when he plunged the knife in the neck of the oldeſt of them, exactly in the ſame manner as they kill a ſheep. The operation too is marked by the ſame term (*dhebbah*). He fell and ſtruggled for ſome time: the reſt ſuffered in their turn. The three laſt were much agitated, and the youngeſt wept. The two firſt had borne their fate with becoming firmneſs. The crowd that had aſſembled, had ſcarcely ſatiated itſelf with the ſpectacle of their convulſive motions while proſtrate in the duſt, when the ſlaves of the executioner coolly brought a ſmall block of wood, and began mangling their feet with an axe. I was ſurpriſed at this among Mohammedans, whoſe decency in all that concerns the dead is generally worthy of applauſe. Nor did it diminiſh my aſtoniſhment, that having at length cut off their feet, they took away the fetters which had been worn by the criminals, in themſelves of very inconſiderable value, and left the bodies where they were. Private humanity, and not public order, afterwards afforded them ſepulture.

It happened this year that ſome exceſſes had been committed by perſons in a ſtate of inebriation, and the Sultan having had cognizance of the fact, could find a remedy only in force. He ordered ſearch to be made in all houſes throughout the country for the utenſils for making merîſé; directed that thoſe who ſhould be found in a ſtate of intoxication ſhould be capitally puniſhed; and the women who made it ſhould have their heads ſhaved, be fined ſeverely, and expoſed to all poſſible ignominy. The Furians had however been habituated to merîſé before they had known their monarch, or the Iſlam. The ſeverity of the order, therefore, and the numbers treſpaſſing againſt it, defeated the Sultan's purpoſe. It was indeed put in execution, and a few miſerable women ſuffered unrelenting tonſure, and innumerable earthern jars were indignantly ſtrewed piecemeal in the paths of the faithful; but the opulent, as is uſual, eſcaped with impunity, and ſome were bold enough to ſay, that the eyes even of the Sultan's women were ſtill reddened with the voluptuous beverage, while prieſts and magiſtrates were bearing the fulminating edict from one extremity of the empire to the other. It is certain that, ſubſequent to this new law, the minds of the troops were much alienated from the monarch, and it is thought that no other cauſe than this was to be ſought. The monarch who admits of no licence will never reign in the hearts of the ſoldiery; and he muſt give up the hope of their affections, who is diſpoſed to become an impartial cenſor of the public morals.

Innumerable reports had been propagated at different times, that the jelabs would be allowed to depart. But none was well authenticated; nay, as afterwards appeared, all were falſe. It is probable they were artfully circulated by order of the Sultan, with a view to cajole the foreign merchants, who, having now collected the intended number of ſlaves, were at a heavy expenſe for their daily ſuſtenance, and of courſe ill bore the unexplained delay, while his own merchandize was ſold at a prodigious advance in Egypt. In effect, two ſmall caravans found their way thither, between the time of my arrival at Fûr, and that of my departure; but they conſiſted only of the Sultan's property, and that of one or two individuals, whom he particularly favoured. For a great quantity of merchandize having accumulated in his hands, he was determined to diſpoſe of it to advantage, before the other merchants ſhould be permitted to produce theirs for ſale.

They were therefore reſtrained by the ſtrong arm of power, to favour the monarch's pernicious monopoly; while the latter, with ſingular effrontery, gave out, that he had ſent to negociate with the beys the reception of the commodities of Soudân, on more advantageous terms than they had been before admitted.

The man whom I had brought with me from Kahira as ſervant had availed himſelf of the property he had plundered to purchaſe ſeveral ſlaves. He ſtill continued to live in an apartment within the ſame incloſure with myſelf, and I occaſionally employed one of his ſlaves to prepare my food.

He knew too much of me to imagine that I ſhould loſe any opportunity that might offer of puniſhing him, and accordingly was deſirous of anticipating my deſign. I had received warning of his views, and was cautious, ſleeping little at night, and going always armed; not that I much expected any thing would be attempted by open force, though in effect two men had been employed by him, under promiſe of a reward, to ſtrangle me. Finding that meaſure unſucceſsful, he obtained ſome corroſive ſublimate, and put it into a diſh that one of the ſlaves was dreſſing. She was honeſt and generous enough to inform me of it, or the ſcheme would probably have taken effect, as I had certainly then no ſuſpicion. The villain on returning, after a few hours, and finding that the poiſon had not produced its effect, vented his rage on the ſlave, and had nearly ſtrangled her with a cord, when I interfered, and forced him to leave her. The next ſcheme was an accuſation of debauching his ſlaves, which after a tedious inveſtigation before the civil judge, and then the melek of jelabs, I was able to refute. Other attempts, planned with ſufficient art, were made againſt my life, which, however, I had equal good fortune in eſcaping.

In the ſummer of 1795, I received the ſecond payment for the property in the Sultan's hands, which conſiſted of female camels (naka). The ſame injuſtice operated on this occaſion as before. After all the other creditors of the monarch had been ſatisfied, I was directed to chooſe from what remained: two of which, as uſual, were allotted as equivalent to a ſlave, though of ſo inferior a kind, that three would not have been ſufficient to purchaſe one.

After having received theſe, I was preparing to return to Cobbé, when a meſſage came to require my attendance on a ſick perſon. The patient was brother of the melek of the jelabs. He was in the laſt ſtage of a peripneumony, and I immediately ſaw the caſe was deſperate; but was forced to remain there with the ſick man, adminiſtering ſuch remedies as his ſituation permitted the application of, till he expired. Two guides were ſent to accompany me home, but coming to a torrent that croſſed the road, (it was the middle of the harîf, or wet ſeaſon,) they were fearful of paſſing

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it, and returned, after endeavouring in vain to perſuade me to do the ſame. I was obliged to abandon the camel, which belonged to the melek, and purſue my journey on foot.

The time I was conſtrained to devote to this patient afforded me an opportunity of remarking the true believer's practice of phyſic. No mummery, that ever was invented by human imbecility to baniſh the puny fears of mortality, was forgotten to be put in practice. The diſeaſe was ſometimes exorciſed as a malignant ſpirit, at others deprecated as the juſt viſitation of the Deity: two or three thouſand fathas were to be uttered, and numbered at the ſame moment on a chaplet; and ſentences of the Koran were then written on a board, which being waſhed off, the inky water was offered to the ſick man to drink, when he was no longer able to open his mouth. But though this puerile anxiety prevailed ſo long as the man remained alive, the moment he was dead, all ſunk into undiſturbed compoſure, except a few of the women, who officiouſly diſquieted the living, with vociferations of affected ſorrow for the dead.

Near the end of the year 1795, a body of troops was muſtered and reviewed, who were to replace thoſe that had died of the ſmall-pox in Kordofân, which it was ſaid amounted to more than half the army. The ſpoils which had been taken from Haſhem, were alſo on this occaſion oſtentatiouſly diſplayed. They conſiſted of eighty ſlaves, male and female, but the greater proportion of the latter, many of them were very beautiful, nor the leſs intereſting, that though the change in their ſituation could not be very important, their countenances were marked with deſpondency. To theſe ſucceeded five hundred oxen and two hundred large camels; the whole proceſſion concluded with eighty horſes, and many articles of leſs value borne by ſlaves. Shouts rent the air, of "Long live el Sultan Abd-el-rachmân el raſhîd! May God render him always victorious!"

A ſhort time after I cauſed a petition to be drawn up, which was preſented by Ali-el-Chatîb to the Sultan, in which I ſtated my ſufferings, requeſted payment of what yet remained due to me, and permiſſion to proceed on my journey to Kordofân. Though the perſon who preſented it was a man of conſiderable weight, no anſwer was given. I therefore followed it up by a viſit in perſon, which I had reſolved ſhould be my laſt. My arrival was no ſooner known, than I was directed as before to attend ſome ſick perſon. This I poſitively refuſed to do; and it was many days before I could be admitted at court, for Fowaz, the melek of Jelabs, was grown tired of his office. I therefore accompanied (11th December 1795) the chatîb to the monarch's preſence, and ſhortly ſtated what I came to requeſt, which the former ſeconded, though not with the zeal that I might have wiſhed. To my demand of permiſſion to travel no anſwer was returned. But the generous and hoſpitable monarch, who had received from me the value of about 750 piaſters in goods, and notwithſtanding that my claim was well ſupported, condeſcended to give me twenty meagre oxen, in value about 120 piaſters! The ſtate of my purſe would not permit me to refuſe even this mean ſupply, and I bade adieu to El Faſher, as I hoped for ever.

Another accident happened at this time, which awaked my attention to perſonal ſecurity. Being retired at night to a ſmall diſtance from my apartment, a ſpear was thrown over the fence, grazed my ſhoulder, and ſtuck in the ground near me. I ran to the place whence it came, but ſaw no one, and in vain endeavoured to diſcover the owner of it.

Having applied the value of the oxen to preparatives for the journey to Egypt, the report of the caravan's departure growing daily ſtronger, I loſt no time in joining the

chabîr who was then encamped at Le Haimer, (3d March 1796,) a ſmall village about three days' journey north of Cobbé, where was a tolerable ſupply of water, but no other requiſite for living.

Two nights previouſly to leaving Cobbé I received a letter, impreſſed with the ſeal of Fowas, melek of jelabs, importing that he (Fowas) had obtained from the Sultan for me the permiſſion I had ſo often earneſtly ſought, viz. of paſſing through Kordofan to Sennaar, and that nothing remained but to repair to El Faſher, and ſet out from that place. My aſtoniſhment was great at finding that what had ſo conſtantly and contumeliouſly been refuſed, ſhould now be ſpontaneouſly offered. I therefore immediately went to ſome of the merchants, in whom I had the greateſt confidence, to inquire their opinion. All of them ſtrongly diſſuaded me from paying any attention to the melek's letter, hinting at the ſame time that they underſtood what it meant. I acquieſced, notwithſtanding my earneſt deſire of going eaſtward; and it afterwards was proved to me in a way ſufficiently clear, that this letter was the reſult of a ſcheme concerted between the melek and my ſervant Ali, by which it was contrived that I ſhould reach the eaſtern confine, and there periſh by the hands of my attendants.

During my reſidence at El Faſher and Cobbé, I had been repeatedly aſſured, and that from thoſe perſons who were beſt informed, that the Sultan never meant to permit my departure; and the imperfect compenſation he had directed for what had been brought him confirmed that opinion. But as I knew much is done among perſons of that deſcription by whiſpers, I took care to ſpread them thickly in his way. To the chabîr I promiſed an ample recompence for his aſſiſtance, and ſet before him the conſequences of his appearing in Kahira without me. I alſo offered proofs that I had been able to diſpatch letters to Egypt, unknown to the government here. The chabîr did not neglect to uſe his intereſt with the Sultan; and whether the latter was really intimidated by theſe vain inſinuations, whether he had begun to hold a more favourable opinion of me, from my having been ſo long in the country without attempting any thing improper, or whether he was not in reality much more tranquil and indifferent on the ſubject than we at that time imagined, I cannot even now with certainty affirm.

We arrived at Le Haimer about a month before Ramadan, and it was not till the ſixth day of El Hedge, the ſecond month after that faſt, that we actually commenced our journey to Egypt. In the mean time, having pitched the tent under a great tree, where we were ſheltered from the rays of the ſun, and in tolerable ſecurity, I fed on polenta (*as-eidé*) and water with the camel-drivers. I had collected eight camels for the journey, but the beſt of them was ſtolen while grazing. Another died, and to ſupply his place I was obliged to ſeek one on credit, for my whole exchangeable property at that time amounted only to about eight piaſters.

While the caravan was aſſembling, an incident happened which may deſerve mention. The Muggrebîns of Elwah, having paſſed by Selimé croſſed the deſert (a route of three or four days) to Dongola, where they carried off goods and captives. Among theſe was a Dongoleſe girl, of fourteen years of age, who was ſold in Upper Egypt, and carried to Kahira, where ſhe was bought by an Arab, who had afterwards returned to Dar-Fûr with his property. The girl being recognized by ſome Dongoleſe, of her own tribe, reſident in Fûr, the queſtion came before the melek of the diſtrict, and was referred to the monarch. Her maſter pleaded the purchaſe at a valuable conſideration; but it was decided that having been free, ſhe was not a ſubject of ſale, and ſhe was reſtored to her friends.

This pretext of an accuſation for purchaſing free perſons is often uſed to extort money from rich merchants, and an inſtance happened, within my knowledge, in which

the purchaſer was condemned; not only to forfeit two females, but to pay a fine of ſeven ſlaves for each. Such is the ſole attention which the government pays to the freedom of the ſubject.

Our voyage, once commenced, was continued with little remarkable, except the violent heat. We returned by the only caravan route, Bir el malah, Leghea, Selime, Sheb, and Elwah. Our proviſions were indifferent, and in ſmall quantity. The camel-drivers regaled themſelves with the fleſh of thoſe animals, when they chanced to be diſabled on the road. When we came to Beirîs we were met by a caſhef, who welcomed the jelabs with an exhibition of fire works; on this occaſion he treats the chief merchants with coffee, and preſents to each a benîſh of coarſe cloth, worth about a guinea, expecting, however, in return, a ſlave from each, worth at leaſt ten guineas. When I arrived at Aſſiût it was four months ſince I had eaten of animal food. The hard living, heat, and fatigue, occaſioned a diarrhea which much weakened me; but before leaving Aſſiût, where I paſſed about twenty days, it was conſiderably abated.

CHAP. III.—*Topography of Fûr, with ſome account of its various Inhabitants.*

THE town called Cobbé, as being the principal reſidence of the merchants, and placed almoſt in the direct road from the north to the ſouth extremity of the country, ſhall, for the ſake of perſpicuity, though not centrally ſituated, be conſidered as the capital of Dar-Fûr.

I found it to be in lat. 14° 11′ long. E. G. 28° 8′. This town is more than two miles in length, but very narrow, and the houſes, each of which occupies within its incloſure a large portion of ground, are divided by conſiderable waſte. The principal, or poſſibly the only view of convenience by which the natives appear to have been governed in their choice of ſituation and mode of building, muſt have been that of having the reſidence near the ſpot rented or inherited by them for the purpoſe of cultivation. The town is full of trees of ſeveral kinds, among which are the palm, deleib, &c. but chiefly the heglîg and the nebbek, which give it an agreeable appearance at a ſmall diſtance, for being ſituated in a plain, it is not diſtinctly viſible more than four or five miles in any direction.

During the rainy ſeaſon, the ground on which it ſtands is ſurrounded by a wadi or torrent. Fronting it to the eaſt, (for the town extends from north to ſouth,) is a mountain or rock, diſtinguiſhed by the ſame appellation. It is not memorable for its height, nor indeed for any thing but as being the reſort of hyenas and jackals; yet it forms part of a ridge of hills, or rocks, for there is little earth on them, which runs from north to ſouth for many leagues.

The inhabitants are ſupplied with water from wells, of ſmall depth, which are dug within the incloſure of many of the houſes; but the beſt of them are thoſe which are in or near the bed of the torrent. The water is generally turbid, and though not apparently poſſeſſing any injurious quality, has often an ungrateful flavour. The quantity too is not always equal to the public conſumption, which ſometimes throws the people into difficulties before the periodical return of the rains. Their manner of digging is ſo unſkilful, that the ſoil often collapſes; and the ſame well is ſeldom uſeful for more than three or four months ſucceſſively.

There are ſome villages, at ſmall diſtances, in various directions, from Cobbé, which are dependent on it, and increaſe its apparent population. To the N.E. by N. Hellet

Haſſan, inhabited altogether by the people of Dongola. It has been * governed many years by the Chabîr Haſſan wullad Naſr, one of the oldeſt of them, who had been formerly once, or more than once chabir (leader) of the jelabs on their journey to Kahira, and a man, as I have generally underſtood, reſpectable for his talents and his virtues. North and north-weſt, Nûkti and Hellet-hummâ. South, Hellet-el-Atamné and Hellet Jemîn-Ullah. South-weſt and weſt, Hellet-el-Fukkara and Bweri. There are ſome other ſmaller ones, the names of which I have either never learned or have forgotten.

On all ſides Cobbé is ſurrounded by a plain. To the weſt and ſouth-weſt it extends to the foot of Kerda and Malha, two rough mountains or rocks, at about twenty-miles diſtance in that direction. South it is bounded by Gebel Cuſa, at near twelve miles diſtance, near which are ſeen ſome villages. South-eaſt it extends to Barbogé, and is there bounded, on the north-eaſt, by Gebel Wanna, and on the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt by a wadi or torrent, which bears its name, and the ſands (goze) beyond it. But to the eaſt there is no extent of level ground; the whole road from Sweini north, to Gidîd ſouth, being bounded in that direction by a mountain, firſt under the name of Téga, and then under that of Wanna. Gebel Cobbé ſtands almoſt inſulated, and is placed weſt of the latter. In Cobbé there are very few houſes, perhaps none, inhabited by natives of Fûr. The people are all merchants and foreigners. The other more noted towns of the empire are, Sweini, Kûrma, Cubcabîa, Rîl, Cours, Shoba, Gidîd, Gellé. Sweini is ſituated almoſt north of Cobbé, at the diſtance of more than two days diligent travelling. Koûrma, a ſmall town, weſt by ſouth, at the diſtance of four and a half or five hours — twelve or thirteen miles. Cubcabîa, a more conſiderable one, it was not in my power to viſit, but it is deſcribed as nearly due weſt, at the diſtance of two days and a half. The road is rocky and mountainous, and of courſe may be ſuppoſed ſomewhat circuitous. Cours, a place of little note, north-weſt by weſt, at five hours and a half travelling from Cobbé. Rîl is ſomething more than three days removed from it, in the direction ſouth-ſouth-eaſt; and as the road is good and lies through a plain, this cannot be eſtimated at much leſs than ſixty miles. Shoba is two days and a half from Cobbé.

Gidîd is nearly ſouth-eaſt, and about one day and a half from Cobbé. Gellé is not far from Cubcabîa, but ſome hours further removed to the ſouth. Sweini is the general reſort of the merchants trading to Egypt, both in going and returning, and thence derives its chief importance. Proviſions, of moſt kinds which the country affords, are found there in plenty, and while the jelabs remain there, a daily market is held. The Chatîb, and ſome other of the principal merchants have houſes there, for the convenience of lodging their property, as the caravans paſs and repaſs. A melek, with a ſmall number of troops, is always ſtationed there to receive them. The town therefore may be conſidered as in ſome meaſure the key of that road, though not entirely ſo, as there are two others which lead from the center of Dar-Fûr towards Egypt, without going to Sweini.

The poorer people who conſtantly live there, are either of the province called Zeghawa, or Arabs.

In Kourma, the merchants who occupy almoſt the whole of the place, are called the Jeiâra, moſt of them born in the Upper Egypt. Excluſively of them and their dependents, the number of people in that town is inconſiderable. Twice in the week a market is held there for meat and other proviſions, as at Cobbé.

* Here is one among many inſtances of tacit ſubmiſſion to the authority of the head of a tribe, though unfurniſhed with any expreſs deputation from the government.

Cubcabîa is a conſiderable town, and its inhabitants various and numerous. It forms the key of the weſtern roads, as Sweini of the northern; and is the depôt of all the merchandize that is brought from that quarter. A market is held there twice a week, in which the chief medium of exchange for articles of ſmall value is ſalt, which the inhabitants make by collecting and boiling the earth of thoſe places where horſes, aſſes, or other animals have been long ſtationary. This market is celebrated for the quantity of tokeas, and for the manufacture, if ſo it may be called, of leather, which they are very dextrous in ſtripping of the hair, tanning, and then forming into large and durable ſacks for corn, (geraubs,) water, (ray,) and other purpoſes. The tokeas are cotton cloths, of five, ſix, or eight yards long, and eighteen to twenty-two inches wide: they are ſtrong but coarſe, and form the covering of all the lower claſs of both ſexes. The inhabitants are partly Fûrians, who ſpeak their own language, in part Arabs, and partly from ſome of the weſtern countries, as Bergoo, &c. There are alſo ſome of the race called Felatîa, and other deſcriptions.

In Cours are found ſome merchants from the river; the remainder are Fukkara, who affect extraordinary ſanctity, and are diſtinguiſhed for their intolerance and brutality to ſtrangers. Rîl is inhabited partly by Fûrians; but there are alſo ſome foreign merchants. During the reign of Sultan Teraub there appear to have been many more there; for he had built a houſe, and made the town his uſual reſidence in time of peace. But Abd-el-rachmân has abandoned it, probably from the fear attendant on uſurpation. Rîl* is the key of the ſouth and eaſt roads, as Cubcabîa of the weſt, and Sweini of the north; and therefore a melek with a body of troops commonly reſides there, as a guard to the frontier, and to keep the Arabs, who abound in that neighbourhood, in ſubjection. It is a place eminently fitted for the imperial reſidence, being abundantly ſupplied with freſh water from a large pool, which is never completely dry, with bread from Saïd †, with meat, milk, and butter from the Arabs, who breed cattle, and with vegetables from a ſoil well adapted to horticulture; nor are they without a kind of tenacious clay, which, with little preparation, becomes a durable material for building. In Shoba, another town of ſome note, was an houſe of Sultan Teraub. The place is ſaid to be well ſupplied with water, and there are ſome chalk pits near it, from which that material was drawn at the time I was in the country. Theſe pits were then almoſt exhauſted, for the purpoſe of adorning the royal reſidence, and ſome others, with a kind of white-waſh. In Shoba reſide ſome jelabs; the reſt of the people are Fûrians, and occupied in other purſuits.

Gidîd has alſo a competent ſupply of water, and is near the road from Cobbé to Rîl. Its bearing from the former is ſouth-eaſt. It is a town of Fukkara, who are reported to be ſo little famous for hoſpitality, that they will hardly furniſh to a traveller water to allay his thirſt. In this town are many houſes, and ſome of them belong to merchants who derive their origin from the eaſtward.

Gellé was eſteemed leſs flouriſhing than moſt other towns of Dar-Fûr, being under the galling tyranny of a prieſt. The Faqui Seradge, one of the two principal Imams of the Sultan, a man of intrigue and conſummate hypocriſy, had gained an aſcendancy over his maſter, and diſtanced all competitors at court. Gellé was his native place, and the people of the town were become his dependents. His unſated

* Sultan Teraub uſed always to reſide at Rîl, but the preſent monarch, or uſurper, is induced by his fears to wander from place to place. The firſt place I ſaw him at was Heglig; the next was Tini; the third was Tendelti, where he paſſed about a year.

† The Fûrians, it may be remarked, diſtinguiſh the ſouth part of their empire by this term, as well as the Egyptians.

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avarice left them neither apparel nor a mat to lie on; and his immortal malice perſecuted them for having no more to plunder. The greater part of the people are either Corobâti or Felatîa (two tribes); of the latter ſort is the faqui.

The greater part of the people inhabiting Cobbé conſiſts, as hath been already obſerved, of merchants. The generality of them are employed in trading to Egypt, and ſome of them are natives of that country; but the greater number come from the river. The latter claſs, if from circumſtances a conjecture may be hazarded, ſeem firſt to have opened the direct communication between Egypt and Fûr. For many years their native countries, Dongola, Mahas, and all the borders of the Nile as far as Sennaar, which, according to report, are in all the gifts of nature much ſuperior to Dar-Fûr, have been the ſcene of devaſtation and bloodſhed, having no ſettled government, but being continually torn by internal diviſions, and haraſſed by the inroads of the ſhaikié and other tribes of Arabs, who inhabit the region between the river and the Red Sea. Such of the natives as were in a condition to ſupport themſelves by traffic, or by manual labour, in conſequence emigrated, and many of them retired to the weſt. Theſe people, accuſtomed in their native country to a ſhort and eaſy communication with Egypt, and impelled by the proſpect of immenſe profit, which a farther attempt of the ſame kind promiſed them, opened the route which the jelabs now purſue. But to return to Cobbé.

Some Egyptians, chiefly from Saïd, a few Tuniſines, natives of Tripoli, and others, come and go with the caravans, only remaining long enough to ſell their goods. Others have married in Dar-Fûr, and are now perfectly naturalized, and recognized as ſubject to the Sultan. The Fathers being no more, the children are in many inſtances eſtabliſhed in their room, and are engaged in the ſame occupations.

The remainder of them conſiſts of foreigners, coming from Dongola, Mahas, Sennaar, and Kordofân, who are generally remarked as indefatigable in commerce, but daring, reſtleſs, and ſeditious, (which conſideration has induced the preſent Sultan to uſe ſome efforts to baniſh them from his dominions,) and the offspring of thoſe whoſe parents have emigrated, and who are themſelves born in Dar-Fûr. The latter are often people of debauched manners, and not remarkable for the ſame ſpirit of enterpriſe as the actual emigrates. Gradually formed to the deſpotiſm which coerces their external deportment, and ſeeks to cruſh and ſterilize even the ſeeds of energy, ſomewhat of the ſpirit of their progenitors yet remains: the affections indeed are turned aſkance, but not eradicated. The puſhes that ſhould have been made *ad auras æthereas*, oppoſed revert to Tartarus. The luxuriancy of mental vigour, though repulſed and forcibly inverted, ſtill extends its ramifications. Its palleſcent ſhoots pierce the dunghill, when not permitted to open themſelves to the influence of the ſun. The active mind may deſcend to brutal ſenſuality, when it can no longer expand itſelf in a more ſane exerciſe.

The people firſt mentioned commonly among themſelves uſe the language of Barabra, though they alſo ſpeak Arabic. The latter are generally unacquainted with any language but the Arabic. They uſually intermarry with each other, or with the Arabs. Some of them avoid marrying, and cohabit only with their ſlaves, ſeldom taking to wife a Fûrian woman. Both theſe deſcriptions of men are eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the natives of the country *, being uſually of a more olive complexion, and having a form

* On the eaſt of Fûr there is a particular tribe of Arabs, who curl their hair, as it were, in a buſhy wig, reſembling that of the antient figures in the ruins of Perſepolis. It is probable that many fragments of ancient nations may be found in the interior of Africa. Carthaginians expelled by the Romans, Vandals by Beliſarius, &c. &c.

of

of viſage more nearly reſembling the European, with ſhort curly black hair, but not wool. They are a well-ſized and well-formed people, and have often an agreeable and expreſſive countenance, though ſometimes indicating (if ſo much faith may be given to phyſiognomy) violent paſſions and a mutable temper. Such are the inhabitants of Cobbé. South-eaſt of the town, in a large open ſpace adapted to the purpoſe, a market * is held twice in the week, (Monday and Friday,) in which are ſold proviſions of every kind, and, in ſhort, all the commodities which the country produces, or which are derived from Egypt and other quarters. Slaves however, though ſometimes brought to the market, are now commonly ſold privately, which is not unfrequently complained of as an evil, inaſmuch as it facilitates the ſale of ſuch as have been ſtolen from other quarters. The people of Barabra and Kordofân cannot relinquiſh their favorite liquor, and as all who drink perſiſt in drinking till they are completely inebriated, the natural violence of their temper is increaſed, and gives occaſion to continual diſputes, which frequently are not decided without blows, and occaſionally terminate in bloodſhed.

There are in the town four or five mectebs, where boys are taught to read, and, if they wiſh it, to write. Such of the Fukkara as fill the office of lecturer, inſtruct gratuitouſly the children of the indigent; but from thoſe who are in eaſy circumſtances they are accuſtomed to receive a ſmall remuneration. Two or three lecture in the korân, and two others in what they call *elm*, theology.

There was, at the time of my arrival, only one ſmall moſque, a little ſquare room, formed by walls of clay, where the Fukkara were accuſtomed to meet thrice in the week. The Cadi of the place was a certain Faqui Abd-el-rachmân, a man much in the decline of life, originally of Sennaar. He had ſtudied at the Jama-el-azher in Kahira, and was much reputed in the place for the juſtice and impartiality of his deciſions, and the uniform ſanctity of his life. He ſunk under the weight of years and infirmity, during the ſecond year after my arrival, and the charge of Cadi was committed by the monarch to another, who was almoſt incapacitated from executing the duties of it, as well by a painful diſorder as by his great age. The more active part of the office, therefore, was diſcharged by his ſon, who was as remarkable for corruption as the Faqui Abd-el-rachmân had been for integrity. Whether from indignation at this man's unworthineſs, or envy of his pre-eminence, is uncertain, a diviſion enſued among the Fukkara, and part of them united under Haſſan, part under Bellilu, a man ſaid to be learned in the laws, but of a forbidding and ungracious deportment. The former, with the countenance and aſſiſtance of the Sultan, had commenced building a moſque more ſpacious than that above mentioned; but I obſerved it went on ſlowly, though the material for building was nothing better or more coſtly than clay. The area incloſed was about ſixty-four feet ſquare, and the walls were to be three feet thick.

* In the market held at Cobbé, there are ſlaughtered ordinarily from ten to fifteen oxen, and from forty to ſixty ſheep; but all the villages, ſix or eight miles round, are thence ſupplied.

It is uſual for the people of the town to lay in their annual ſtock of grain when cheapeſt, which is commonly about the month of December. At that time two, ſometimes three mids (pecks) of millet (donk) may be had for a ſtring of beads, worth about one penny ſterling in Kahira.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.—*On the Mode of travelling in Africa—Seaſons in Dar-Fûr—Animals—Quadrupeds—Birds—Reptiles and Inſects—Metals and Minerals—Plants.*

ONE mode of travelling, with ſmall variations, obtains through all the north of Africa. I mean by caravans (from كرو karu, to wander from place to place). When the inhabitants have occaſion to paſs the boundaries of their reſpective ſtates, they form themſelves into a larger or ſmaller body, united under one head. Their aſſociation is produced by conſiderations of mutual convenience and ſecurity, as even the moſt eaſy and ſafeſt of the roads they are to paſs, would yet be difficult and dangerous for a ſingle traveller.

Three diſtinct caravans are employed in bringing ſlaves, and other commodities, from the interior of Africa to Kahira. One of them comes ſtraight from Murzûk, the capital of Fezzân, another from Sennaar, and the third from Fûr. They do not arrive at fixed periods, but after a greater or leſs interval, according to the ſucceſs they may have had in procuring ſlaves, and ſuch other articles as are fitted to the market, the orders of their reſpective rulers, and various other accidental circumſtances.

The Fezzân caravan is under the beſt regulations. The merchants from that place employ about fifty days in their paſſage from Murzûk to Kahira; which city they as often as poſſible contrive to reach a little before the commencement of Ramadan, that ſuch as find themſelves inclined to perform the pilgrimage, may be prepared to accompany the Emîr of Miſr. The ſale of their goods ſeldom employs them in the city much more than two months; after the expiration of which, thoſe who have no deſign of viſiting Mecca return to their native country. The arrival of this caravan is generally annual.

The other two are extremely various in their motions; ſometimes not appearing in Egypt for the ſpace of two or even three years, ſometimes two or more diſtinct caravans arriving in the ſame year. The perpetual changes in their ſeveral governments, and the caprices of their deſpots, are in a great degree the occaſion of this irregularity. The road alſo between theſe two places and Kahira, is often infeſted by bodies of independent Arabs, as that of Sennaar, by the Ababdé and Shaikié, and that of Fûr by the Cubba-Beeſh and Bedeiât: the latter is however for the moſt part much ſafer than the former. The departure of a caravan from Dar-Fûr forms an important event. It engages the attention of the whole country for a time, and even ſerves as a kind of chronological epocha.

The period of their arrival in Kahira is as uncertain as that of their departure; for they travel indifferently either in winter or ſummer. The journey from Aſſûan to Sennaar requires much leſs time than that from Aſſiût to Dar-Fûr.

Many obſtacles exiſt to the erection of any permanent marks by which the roads of the deſert might be diſtinguiſhed. Yet I have obſerved that the people of our caravan, in ſuch places as afforded ſtones for the purpoſe, uſed to collect four or five large ones, thus raiſing ſmall heaps at proper diſtances from each other. This affords them ſome ſatisfaction at their return; but in many places, where the ſand is looſe and deep, it becomes impracticable. They are then obliged to rely on the facility acquired by habit, of diſtinguiſhing the outline and characteriſtic features of certain rocks, as they are perfectly ignorant of the compaſs, and very little informed as to the fixed ſtars. Though the names of the conſtellations be little known to them, yet they diſtinguiſh ſuch as may guide them in their courſe during the night. With all theſe aids however

however their deviations from the true line are not infrequent. Three times, in the courſe of our journey, the whole caravan was quite at a loſs for the road, though ſome of the members of it had made ten or twelve different journies to and from Dar-Fûr. During the whole of my route I had reaſon to ſuſpect that the accounts in books of travels, which have generated ſuch terrific notions of the moving ſands of Africa, are greatly exaggerated. While we remained at Leghea, indeed, a violent gale ſprang from the north-weſt, and raiſed a cloud of ſand. At that time I placed a wooden bowl, capable of containing about two gallons, in the open air. Thirty minutes had elapſed when it appeared completely filled with ſand. Our companions indeed affected to relate various ſtories of caravans that had been overwhelmed. But as neither time nor place were adduced, it would ſeem not unreaſonable to doubt the truth of the aſſertion.

If caravans have been thus buried on their road, it may be preſumed that accident can only have happened after they have been deprived of the power of moving, by the influence of a hot wind, want of water, and other cauſes. A number of men, and other animals, found dead, and covered with ſand, would be ſufficient ground for ſucceeding native travellers to believe, as they are ſtrangers to ratiocination, or, though not entirely perſuaded, to relate, as they delight in the marvellous, that the perſons they had found had been overwhelmed on their march; when in fact this accumulation had not happened till they were already dead. But perhaps the matter ſcarcely merits this diſcuſſion.

Our company conſiſted of nearly five hundred camels. This exceeds the number uſually employed by the jelabs on their return from Egypt, which is often not more than two hundred. In paſſing from Dar-Fûr to Egypt, they eſteem two thouſand camels, and a thouſand head of ſlaves, a large caravan. Of perſons of other countries, but particularly Egyptians, trading for themſelves, there were not more than fifty, including five or ſix Coptic Chriſtians, whoſe admittance in Dar-Fûr the monarch of that country has ſince forbidden. Several of this number were Muggrebines, or Occidental Arabs; the remainder, amounting to one hundred and fifty or two hundred, including the chabîr, or leader, were ſubjects of Fûr. Few particulars of other caravans are known to me but by report.

The Arabs and jelabs find the camel too indiſpenſable to their long and fatiguing voyages, not to employ much care in nouriſhing him. This ſhip of the land, (البر مركب,) as he is called, is excluſively the bearer of their fortunes, and the companion of their toils. Much care is obſerved in rearing him, and not unfrequently the merchant pays nearly as much for the camels to carry his merchandize, as he did for the commodities themſelves; what then muſt be the profit that covers his expenſes, his fatigue, indemnifies him for accidental loſſes, and yet leaves him a gainer? But if this patient and enduring animal be thus rendered ſubſervient to their wants, or their avarice, he is not at leaſt tortured for their caprice.

Horſes are very little uſed by the jelabs. They generally furniſh themſelves with Egyptian aſſes, which alleviate the fatigue of the way, and are afterwards ſold in Soudân at an advanced price. The ſtrength and ſpirits of this animal are recruited with a ſmall quantity of ſtraw and water; the horſe has not the ſame recommendation; and theſe people, though not averſe from parade in cities, find the labour and hazard of theſe voyages too enormous, not to augment their profits by all poſſible economy.

The proviſions they uſe are ſcanty and indifferent, and by no means teſtify any foreſight for the neceſſities of the ſick, or for the procraſtination of the voyage by thoſe innumerable accidents that may befal them.

I did not obſerve that any of them were furniſhed with dried meat, as is common with the Fezzanners. But few uſed coffee and tobacco, and the reſt contented themſelves with a leathern bag of flour, another of bread baked hard, a leathern veſſel of honey or treacle, and another of butter. The quantity of each was regulated by the number of perſons, and ſeldom exceeded what is abſolutely neceſſary. In travelling from Dar-Fûr to Egypt another article is much in uſe, eſpecially for the ſlaves, which Egypt itſelf does not afford, or produces in no quantity. The grain chiefly in uſe among the Fûrians is the ſmall kaffob, called among them dokn (millet). Of this, after it has been coarſely ground, they take a quantity, and having cauſed it to undergo a ſlight fermentation, make a kind of paſte. This will keep a long time, and when about to be uſed, water is added to it; if properly made, it becomes a tolerably palatable food. But the natives are not very delicate. From its acidity they eſteem it a preventive of thirſt. The fermentation gives it alſo a ſlight power of inebriating, and it has a narcotic tendency. The ſubſtance ſo prepared is called ginſcia. The want of materials for fire on the road prevents the uſe of rice, and other articles that would require cookery.

Experienced travellers, among every ten camels laden with merchandize, charge one with beans, and ſtraw chopped ſmall, which, ſparingly given, ſerves them during the greater part of the voyage. Thoſe with whom I travelled were not ſo provided, theſe articles being then very dear in Egypt; and in conſequence numbers of camels periſhed. In coming from Dar-Fûr, they uſe for the ſame purpoſe the dokn, and coarſe hay of the country, but not altogether with the ſame ſalutary effect.

The water, in leaving Egypt, is commonly conveyed in goat ſkins artificially prepared; but no ſkill can entirely prevent evaporation. On their march from Soudân to Egypt, the jelabs oftener uſe ox hides, formed into capacious ſacks and properly ſeaſoned with tar or oil. A pair of theſe is a camel's load. They keep the water in a better ſtate for drinking than the ſmaller; and theſe ſacks are ſold to great advantage throughout Egypt, a pair of the beſt kind being ſometimes worth thirty piaſtres. They are the common inſtruments for conveying water from the river to different parts of each town. The camels are not allowed to partake of this ſtore, which, after all the care that can be taken of it, is often very naufeous, from the tar, the mud which accompanies the water in drawing, heat, &c. Six of the ſmaller ſkins, or two of the larger, are generally eſteemed ſufficient for four perſons for as many days.

The Cubba-Beeſh, and the Bedeiât, the latter of whom ſeem to me not of Arab origin, when they make any attempt on the caravans, commonly ſhew themſelves between Leghea and the Bîr-el-Malha. But this road is ſo ill provided with any thing that is neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of man or beaſt, that neither the wandering tribes, nor the ferocious animals, which infeſt other parts of the continent, are commonly found there. The Egyptians and other whites therefore, though they commonly carry fire-arms with them from the north, generally take advantage of the market of Fûr, and return without any. The natives of Soudân are furniſhed with a light ſpear, or ſpears, the head of which is made of unhardened iron of their country. They have alſo a ſhield of about three feet long, and one foot and a half or three-quarters broad, compoſed of the hide of the elephant or hippopotamus, very ſimple in its conſtruction.

Intercourſe with Mecca.

NO regular caravan of Hadgîs leaves Dar-Fûr, but a number of the natives make their way to Mecca, either with the caravan of merchants trading to Egypt, or by way of

of Suakem and Jidda. The preſent King was about to eſtabliſh his attorney (waquîl) at Mecca, but ſome obſtacles had prevented his reaching that place when I came away. Fear of the ſea, or I know not what other cauſe, prevents them from chooſing the route by Suakem, though it be ſo much ſhorter and leſs expenſive than that by the way of Egypt; but the territory between Fûr and Suakem is not ſubject to any ſettled government, and thoſe who have travelled with property have frequently been plundered there. The Tocrûri, however, who come from various parts, and ſomewhat reſemble the Derwiſhes of the north, travelling as paupers, with a bowl to drink out of, and a leathern bag of bread, frequently take that route and paſs in ſafety.

Seaſons, &c.

THE perennial rains, which fall in Dar-Fûr from the middle of June till the middle of September, in greater or leſs quantity, but generally both frequent and violent, ſuddenly inveſt the face of the country, till then dry and ſteril, with a delightful verdure. Except where the rocky nature of the ſoil abſolutely impedes vegetation, wood is found in great quantity, nor are the natives aſſiduous completely to clear the ground, even where it is deſigned for the cultivation of grain.

As ſoon as the rains begin, the proprietor, and all the aſſiſtants that he can collect, go out to the field, and having made holes at about two feet diſtance from each other, with a kind of hoe, over all the ground he occupies, the dokn is thrown into them, and covered with the foot, for their huſbandry requires not many inſtruments. The time for ſowing the wheat is nearly the ſame. The dokn remains ſcarcely two months before it is ripe; the wheat about three. Wheat is cultivated only in ſmall quantities; and the preſent Sultan having forbidden the ſale of it, till the portion wanted for his domeſtic uſe be ſupplied, it is with difficulty to be procured by purchaſe. The mahric, or greater kaſſob, which is a larger grain than the dokn, is alſo common, and a ſmall ſupply of ſeſamum, (*ſimſim* in Arabic) is ſown. What they term beans is a ſpecies of legumen different from our bean. In what are called gardens are bamea, meluchîa, lentils, (adis) kidney beans, (lubi) and ſome others. The water-melon, and that called in Kahira Abd-el-awi, together with ſome other kinds, abound during the wet ſeaſon, and indeed before if they be watered. Sultan Teraub was ſolicitous to procure every thing the gardens of Egypt produce, and cauſed much care to be taken of the culture of each article brought: but the preſent prince does not turn his thoughts to that kind of improvement, and little of the effect of his predeceſſor's laudable anxiety is at this moment diſtinguiſhable. There are ſeveral ſpecies of trees, but none that produces fruit worth gathering, unleſs it be the tamarind (tummara * Hindi). The date-trees are in very ſmall number, and their fruit diminutive, dry, and deſtitute of flavour. That tree ſeems not indigenous in the country, but to have been tranſported from the neighbourhood of the Nile, Dongola, Sennaar, &c. The inhabitants appear not well to underſtand the management of this uſeful production; and perhaps the great drought will never admit of its flouriſhing, whatever diligence or care may be uſed to increaſe the number or improve the kind.

Animals.—Quadrupeds.

OF animals the liſt found in Dar-Fûr with which my own knowledge furniſhes me, is not very extenſive; nor will it be intereſting ſo much as containing any thing new,

* Fruit of India.

but

but as it will ſhew the peculiar circumſtances of the country, as diſtinguiſhed from other neighbouring regions, and ſomewhat indicate the preſent ſtate of the people.

The horſe is uſed, but not in great number, nor are the natives very ſolicitous as to the breed. The only good horſes they poſſeſs are bred in the country of Dongola, and by the Arabs to the eaſt of the Nile. Theſe are generally larger than we are accuſtomed to find the Egyptian horſes. They are perfectly well formed, and full of fire, yet tractable. Their action is grand beyond what I have obſerved in any other ſpecies; but it is ſaid they are not remarkable for bearing fatigue. The Arabs, who breed them, are in the habit of feeding them with milk. They rarely, if ever, caſtrate them. Horſes and mares are indiſcriminately uſed for the ſaddle. The horſes of Soudân are none of them ſhod.

Two or three diſtinct breeds of ſheep, *ovis aries*, exiſt in Soudân, not however very materially differing from each other. The large-tailed ſheep, which are found elſewhere, I believe are here unknown. The meat is inferior to that of the Egyptian ſheep. They are covered with coarſe wool, reſembling hair, and apparently wholly unfit for any manufacture. The goats, *capræ cervicapræ*, are much more numerous than the ſheep, and the fleſh of the former is ſomewhat cheaper than that of the latter. The goats grow perhaps rather larger, but otherwiſe differ not from thoſe of Egypt. It is not uncommon to caſtrate both theſe animals, but neither is it a very general practice.

The aſs here is of the ſame appearance, and the ſame indocile nature, with that of Great Britain. The only good ones are what the jelabs bring with them from Egypt: yet the animal is much uſed for riding; indeed few perſons mount an horſe but the military, and thoſe who are in immediate attendance at court. An Egyptian aſs fetches from the value of one to that of three ſlaves, according to the weight he is able to bear. A ſlave will purchaſe three or four of the ordinary breed; yet they are not anxious to improve them. Perhaps the animal degenerates: but it is certain that his external appearance undergoes a great change.

The bull is ſometimes caſtrated. Yet of the animals ſlaughtered in the market I have generally obſerved that the emaſculated are feweſt in number; nor is any preference given to the one over the other for food. Indeed, the character of animals in the entire ſtate appears materially to differ from what is remarked of the ſame animals with us. The horned cattle, fed by the tribes in the vicinity of the rivers, amounts to a very conſiderable number, and the tribute paid out of them to the monarch forms a valuable part of his revenue. Thence they are brought to the ſeveral towns for ſlaughter. The beef is good: the Egyptians diſlike it, but with the natives it is a conſtant article of food. Cows are alſo in abundance, but their milk is not very palatable: ſome of the ſettlers make it into a kind of cheeſe, but the inhabitants are not generally acquainted with that proceſs; they have, however, a mode of giving it an aceſcent taſte, and in that ſtate it may be kept a few days, and is neither diſagreeable nor inſalubrious.

The camels of Fûr are of a mixed breed, and they are found of all colours and ſizes. Thoſe which come directly from the weſt or ſouth are large, ſmooth-haired, and moſt frequently of a colour approaching to white, or light brown. Thoſe which are brought from Kordofân are many of them black, and are remarked to be leſs docile than the others. There are few countries where the animal abounds more than in Dar-Fûr. They are remarkable for enduring thirſt, but not for bearing great burthens. The camels in this country are particularly ſubject to the mange, (gerab)

which attacks them chiefly in winter, and in ſome paſtures much more than in others. This malady is very contagious. It is cured by the application of a kind of tar, procured by diſtillation per deliquium, from the ſeeds of the water-melon. When the male camel is found unruly, they ſometimes deprive him of one or both teſticles. It is a cruel operation, as immediately after having incided with an ordinary knife, they ſear the wound with an hot iron till the hemorrhage be ſtopped. It may be doubted whether this practice be permitted by the law of the Prophet; but, however bigotted their minds, where advantage is hoped for, their faith is ductile. The fleſh of the camel, particularly of the female, (naka) which is fattened for the purpoſe, is here much uſed for food. It is inſipid, but eaſily digeſted, and no way unpleaſant. The milk alſo is much in eſteem. The camels bred in Fezzân, and other countries to the weſt, as well as thoſe of Arabia, are for labour reckoned ſuperior to thoſe of Fûr, and fetch an higher price. The former are larger and able to carry a heavier burthen, but not ſo capable of enduring thirſt. In Soudân they ſeldom carry above five hundred weight, and oftener three or three and a half; while in Egypt they are frequently obliged to toil under eight, ten, or even more. From theſe are ſelected the camels which bear the ſacred treaſure to the tomb of the Prophet. Soudân affords many fine dromedaries, but thoſe of Sennaar are moſt celebrated. Incredible ſtories are told of the long and rapid journies performed by them; as that they will hold out for four-and-twenty hours, travelling conſtantly at the rate of ten miles per hour: however this be, they are indiſputably ſwift, and perform long journies almoſt without refreſhment.

The dogs of Dar-Fûr are of the ſame kind as thoſe of Egypt, and live on the public like the latter. I have underſtood that there is in ſome parts of the country a ſpecies of dog, uſed in hunting the antelope, (ghazâl, Ar.) and another ſort to guard the ſheep; of the ſagacity of the latter wonderful tales are told, as well as of the courage and fidelity of both. Experience has not enabled me to confirm the report. The common houſe-cat is ſcarce; and if I am rightly informed, there are none but what have been originally brought from Egypt. They are of the ſame kind as with us.

The wild or ferocious animals are, principally, the lion, the leopard, the hyena, (Fûr. murſaîn, dubba, Ar.) the wolf, the jackal, canis aureus, the wild buffaloe: but they are not commonly ſeen within the more cultivated part of the empire, at leaſt that which I have viſited, excepting the hyena and the jackal; the former come in herds of ſix, eight, and often more, into all the villages at night, and carry off with them whatever they are able to maſter. They will kill dogs and aſſes, even within the incloſure of the houſes, and fail not to aſſemble wherever a dead camel or other animal is thrown, which, acting in concert, they ſometimes drag to a prodigious diſtance; nor are they greatly alarmed at the ſight of a man, or the report of fire-arms, which I have often diſcharged at them, and occaſionally with effect. It is related, that upon one of them being wounded, his companions inſtantly tear him to pieces and devour him; but I have had no opportunity of aſcertaining this fact. The people of the country dig pits for them, and lying in ambuſcade, when one is entrapped, ſtun him with clubs, or pierce him with their ſpears. The jackal is harmleſs, but his uncouth cry is heard far off, and wherever there are rocks to ſhelter them, their howling community dwells undiſturbed.

In the countries bordering on the empire of Fûr, where water is in greater abundance, the other animals mentioned are very numerous, and much dreaded by travellers,

particularly on the banks of the Bahr-el-Ada. To thoſe already enumerated, may be added, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the camelopardalis, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile.

The elephant is ſeen, in the places he frequents, in large herds of four or five hundred, according to report. It is even ſaid that two thouſand are ſometimes found together; but I do not ſuſpect the Arabs of extreme accuracy in counting. Theſe people hunt him on horſeback, having ſingled out a ſtraggler from the herd; or aim at him with ſpears from the trees; or make pits into which he falls. His hide is applied to many uſeful purpoſes. The African elephant is ſmaller than the Aſiatic, and probably of a different ſpecies. The meat is an article of food in great eſteem with them. The fat forms a valuable unguent, and the teeth, as is well known, ſupply the merchants with immenſe profits.

The buffaloe is not found tame in Soudân. The wild one is hunted by the Arabs, and ſerves them for food. The hippopotamus is killed for his ſkin, (which being remarkably tough, makes excellent ſhields, and whips not wholly unlike our horſewhips); and for his teeth, which are much ſuperior to ivory. The horn of the rhinoceros, to which animal the Arabs have applied a term ſomewhat leſs appropriate than the Greek, but ſtill characteriſtic, (abu-kurn, father of the one horn,) makes a valuable article of trade, and is carried to Egypt, where it is ſold at an high price, being uſed for ſabre-hilts, and various other purpoſes. The more credulous attribute to it ſome efficacy as an antidote againſt poiſon.

The antelope and the oſtrich are extremely common throughout the empire. The civet-cat is not ſeen wild in the quarter which I viſited, but is frequent enough farther to the ſouth. Many are preſerved in cages in the houſes of the rich. The women apply the odour extracted from them to add to their perſonal allurements; and what is not thus diſpoſed of becomes an article of trade.

The lion and leopard, though common in a certain diſtrict, are not found near the ſeat of government. The Arabs hunt them, ſtrip off the ſkin, which they ſell, and often eat the fleſh, which they conceive generates courage and a warlike diſpoſition. They occaſionally take them young, and bring them for ſale to the jelabs, who ſometimes carry them as preſents to the great men in Egypt. I purchaſed two lions: the one was only four months old when I bought him. By degrees, having little elſe to employ me, I had rendered him ſo tame, that he had acquired moſt of the habits of a dog. He ſatiated himſelf twice a week with the offal of the butchers, and then commonly ſlept for ſeveral hours ſucceſſively. When food was given them they both grew ferocious towards each other, and towards any one who approached them. Except at that time, though both were males, I never ſaw them diſagree, nor ſhew any ſign of ferocity towards the human race. Even lambs paſſed them unmoleſted. The largeſt had grown to the height of thirty inches and a half over the ſhoulders.

The ennui of a painful detention, devoid of books and rational ſociety, was ſoftened by the company of theſe animals; and the ſatisfaction was not ſmall, even from this ſpecies of diverſion. At length, towards the end of my ſtay, after they had been with me more than two years, finding it impoſſible, under the circumſtances I then was, to carry them with me, I ſhot the one; and the other, either from diſeaſe or the loſs of his companion, died a few days afterwards. The Sultan had alſo two tame lions, which, with their attendant, came into the market to feed.

The remaining quadrupeds may be claſſed more briefly; for being all known, they will require no particular deſcription.

Ar.

Ar.

Mus jaculus — Jerboa.
Simia Æthiops — Abelang.
Hiſtria cieſtria — *Porcupine.*
Simia cynamolgos — kurd, Ar.

Birds.

1. *Charadrias Kerwan* — Oriental dotterel.
2. *Numida Meleagris* — Guinea fowl.
3. *Tetrao Coturnix* — Egyptian quail.
4. *Vultur Percnopterus* — White-headed vulture.
5. *Pſittacus Alexandri* — Green peroquet.
6. *Columba domeſtica* — Common pigeon.
7. *Tetrao rufus* — Red partridge.
8. Owls (not common).
9. *Columba turtur*, very common.

No. 4. This bird is of ſurpriſing ſtrength, and is ſaid by the natives to be very long-lived, *ſed fides penes auctores.* I have lodged a complete charge of large ſhot, at about fifty yards diſtance, in the body of this bird: it ſeemed to have no effect on him, as he flew to a conſiderable diſtance, and continued walking afterwards. I then diſcharged the ſecond barrel, which was loaded with ball: this broke his wing, but on my advancing to ſeize him, he fought with great fury with the other. There are many thouſands of them in the inhabited diſtrict. They divide the field with the hyena: what carrion the latter leaves at night, the former come in crowds to feed on in the day. Near the extremity of each wing is a horny ſubſtance, not unlike the ſpur of an old cock. It is ſtrong and ſharp; and a formidable inſtrument of attack. Some fluid exſudes from this bird that ſmells like muſk, but from what part of him I am uncertain.

No. 2. This beautiful bird is found in great numbers in Fûr, of which the common fowl, though it now abounds, is not a native. The voice of the Guinea fowl, when apparently related, is very peculiar. No external difference, even in this their native climate, is to be obſerved between the male and female of this bird. They are carried as a profitable commodity to Kahira, where, however, in a domeſtic ſtate, it is ſaid they ſeldom or never breed.

5. Theſe birds, in the beginning of ſummer, fill the trees in the vicinity of the town I lived in. They are caught unfledged, and brought up in the houſes, till they become quite domeſtic; are then carried to Egypt, and taught a kind of ſpeech, which being acquired, they are ſold at a high price.

Of fiſh I ſaw none but what were too much diſguiſed by drying to be recogniſed.

The fiſh in the river Ada, I am told, conſiſt of nearly the ſame ſpecies as thoſe of the Nile in Upper Egypt. They are caught in wicker baſkets, and uſed for food. — The natives have alſo a way of drying them, but it does not prevent their being ſo offenſive to the ſmell, as to be uſeleſs to any but themſelves. Numerous huts built of reeds are found on the bank of the river, as well for the uſe of the fiſhermen, as of thoſe who enſnare the ferocious animals that come to drink its waters.

The chameleon abounds in Dar-Fûr; the viverra ichneumon, nims, and almoſt all the ſpecies of lizard are alſo ſeen there.

Of ſerpents, the coluber hayé of Egypt, the coluber vipera, and the anguis Colubrina, were the only ones I ſaw: and no more than one or two of each; though it was repreſented to me that in ſome places they are numerous. The Fûrians have not the art of charming them, like the Egyptians and Indians. I expoſed myſelf to much ridicule by collecting a number of chameleons in my apartment, to obſerve their character and changes; the people there think them impure, and relate many fooliſh ſtories concerning them.

A great number of inſects and reptiles, which I had taken care to conſerve, accident has deprived me of, and I cannot now furniſh a catalogue. The ſcorpion is ſmall, of a brown hue, and his venom not extremely violent. The natives cure the ſting by immediately applying to the part a bruiſed onion, which is renewed till the pain ſubſides.

The white ant, or termites, is found in vaſt numbers, and is exceedingly deſtructive, eating through every thing within its reach, whether vegetables, cloth, leather, paper, proviſions, &c. A bull's hide, if not newly covered with tar, is no defence againſt it. The apis mellifera (common bee) abounds; but they have no hives, and the wild honey is commonly of a dark colour, and unpleaſant taſte. I have obſerved a beetle, not very large, which is characterized by burying its eggs in a ſmall ball of horſe's or other dung, and then rolling the ball from place to place in the ſand or clay, till it attains a ſize greatly exceeding that of the animal itſelf. Great quantities of cochineal are viſible; which, if the natives, or the Egyptians who viſit them, had any reflection or ſpirit, it might be thought would be applied to ſome uſeful purpoſe.

The locuſt of Arabia, gryllus, is very common, and is frequently roaſted and eaten, particularly by the ſlaves. The ſcarabeus ceratoniæ; the culex Egypti, namûs in Ar. (moſquito), is particularly vexatious in the rainy ſeaſon.

Metals and Minerals.

OF metals, the number found in the diſtrict known to me, is ſmall. But in its neighbourhood, to the ſouth and weſt, if I have been rightly informed, almoſt all deſcriptions are to be met with. The copper brought by the merchants from the territories of certain idolatrous tribes bordering on Fûr, is of the fineſt quality, in colour reſembling that of China, and appears to contain a portion of zink, being of the ſame pale hue. The large rings into which it is formed (of ten or twelve pounds weight each) are very malleable: of the ore I never was able to procure a ſpecimen. Iron is to be found in abundance, and the Pagan negroes, on whom the Mohammedans look with contempt, are the artiſts that extract it from the ore; an art of which the former, as far as I have ſeen, are ignorant. Though their iron, through the ſtupidity of the inhabitants, never acquire the more uſeful character of ſteel, its effects in the form of knives and javelins are yet commenſurate with the malign diſpoſitions of mankind. And though ſoft and periſhable, with increaſed trouble in renewing the edge, the tools formed of it anſwer all the purpoſes of their rude workmanſhip.

The method by which I obſerved a workman ſupply the defect of a furnace for fuſing metals appeared worth noticing. He had a leathern bag, which, on compreſſion, forced the air through a wooden pipe for bellows, and placed over the fire, made in a ſmall hole in the earth, the remains of a water jar, with which ſimple apparatus the effect was rapid and not inconſiderable.

Silver,

Silver, lead, and tin, I have never heard mentioned here, but as coming from Egypt. Of gold, in the countries to the eaſt and weſt, the ſupply is abundant. Little comes to Dar-Fûr, except by accident. What is produced in the weſt reaches the northern markets by means of other caravans. The monarch occaſionally obtains a ſmall quantity for his own uſe from the eaſt.

Alabaſter, and various kinds of marble exiſt within the limits of Fûr. The rocks chiefly conſiſt of grey granite, but of ſtone adapted to building, or convertible into lime, either there is none, or the quantity muſt be extremely ſmall. The granite ſerves for hand-mills without being cut, for the metal of which their tools are compoſed is too ſoft to be employed for that purpoſe.

Foſſile ſalt is common within a certain diſtrict; and there is a ſufficient ſupply of nitre, of which however no uſe is made. A quantity of ſulphur is brought by the Arabs, who feed oxen (bukkara) from the ſouth and weſt. But of the place where it is found I have heard no deſcription. It muſt alſo exiſt on the mountain called Gebel Marra; as it is related there are hot ſprings there, which animals, particularly birds, are obſerved not to approach; this, if true, may be the effect of ſulphureous vapours.

Plants.

THOUGH my reſidence in Dar-Fûr was ſo much protracted, I feel myſelf able to furniſh only a very imperfect catalogue of its vegetable productions. Theſe are to be ſought chiefly in the diſtricts o the ſouth, where water abounds, and where the extreme reſtraint under which I found myſelf prevented me from ſeeking them.

During ſeven or eight months in the year the whole ſurface of the earth to the north is dried up by the ſun, and the minute plants which ſpring and flouriſh during the Harîf *, are mingled in the general marceſcence, as ſoon as that ſeaſon is paſſed. Even the trees, whoſe fibres pierce more deeply into the ſubſtance of their parent ſoil, loſe the diſtinctive marks of their proper foliage, and exhibit to the diſtant obſerver only the ſharp outline of their groſſer ramifications.

Of the trees which ſhade our foreſts or adorn our gardens in Europe, very few exiſt in Dar-Fûr. The characteriſtic marks of thoſe ſpecies which moſt abound there, are their ſharp thorns, and the ſolid and unperiſhable quality of their ſubſtance. 1. The tamarind is not very common in the quarter I frequented; but thoſe which were viſible to me were of great height and bulk, and bore a copious ſupply of fruit.

2. The plane, platanus Orientalis, *Deleib*, is found, but ſeems rather to have been brought from Egypt, than indigenous.

3. Sycamore of Egypt, ficus Sycomorus, *Gimmeiz*, a few near Cobbé; ſaid to be much more common to the ſouthward. I did not obſerve that it produced any fruit.

4. *Nebbek* Ar. paliurus Athenæi. Of this there are two ſpecies in Dar-Fûr. They term the largeſt Nebbek-el-arab. There is a difference in their fruit, as well as in their external appearance. The one is a buſh, with leaves of dark green, not very different from thoſe of the ivy, but much thinner. It appeared to be the ſame I had ſeen in the gardens of Alexandria. The other a tree growing to conſiderable ſize, but having both the leaves and fruit ſmaller, and the fruit of darker colour, and ſomewhat different flavour; both of them equally thorny. The natives eat the fruit freſh

* Seaſon of the rains.

or dry, for it dries on the tree, and ſo remains great part of the winter months. In that ſtate it is formed into a paſte of not unpleaſant flavour, and is a portable proviſion on journies.

5. *Heglîg* or *Hejlij*, Ar. This tree is about the ſame ſize as the one laſt mentioned, and is ſaid to be a native of Arabia, though I have ſeen it only in Fûr. The leaf is ſmall, and the fruit it bears is of an oblong form, about the ſize of a date, colour brown, tinctured with orange, dry, and of a viſcous quality. The nucleus is large in proportion to the fruit, which adheres to it with great tenacity. This is alſo formed into a paſte, but of no agreeable flavour. It is however eaten by the Arabs, and by ſome eſteemed efficacious as a remedy for certain diſeaſes. It ſeems a ſlight diuretic. The wood is hard, and of a yellowiſh colour; it grows in great abundance, and is very thorny. This, together with the nebbek, chiefly furniſh thorns for the fences.

6. *Enneb*, a ſmall tree, to the fruit of which they have given the name of grapes. It bears leaves of light green hue, and the fruit, which is of a purple colour, is attached not in bunches, but ſingly to the ſmaller branches, and interſperſed among the leaves. The internal ſtructure of the fruit is not very unlike the grape, which it alſo reſembles in ſize, but the pulp is of a red hue, and the taſte is ſtrongly aſtringent.

7. *Shaw*, Ar. a ſhrub about the ſize of the arbutus, having like it, a leaf of ſtrong texture, of oval form, pale green, wider at the lower and narrower at the upper extremity than the arbutus. The leaf has the pungency and very much the taſte of muſtard. This ſhrub I ſaw chiefly in Wadi Shaw, a place we paſſed in going and returning, between Sweini and Bîr-el-malha. The natives cut off the ſmaller branches which they uſe to rub their teeth, alleging that the acrid juice of this plant has the property of whitening them.

From an exact correſpondence as to the place of its growth, viz. near the ſalt ſprings, the camels not eating it, and ſome other circumſtances, I take this to be the Rack of Bruce, vol. v. p. 44. though unable to recognize it in the figure there given.

8. Ceratonia Siliqua, *Charôb*.

9. Sôlanum ſanctum, nightſhade, *Beidinjan* or *Melingân*, brought originally from Egypt, and uſed for food.

10. *El Henne*, from Egypt, growing into uſe.

11. *Sophar*, Ar. Caſſia ſophera, wild ſenna, native, and grows in plenty after the rains.

12. *Sûnt*, Mimoſa Nilotica, in great quantity. It is from this tree, which is alſo called *Seiâl*, that the gum brought to Egypt by the caravans, is chiefly gathered. There are alſo found the trees called by Bruce *Ergett Dimmo*, and *Ergett-el-Kurún*, and the *Farek*, Bauhinia Acuminata of the ſame writer.

13. A kind of legumen called *Fûl*, bean. It is not much uſed for food, but as an ornament by the women, being ſtrung in the form of beads when quite dry, at which time it is very hard. It is alſo uſed as a weight of four or five grains.

14. A beautiful legumen of a ſcarlet colour, with a black ſpot at the point of attachment to its cyſt. It is called in Dar-Fûr *Shûſh*; is about the ſize of a ſmall pea, hard and poliſhed, grows on a plant reſembling tares, is ſtrung and uſed as an ornament by the women.

15. The common onion, Allium cepe, *Baſſal*, Ar. is abundantly ſupplied in Dar-Fûr, but inferior in ſize, taſte, and colour, to that of Egypt.

16. Garlick, Allium ſativum, *Tûm*, Ar. cultivated and uſed for food.

17. Water-melon, Cucurbita, citrullus, *Buttcik*, Ar. This grows wild over almoſt all the cultivable lands, and ripens as the corn is removed. In this ſtate it does not

attain a large ſize. The inſide is of a pale hue, and has little flavour. As it ripens, the camels, aſſes, &c. are turned to feed on it, and it is ſaid to fatten them. The ſeeds, as they grow blackiſh, are collected to make a kind of tar, *Kutrân*. Thoſe plants of the melon which receive artificial culture grow to a large ſize, and are of exquiſite flavour.

18. Common melon, Cucumis melo, *Kawûn*, Ar. is occaſionally cultivated, but rarely brought to perfection.

19. Cucumbers, Cucumis ſativus, *Cheiar*, Ar. of which the jelabs have introduced the culture, as well as of the preceding.

20. Gourd, Cucurbita Lagenaria, *Karra*, Ar. This ſerves for drinking-veſſels and other purpoſes. It is found in abundance. When freſh, it is uſed for food, and being properly dreſſed with meat is very palatable. Grows to a large ſize.

21. Cœlocynthis, *Handal*, Ar. very common.

22. Momordica Elaterium, *Adjûr*, Ar. alſo very common.

23. *Uſhar*. This plant abounds ſo much as to cover whole plains. No other uſe is made of it than to ſpread its branches and leaves under mats and goods, which it is ſaid guards them from the *Termis* or white ant.

24. Night-ſhade, Solanum foliis hirſutis, *Enneb-el-dîb*.

25. Hemp, Cannabis vulgaris, *Haſhîſh*, Ar. is now become an article of regular culture, being uſed in various ways as an aphrodiſiac, and in different proportion as a narcotic. *Haſhîſh* is a general name for green herbs, but chiefly appropriated to this: it is chewed in its crude ſtate, inhaled by means of a pipe, or formed, with other ingredients, into an electuary, *maijun*. In Egypt the conſumption of this article is much greater than in Dar-Fûr, but the beſt is that of Antioch in Syria.

26. Rice, Oryza, *Oruzz*, Ar. is brought in ſmall quantities by the wandering Arabs, who find it growing wild in the places they frequent. It is little uſed or eſteemed, and indeed has no quality to recommend it.

27. Cayenne pepper, *chetti* or *Tchetti*, in the language of the country, is extremely common in one diſtrict, whence it is diſperſed over the country and uſed with food.

28. Kidney-bean, *Lubi*, Ar.

29. *Meluchia*.

30. *Bamêa*, in great abundance.

31. A plant of the ſame ſize with the *Meluchia*, of very dark green, ſtrong ſmell and taſte. It grows in great quantity, and with the natives forms a principal article of food. They call it *Cowel*.

32. Seſamum, *Simſim*, Ar. From this an oil is extracted. It is alſo bruiſed in a mortar, and mixed with the food. It is even uſed by the great to fatten their horſes.

33. *Mahreik*, and *Dokn*, the holcus dochna, of *Forſkal*, as has been already mentioned, are the baſis of their proviſion, but chiefly the latter.

34. Tobacco is produced in abundance in Fertît and Dar Fungaro. It ſeems to be unqueſtionably of native growth.

CHAP. V.—*Government—Hiſtory—Agriculture, &c.—Population—Building—Manners and Cuſtoms—Revenue—Articles of Commerce, &c.*

Government.

THE magiſtracy of one, which ſeems tacitly, if it be not expreſsly favoured by the diſpenſation of Mohammed, as in moſt other countries profeſſing that religion, prevails

in Dar-Fûr. The monarch indeed can do nothing contrary to the Korân, but he may do more than the laws eſtabliſhed thereon will authoriſe: and as there is no council to control or even to aſſiſt him, his power may well be termed deſpotic. He ſpeaks in public of the ſoil and its productions as his perſonal property, and of the people as little elſe than his ſlaves.

When manifeſt injuſtice appears in his deciſions, the Fukkara, or eccleſiaſtics, expreſs their ſentiments with ſome boldneſs, but their oppoſition is without any appropriate object, and conſequently its effects are inconſiderable. All the monarch fears is a general alienation of the minds of the troops, who may at their will raiſe another, as enterpriſing and unprincipled as himſelf, to the ſame envied ſuperiority.

His power in the provinces is delegated to officers who poſſeſs an authority equally arbitrary. In thoſe diſtricts, which have always or for a long time formed an integral part of the empire, theſe officers are generally called meleks. In ſuch as have been lately conquered, or perhaps, more properly, have been annexed to the dominion of the Sultan, under certain ſtipulations, the chief is ſuffered to retain the title of Sultan, yet is tributary to and receives his appointment from the Sultan of Fûr.

In this country, on the death of the monarch, the title deſcends of right to the oldeſt of his ſons: and in default of heirs male, as well as during the minority of thoſe heirs, to his brother. But under various pretences this received rule of ſucceſſion is frequently infringed. The ſon is ſaid to be too young, or the late monarch to have obtained the government by unjuſt means; and, at length, the pretenſions of thoſe who have any apparent claim to the regal authority, are to be decided by war, and become the prize of the ſtrongeſt.

It was in this manner that the preſent Sultan gained poſſeſſion of the Imperial dignity. A preceding monarch, named Bokar, had three ſons, Mohammed, ſurnamed Teraub, el-Chalîfe, and Abd-el-rachmân. Teraub the eldeſt (which cognomen was acquired by the habit of rolling in the duſt when a child) firſt obtained the government. He is ſaid to have ruled thirty-two lunar years, one of the longeſt reigns remembered in the hiſtory of the country. The ſons he left at his death being all young, the ſecond brother, under pretence that none of them was old enough to reign, which was far from being the fact, and in ſome degree favoured by the troops for the generoſity by which he was eminently diſtinguiſhed, under the title of chalîfe, vicegerent of the realm, aſſumed the reigns of government. His reign was of ſhort duration, and characteriſed by nothing but violence and rapine. He had been only a ſhort time ſeated on the throne, when a diſcontented party joining with the people of Kordofân, in a war with whom his brother Teraub had periſhed, found employment for him in that quarter. Abd-el-rachmân, who, during the life of his brother, had aſſumed the title of Faquîr, and apparently devoted himſelf to religion, was then in Kordofân. He took advantage of the ſituation of the chalîfe, and the increaſing diſcontent of the ſoldiery, to get himſelf appointed their leader. Returning towards Fûr, he met his brother in the field, and they came to an engagement, which, whether by the proweſs of Abd-el-rachmân, or the perfidy of the other's adherents, is unknown, was decided in favour of the former. The chalîfe was wounded; and while one of his ſons parred the blows that were aimed at his life, they periſhed together, covered with wounds. The children of Teraub, the rightful heirs, were in the mean time forgotten, and are now wandering about, ſcraping a miſerable ſubſiſtence from the parſimonious alms of their uſurping uncle. Abd-el-rachmân thought fit to ſacrifice but one of them, who being of mature age, and, according to general report, endowed with talents greater than the reſt, was the chief object of his ſuſpicion and his fears.

The uſurper, after the victory, found himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne; yet judging it right to maintain for a time the ſhew of moderation and ſelf-denial, he employed that diſſimulation for which his countrymen are famous, in perſuading them that his affections were fixed on the bleſſings of futurity, and that he was indifferent to the ſplendour of empire. He refuſed even to ſee the treaſures of his deceaſed brother, in gold, ſlaves, &c. and as he entered the interior of the palace, drew the folds of his turban over his eyes, ſaying the temptation was too great for him, and invocating the Supreme Being to preſerve him from its effects. For a certain time too he confined himſelf to the poſſeſſion of four wives (free women) allowed by the law of the Prophet. At length, finding his claim unqueſtioned, and his authority firmly eſtabliſhed, the veil of ſanctity, now no longer neceſſary, was thrown aſide, and ambition and avarice appeared without diſguiſe. He now waſtes whole days in miſanthropic ſolitude, gazing in ſtupid admiration on heaps of coſtly apparel, and an endleſs train of ſlaves and camels, and revels in the ſubmiſſive charms of near two hundred free women. Abd-el-rachmân aſſumed the Imperial dignity in the year of the Hejira 1202, of the Chriſtian æra 1787. The diſcontent of the people however, and particularly of the ſoldiery, in conſequence of the ſeverity of his regulations, and his perſonal avarice, were (1795) very much increaſing, which made me imagine his reign would not be long.

Hiſtory.

MOHAMMED Teraub, already mentioned, was preceded by a King named Abd-el-Caſim; Abd-el-Caſim by Bokar; Bokar by Omar. Some of the earlier Kings are yet ſpoken of under the names of Solyman, Mohammed, &c. But as the people of the country poſſeſs no written documents, I found thoſe of whom I enquired often at variance, both with regard to the genealogy and the ſucceſſion of their monarchs. In all countries theſe are points of ſmall import; but eſpecially in one of which ſo few particulars are known to us. It may yet be remarked, that they commonly mention the reign of Solyman, as the epocha when Iſlamiſm began to prevail in the country. Deſcribing this Sultan, at the ſame time, as of the Dageou race, which ſwayed the ſceptre long before that of Fûr became powerful. Circumſtances have inclined me to believe, that the reign of this prince muſt have been from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty years ago.

On what the natives relate of their early hiſtory, little dependence can be placed: but it ſeems that the Dageou race came originally from the north, having been expelled from that part of Africa now, nominally at leaſt, under the dominion of Tunis *.

Harveſt, Food, &c.

IN that part of the country where I reſided are found neither lakes, rivers, marſhes, nor any other appearance of water but the wells which are dug for domeſtic conſumption, except during the rainy ſeaſon. At that period torrents, of greater or leſs dimenſions, interſect the country in all directions. The rainy ſeaſon laſts from before the middle of June to the middle or end of September. This ſeaſon is called Harîf †.

* I remember to have borrowed, while at Damaſcus, a ſmall quarto volume, written in eaſy Arabic, without either title or concluſion, which contained a kind of hiſtory of the progreſs of the (*aſhab*) early propagators of Mohammediſm, and which enumerated, if I miſtake not, a tribe under the denomination of Fûr فور among their adverſaries, after the taking of Bahneſé in Middle Egypt, and their conſequent invaſion of the more ſouthern provinces.

† If but a ſmall quantity of rain fall, the agriculturs are reduced to great diſtreſs; and it happened, about ſeven years before my arrival, that many people were obliged to eat the young branches of trees pounded in a mortar.

I have

I have obſerved that the rain, which is generally very heavy, and accompanied with lightning, falls moſt frequently from three P. M. till midnight.

The changes of the wind are not periodical but inſtantaneous. It is with a ſoutherly wind that the greateſt heat prevails; and with a ſouth-eaſt that the greateſt quantity of rain falls. When the breeze is from the north or north-weſt, it is moſt refreſhing, but does not generally continue long in that quarter. The hot and oppreſſive winds which fill the air with thick duſt blow conſtantly from the ſouth.

One day, while I was ſitting in the market-place at Cobbé, I obſerved a ſingular appearance in the air, which ſoon diſcovered itſelf to be a column of ſand, raiſed from the deſert by a whirlwind. It was apparently about a mile and a half diſtant, and continued about eight minutes; this phenomenon had nothing of the tremendous appearance of the columns of ſand deſcribed by Bruce as riſing between Aſſuân and Chendi, being merely a light cloud of ſand.

The harveſt is conducted in a very ſimple manner. The women and ſlaves of the proprietor are employed to break off the ears with their hands, leaving the ſtraw ſtanding, which is afterwards applied to buildings and various other uſeful purpoſes. They then accumulate them in baſkets, and carry them away on their heads. When threſhed, which is awkardly and incompletely performed, they expoſe the grain to the ſun till it become quite dry; after this an hole in the earth is prepared, the bottom and ſides of which are covered with chaff to exclude the vermin. This cavity or magazine is filled with grain, which is then covered with chaff, and afterwards with earth. In this way the maize is preſerved tolerably well. In uſing it for food, they grind it, and boil it in the form of polenta, which is eaten either with freſh or ſour milk, or ſtill more frequently with a ſauce made of dried meat pounded in a mortar, and boiled with onions, &c. The Furians uſe little butter; with the Egyptians and Arabs it is an article in great requeſt. There is alſo another ſauce which the poorer people uſe and highly reliſh: it is compoſed of an herb called cowel or cawel, of a taſte in part aceſcent and in part bitter, and generally diſagreeable to ſtrangers.

As a ſubſtitute for bread, cakes of the ſame material are alſo baked on a ſmooth ſubſtance prepared for the purpoſe, which are extremely thin, and if dexterouſly prepared not unpalatable. Theſe are called kiſſery (fragments or ſections); they are alſo eaten with the ſauce above mentioned, or with milk, or ſimply water; and in whatever form the grain be uſed, the rich cauſe it to be fermented before it be reduced to flour, which gives it a very agreeable taſte. They alſo make no heſitation in eating the dokn raw, but moiſtened with water, without either grinding or the operation of fire.

The Sultan here does not ſeem wholly inattentive to that important object, agriculture. Nevertheleſs, it may be eſteemed rather a blind compliance with ancient cuſtom, than individual public ſpirit, in which has originated a practice adopted by him, in itſelf ſufficiently laudable, ſince other of his regulations by no means conduce to the ſame end.

At the beginning of the harîf, or wet ſeaſon, which is alſo the moment for ſowing the corn, the King goes out with his meleks and the reſt of his train, and while the people are employed in turning up the ground and ſowing the ſeed, he alſo makes ſeveral holes with his own hand. The ſame cuſtom, it is ſaid, obtains in Bornou, and other countries in this part of Africa. It calls to the mind a practice of the Egyptian Kings, mentioned by Herodotus. Whether this uſage be antecedent to the introduction of Mohammediſm into the country, I know not; but as it is attended with no ſuperſtitious obſervance, it would rather ſeem to belong to that creed.

Population.

Population.

THE number of inhabitants in a country in ſo rude a ſtate as this is at preſent, it muſt neceſſarily be extremely difficult to compute with preciſion. Poſſibly the levies for war may furniſh ſome criterion. The Sultan, for about two years, had been engaged in a very ſerious war with the uſurper of Kordofân. The original levies for this war I have underſtood conſiſted of about two thouſand men. Continual reinforcements have been ſent, which may be ſuppoſed to amount to more than half that number. At preſent the army does not contain more than two thouſand, great numbers of them having been taken off by the ſmall-pox, and other cauſes. Even this number is very much miſſed, and the army is ſtill ſpoken of as a very large one. It ſeems to me from this and other conſiderations, that the number of ſouls within the empire cannot much exceed two hundred thouſand. Cobbé is one of their moſt populous towns; yet from the beſt computation I have been able to make, knowing the number of inhabitants in the greater part of the houſes, I cannot perſuade myſelf that the total amount of both ſexes, including ſlaves, much exceeds ſix thouſand. Of theſe the greater proportion are ſlaves.

The houſes are ſeparated from each other by wide intervals, as each man chooſes for building the ſpot neareſt to the ground he cultivates; ſo that in an extent of about two miles on a line, not much more than one hundred diſtinct incloſures, properly to be termed houſes, are viſible. The number of villages is conſiderable; but a few hundred ſouls form the ſum of the largeſt. There are only eight or ten towns of great population.

The people of Dar-Fûr are divided into thoſe from the river, of whom I have already ſpoken, ſome few from the weſt, who are either Fukkara, or come for the purpoſes of trade. Arabs, who are very numerous, and ſome of whom are eſtabliſhed in the country, and cannot quit it; they are of many different tribes, but the greater number are thoſe who lead a wandering kind of life on the frontiers, and breed camels, oxen, and horſes. Yet they are not, for the moſt part, in ſuch a ſtate of dependence as always to contribute effectually to the ſtrength of the monarch in war, or to his ſupplies in peace. Theſe are Mahmîd, the Mahréa, the beni-Feſâra, the beni-Gerâr, and ſeveral others whoſe names I do not recollect. After the Arabs come the people of Zeghawa, which once formed a diſtinct kingdom, whoſe chief went to the field with a thouſand horſemen, as it is ſaid, from among his own ſubjects. The Zeghawa ſpeak a different dialect from the people of Fûr. We muſt then enumerate the people of Bégo or Dageou, who are now ſubject to the crown of Fûr, but are a diſtinct tribe, which formerly ruled the country. Kordofân, which is now ſubject to Fûr, and a number of other ſmaller kingdoms, as Dar Bêrti, &c. Dar Rugna has a King, who is however dependent, but more on Bergoo than on Fûr. What are the numbers of each is very difficult to ſay, as there are few or no data whence any thing ſatisfactory can be deduced.

Building.

THIS art, in which more refined nations diſplay ſo much ingenuity, and conſume ſo much of their property, is here limited by the neceſſity that produced it. A light roof ſhelters the Fûrian from the ſun and rain, and he fears not to be cruſhed by the maſs which he has raiſed for his ſecurity. The conflagration may deſolate his abode, but his ſoul is not appalled, for he has raiſed no monument of vanity to become its prey.

prey. The walls, wherever that material is to be procured, are built of clay; and the people of higher rank cover them with a kind of plaſter, and colour them white, red, and black. The apartments are of three kinds, one is called a donga, which is a cube commonly formed in the proportion of twenty feet by twelve. The four walls are covered with a flat roof conſiſting of light beams laid horizontally from ſide to ſide; over this is ſpread a ſtratum of uſhar, or ſome other light wood, or, by thoſe who can afford the expenſe, courſe mats; a quantity of dried horſe's or camel's dung is laid over this; and the whole is finiſhed with a ſtrong and ſmooth coating of clay. They contrive to give the roof a ſlight obliquity, making ſpouts to carry off the water. The roof thus conſtructed is a tolerable protection from the rain, and the whole building is in a certain degree ſecure from robbers, and the other inconveniences which are there to be expected. The donga is provided with a door, conſiſting of a ſingle plank, hewn with the axe, as the plane and ſaw are equally unknown. It is ſecured by a padlock, and thus conſtitutes the repoſitory of all their property. The next is called a kournak, which is uſually ſomewhat larger than the donga, differing from it in being without a door, and having no other roof than thatch, ſhelving like that of our barns, compoſed of kaſſob, the ſtraw of the maize, and ſupported by light rafters. This however is cooler in ſummer than the more cloſely covered buildings, and is appropriated to receiving company, and ſleeping. The women are commonly lodged, and dreſs their food in another apartment of the ſame kind as the laſt, but round, and from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter: this is called ſukteia. The walls of the donga are often about twelve or fifteen feet high; thoſe of the other buildings ſeldom exceed ſeven or eight, but this depends on the taſte of the owner. The floor of each, by perſons who are attentive to neatneſs, is covered with clean ſand, which is changed as occaſion requires. An houſe in which there are two dongas, two kournaks, and two ſukteias, is conſidered as a large and commodious one, fitted to the uſe of merchants of the firſt order. A rukkûba (ſhed) is frequently added, which is no more than a place ſheltered from the ſun, where a company ſit and converſe in the open air. The interior fence of the houſe is commonly a wall of clay. The exterior univerſally a thick hedge, conſiſting of dried branches of acacia and other thorny trees, which ſecures the cattle, and prevents the ſlaves from eſcaping; but which, as it takes no root, is never green, and has rather a gloomy aſpect. The materials of the village houſes require no particular deſcription; they are commonly of the form of the ſukteia, when they riſe above the appellation of hut, but the ſubſtance is the ſtraw of the maize, or ſome other equally coarſe and inſecure. Tents are not uſed, except by the meleks and great men, and theſe are ill-conſtructed. In time of war materials to conſtruct huts are found by the ſoldiers, and applied without great difficulty; and the ſarcina belli of each man is a light mat adapted to the ſize of his body.

Manners.

THE troops of the country are not famed for ſkill, courage, or perſeverance. In their campaigns much reliance is placed on the Arabs who accompany them, and who are properly tributaries rather than ſubjects of the Sultan. One energy of barbariſm they indeed poſſeſs, in common with other ſavages, that of being able to endure hunger and thirſt; but in this particular they have no advantage over their neighbours. On the journey, a man whom I had obſerved travelling on foot with the caravan, but unconnected with any perſon, aſked me for bread. "How long have you been without it? ſaid I. "Two days," was the reply. "And how long without water?" "I drank

drank water laſt night." This was at ſun-ſet, after we had been marching all day in the heat of the ſun, and we had yet ſix hours to reach the well. In their perſons the Fûrians are not remarkable for cleanlineſs. Though obſerving as Mohammedans all the ſuperſtitious formalities of prayer, their hair is rarely combed, or their bodies completely waſhed. The hair of the pubes and axillæ it is uſual to exterminate; but they know not the uſe of ſoap; ſo that with them poliſhing the ſkin with unguents holds the place of perfect ablutions and real purity. A kind of farinaceous paſte is however prepared, which being applied with butter to the ſkin, and rubbed continually till it become dry, not only improves its appearance, but removes from it accidental ſordes, and ſtill more the effect of continued tranſpiration, which, as there are no baths in the country, is a conſideration of ſome importance. The female ſlaves are dexterous in the application of it, and to undergo this operation is one of the refinements of African ſenſuality. Their intervals of labour and reſt are fixed by no eſtabliſhed rule, but governed by inclination or perſonal convenience. Their fatigues are often renewed under the oppreſſive influence of the meridian ſun, and in ſome diſtricts their nightly ſlumbers are interrupted by the dread of robbers, in others by the muſquitoes and other inconveniences of the climate.

An inveterate animoſity ſeems to exiſt between the natives of Fûr and thoſe of Kordofân. From converſations with both parties I have underſtood that there have been almoſt continual wars between the two countries as far as the memory of individuals extends. One of the cauſes of this hoſtility appears to be their relative poſition; the latter lying in the road between Dar-Fûr and Sennaar, which is conſidered as the moſt practicable, though not the direct communication between the former and Mekka. Nor can caravans paſs from Suakem to Fûr, as appears, but by the permiſſion of the governors of Kordofân. The jealouſy of trade therefore is in part the origin of their unvaried and implacable animoſity.

Nothing reſembling current coin is found in Soudân, unleſs it be certain ſmall tin rings, the value of which is in ſome degree arbitrary, and which alone obtains at El Faſher. In that place they ſerve as the medium of exchange for ſmall articles, for which in others are received beads, ſalt, &c. Theſe rings are made of ſo many various ſizes, that I have known ſometimes twelve, ſometimes one hundred and forty of them, paſs for a given quantity and quality of cotton cloth. The Auſtrian dollars, and other ſilver coins, brought from Egypt, are all ſold for ornaments for the women, and ſome little profit attends the ſale of them, but the uſe of them in dreſs is far from general.

Gold not being found within the limits of Fûr, is ſeldom ſeen in the market; when it appears there, it is in the form of rings of about one-fourth of an ounce weight each, in which ſtate it comes from Sennaar. The Egyptian mahbûb, or other ſtamped money, none will receive but the people of that country. The other articles chiefly current, are ſuch as belong to their dreſs, as cotton cloths, beads, amber, kohhel, rhéa, and on the other hand, oxen, camels, and ſlaves.

The diſpoſition of the people of Fûr has appeared to me more cheerful than that of the Egyptians; and that gravity and reſerve which the precepts of Mohammediſm inſpire, and the practice of the greater number of its profeſſors countenances and even requires, ſeems by no means as yet to ſit eaſy on them. A government perfectly deſpotic, and at this time not ill adminiſtered, as far as relates to the manners of the people, yet forms no adequate reſtraint to their violent paſſions *. Prone to inebriation,

* The inhabitants of a village called Bernoo, having quarrelled with thoſe of another hamlet, and ſome having been killed on both ſides, all the property of both villages was forfeited to the King, the inhabitants being abandoned to poverty.

but

but unprovided with materials or ingenuity to prepare any other fermented liquor than bûza, with this alone their convivial exceſſes are committed. But though the Sultan hath juſt publiſhed an ordinance (March 1795) forbidding the uſe of that liquor under pain of death, the plurality, though leſs publicly than before, ſtill indulge themſelves in it. A company often ſits from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet drinking and converſing, till a ſingle man ſometimes carries off near two gallons of that liquor. The bûza has however a diuretic and diaphoretic tendency, which precludes any danger from theſe exceſſes.

In this country dancing is practiſed by the men as well as the women, and they often dance promiſcuouſly. Each tribe ſeems to have its appropriate dance: that of Fûr is called Secondari, that of Bukkara Bendala. Some are grave, others laſcivious, but conſiſting rather of violent efforts than of graceful motions. Such is their fondneſs for this amuſement, that the ſlaves dance in fetters to the muſic of a little drum; and, what I have rarely ſeen in Africa or the eaſt, the time is marked by means of a long ſtick held by two, while others beat the cadence with ſhort batons.

They uſe the games of *tab-u-duk* and *drîs-wa-talaité*, deſcribed by Niebuhr, which however appear not indigenous, but to have been borrowed of the Arabs.

The vices of thieving, lying, and cheating in bargains, with all others nearly or remotely allied to them, as often happen among a people under the ſame circumſtances, are here almoſt univerſal. No property, whether conſiderable or trifling, is ſafe out of the ſight of the owner, nor indeed ſcarcely in it, unleſs he be ſtronger than the thief. In buying and ſelling the parent glories in deceiving the ſon, and the ſon the parent; and God and the Prophet are hourly invocated, to give colour to the moſt palpable frauds and falſehoods.

The privilege of polygamy, which, as is well known, belongs to their religion, the people of Soudân puſh to the extreme. At this circumſtance the Muſſelmans of Egypt, with whom I have converſed on the ſubject, affect to be much ſcandalized: for whereas, by their law they are allowed four free women, and as many ſlaves as they can conveniently maintain, the Fûrians take both free women and ſlaves without any limitation. The Sultan has more than an hundred free women, and many of the Meleks have from twenty to thirty. Teraub, a late king, contented himſelf with about five hundred females as a light travelling equipage in his wars in Kordofân, and left as many more in his palace. This may ſeem ridiculous, but when it is recollected that they had corn to grind, water to fetch, food to dreſs, and all menial offices to perform for ſeveral hundred individuals, and that theſe females (excepting thoſe who are reputed *Serrari*, concubines of the monarch) travel on foot, and even carry utenſils, &c. on their heads, employment for this immenſe retinue may be imagined, without attributing to the Sultan more libidinous propenſities than belong to others of the ſame rank and ſtation.

This people exceeds in indulgences with women, and pays little regard to reſtraint or decency. The form of the houſes already deſcribed ſecures no great ſecrecy to what is carried on within them, yet even the concealment which is thus offered, is not always ſought. The ſhade of a tree, or long graſs, is the ſole temple required for the ſacrifices to the primæval deity. In the courſe of licentious indulgence father and daughter, ſon and mother are ſometimes mingled. The relations of brother and ſiſter are exchanged for cloſer intercourſe; and in the adjoining ſtate, (Bergoo,) the example of the monarch countenances the infraction of a poſitive precept, as well of Iſlamiſm, as of the other rules of faith, which have taken their tincture from the Moſaic diſpenſation.

But however unbridled their appetites in other reſpects may be, pæderaſty, ſo common in Aſia and the North of Africa, is in Soudân little known or practiſed. The ſituation, character, and treatment of women is not exactly ſimilar, either to that which marks the manners of Aſia, and other parts of Africa, or to that which is eſtabliſhed in Europe. In contradiſtinction to the women of Egypt, in Soudân, when a ſtranger enters the houſe, one of the more modeſt indeed retires, but ſhe is contented to retire to a ſmall diſtance, and paſſes and repaſſes executing the buſineſs of the houſe in the preſence of the men. In Egypt, a veil is invariably the guardian of real or affected modeſty. In Dar-Fûr none attempt to conceal their faces but the wives of the great, whoſe rank demands ſome affectation of decency — who from ſatiety of indulgence become coquets, or whoſe vanity induces them to expect that concealment will enſnare the inexperienced with the hope of youth which has ceaſed to recommend them, or beauty by which they could never boaſt to be adorned. The middle and inferior rank are always contended with the ſlight covering of a cotton cloth, wrapped round the waiſt, and occaſionally another of the ſame form, materials, and ſize, and equally looſe, artleſsly thrown over the ſhoulders. They never eat with the men, but ſhew no heſitation at being preſent when the men eat and drink. The moſt modeſt of them will enter the houſe, not only of a man and a ſtranger, but of the traders of Egypt, and make their bargains at leiſure. On ſuch occaſions, any indelicate freedom on the part of the merchant is treated with peculiar indulgence. The huſband is by no means remarkable for jealouſy, and provided he have reaſon to ſuppoſe that his complaiſance will be attended with any ſolid advantage, will readily yield his place to a ſtranger. Nothing can ſhock the feelings of an Egyptian more than to ſee his wife in converſation with another man in public. For ſimilar conduct, individuals of that nation have been known to inflict the laſt puniſhment. A liberty of this kind has no ſuch effect on a Fûrian.

Defendit numerus, junctæque in umbone phalanges.

The univerſality of the practice prevents its being eſteemed either criminal or ſhameful.

Some of the moſt laborious domeſtic offices in this country are executed by women. They not only prepare the ſoil and ſow the corn, but aſſiſt in gathering it. They alone too are engaged in the buſineſs of grinding and converting it into bread. They not only prepare the food, in which (contrary to the practice of the Arabs) it is eſteemed diſgraceful for a man to occupy himſelf, but fetch water, waſh the apparel, and cleanſe the apartments. Even the clay buildings, which have been mentioned, are conſtructed chiefly by women. It is not uncommon to ſee a man on a journey, mounted idly on an aſs, while his wife is pacing many a weary ſtep on foot behind him, and moreover, perhaps, carrying a ſupply of proviſions or culinary utenſils. Yet it is not to be ſuppoſed that the man is deſpotic in his houſe: the voice of the female has its full weight. No queſtion of domeſtic œconomy is decided without her concurrence, and, far from being wearied with the corporeal exertions of the day, by the time the ſun declines, her memory of real or imaginary injuries affords matter for querulous upbraiding and aculeate ſarcaſms.

Whoever, impelled by vanity, (for no profit attends it,) receives to his bed the daughter of a King or powerful melek, (women of this rank are called Mîram,) finds her ſole moderatrix of his family, and himſelf reduced to a cipher. Of his real or reputed offſpring he has no voice in the diſpoſal, government, or inſtruction. The princeſs, who has honoured him with the limited right over her perſon, becomes not the partner,

ner, but the ſole proprietor, of all that he poſſeſſed; and her moſt extravagant caprices muſt not be thwarted, leaſt her diſpleaſure ſhould be ſucceeded by that of the monarch.

The man cannot take another wife with the ſame ceremonies or dowry; and if any diſpute ariſe concerning inheritance, the right is always decided in favour of the Mîram. Finally, he is almoſt a priſoner in the country, which he cannot leave, however diſtreſſed, and however he may be inclined to retrieve his fortune by trade, without ſpecial permiſſion from the Sultan, and the immediate and unqualified forfeiture not only of the dowry he gave, but of all the valuables he received in conſequence of the honourable alliance.

Previouſly to the eſtabliſhment of Iſlamiſm * and kingſhip, the people of Fûr ſeem to have formed wandering tribes, in which ſtate many of the neighbouring nations to this day remain. In their perſons they differ from the negroes of the coaſt of Guinea. Their hair is generally ſhort and woolly, though ſome are ſeen with it of the length of eight or ten inches, which they eſteem a beauty. Their complexion is for the moſt part perfectly black. The Arabs, who are numerous within the empire, retain their diſtinction of feature, colour, and language. They moſt commonly intermarry with each other. The ſlaves, which are brought from the country they call Fertît, (land of idolaters,) perfectly reſemble thoſe of Guinea, and their language is peculiar to themſelves.

In moſt of the towns, except Cobbé, which is the chief reſidence of foreign merchants, and even at court, the vernacular idiom is in more frequent uſe than the Arabic; yet the latter is pretty generally underſtood. The judicial proceedings, which are held in the monarch's preſence, are conducted in both languages, all that is ſpoken in the one being immediately tranſlated into the other by an interpreter (Tergimân).

After thoſe who fill the offices of government, the Faquî, or learned man, *i. e.* prieſt, holds the higheſt rank. Some few of theſe Faquîs have been educated at Kahira, but the majority of them in ſchools of the country. They are ignorant of every thing except the Korân. The nation, like moſt of the north of Africa, except Egypt, is of the ſect of the Imâm Melek, which however differs not materially from that of Shafei.

Revenues of Dar-Fûr.

1. ON all merchandize imported the King has a duty, which in many inſtances amounts to near a tenth; as for inſtance, on every camel's load of cotton goods brought from Egypt, and which commonly conſiſts of two hundred pieces, the duty paid to the King by the merchants of Egypt is twenty pieces: the Arabs who are under his government, and the natives pay more; ſome articles however do not pay ſo much.

2. In addition to this, when they are about to leave Dar-Fûr on their return to Egypt, another tax is demanded on the ſlaves exported, under pretence of a voluntary douceur to be exempt from having their ſlaves ſcrutiniſed. This, on our caravan, which compriſed about five thouſand ſlaves, amounted to 3000 mahbubs, between 6 and 700l. to be paid to the chabîr on their arrival in Egypt.

3. All forfeitures for miſdemeanors are due to the King; and this is a conſiderable article, for in caſe of a diſpute in which blood is ſhed, as often happens, he makes a

* About a century and a half ago.

demand of juſt what proportion he thinks right of the property of the village in which the offence was committed, of the whole, of an half, of a third, of every ſpecies of poſſeſſion, and this moſt rigorouſly eſtimated.

4. In addition to this, every one who is concerned in a judicial proceeding before him, muſt bring a preſent according to his rank and property: this is another conſiderable ſource of revenue.

5. Of all the merchandiſe, but eſpecially ſlaves, which are brought from the roads, as they call it, that is, from all quarters except Egypt, the King is entitled to a tenth; and in caſe of a ſelatéa, that is, an expedition to procure ſlaves by force, the tenth he is entitled to becomes a fifth, for the merchants are obliged to wait ſix weeks or two months before they can ſell any of their ſlaves, and then are obliged to pay in kind one-tenth of the number originally taken, one half of which is by that time generally dead.

6. At the time of leathering the kettle drum, which happens every year on the 27th of the month Rabia-el-awil, all the principal people of every town and village, nay, as I have underſtood, every houſekeeper is obliged to appear at El Faſher, with a preſent in his hands, according to his rank and ability. This is another conſiderable ſource of revenue. The preſent of the melek of the jelebs on one of theſe occaſions, I have known to be valued at 900 mahbûbs, or about 200l. ſterling. At this ſolemn feſtival, all the troops not in actual ſervice, are obliged to be preſent, and as it may be called, reviewed; that is, every man who has or can procure a horſe, mounts and ſhews him in the public meeting.

7. A number of preſents are daily and hourly received from all the great people of the country, as well as from the merchants who come on buſineſs, and thoſe who ſolicit offices. The merchants generally preſent ſome kind of manufacture for clothing, ſuch as light woollen cloth, carpets, arms, &c. and the people of the country, camels, ſlaves, male and female, tokéas, oxen, ſheep, &c.

8. But one of the moſt conſiderable articles of revenue is the tribute of the Arabs who breed oxen, horſes, camels, ſheep. Thoſe who breed horſes ſhould bring to the monarch all the males which are yearly produced by their mares; but this I am told they often contrive to avoid. The cuſtomary tribute of the Arabs who breed oxen, or Bukkara, as they are called is one-tenth *. But when I was there, they having neglected paying it for two years, the Sultan ſent a body of troops, who ſeized all they could lay hands on, to the number of twelve thouſand oxen. If the tribute were regularly paid, it might amount to four thouſand oxen per annum: but theſe Arabs live in tents, and conſequently change their habitations frequently, and when they feel themſelves united, are not much inclined to pay tribute. Thoſe who breed camels ſhould alſo pay a tenth of their property yearly; and I have underſtood that they acquit themſelves of the obligation with more regularity than the former. Theſe alſo however are ſometimes rebellious, and then nothing is received from them. Two tribes, mahrîa and mahmîd, were at war during my reſidence in Fûr, and a battle took place between them, in which many fell on both ſides: the monarch, to puniſh them for their contumacious behaviour, ſent a melek with a detachment of about ſixty horſemen, who ſeized on one half of the camels of every Arab, and where they found five took three, as the fifth could not be divided. The owners of ſheep and goats pay a tenth.

* A great tribute is alſo paid in butter.

9. Every village is obliged to pay annually a certain ſum in corn, Dokn, which is collected by the King's ſlaves. The monarch has alſo lands of his own, which are cultivated by his ſlaves, and which ſerve to ſupply his houſehold; for, though a merchant, he does not ſell corn. The whole of the diſtrict of Gebel Marra, to the weſt, is entirely appropriated to his uſe, and the wheat, wild honey, &c. which are abundantly produced there are all reſerved for his table.

10. The King is chief merchant in the country, and not only diſpatches with every caravan to Egypt a great quantity of his own merchandiſe, but alſo employs his ſlaves and dependants to trade with the goods of Egypt on his own account, in the countries adjacent to Soudan.

Articles of Commerce.

GOLD rings are ſometimes worn in the noſe by women of diſtinction. Sea-ſhells (Cowries) are among other female ornaments, but not very current. The red legumen, called Shûſh, is much worn in the hair.

Commodities brought by the jelabs from Egypt are:

1. Amber beads.
2. Tin in ſmall bars.
3. Coral beads.
4. Cornelian ditto.
5. Falſe Cornelian ditto.
6. Beads of Venice.
7. Agate.
8. Rings, ſilver and braſs, for the ancles and wriſts.
9. Carpets, ſmall.
10. Blue cotton cloths of Egyptian fabric.
11. White cotton ditto.
12. Indian muſlins and cottons.
13. Blue and white cloths of Egypt called *Melayés*.
14. Sword blades, ſtrait, (German) from Kahira.
15. Small looking-glaſſes.
16. Copper face-pieces, or defenſive armour for the horſes' heads.
17. Fire arms.
18. Kohhel for the eyes.
19. *Rhéa*, a kind of moſs from European Turkey, for food, and a ſcent.
20. *Shé*, a ſpecies of abſynthium, for its odour, and as a remedy: both the laſt ſell to advantage.
21. Coffee.
22. *Mahleb*, *Krumphille*, *Symbille*, *Sandal*, nutmegs.
23. *Dufr*, the ſhell of a kind of fiſh in the Red Sea, uſed for a perfume.
24. Silk unwrought.
25. Wire, braſs and iron.
26. Coarſe glaſs beads, made at Jeruſalem, called *Herſh* and *Munjûr*.
27. Copper culinary utenſils, for which the demand is ſmall.
28. Old copper for melting and re-working.
29. Small red caps of Barbary.
30. Thread linens of Egypt — ſmall conſumption.
31. Light French cloths, made into benîſhes.

32. Silks

32. Silks of Scio, made up.
33. Silk and cotton pieces of Aleppo, Damaſcus, &c.
34. Shoes of red leather.
35. Black pepper.
36. Writing paper, (*papier des trois lunes*,) a conſiderable article.
37. Soap of Syria.

Tranſported to Egypt:

1. Slaves, male and female.
2. Camels.
3. Ivory.
4. Horns of the rhinoceros.
5. Teeth of the hippopotamus.
6. Oſtrich feathers.
7. Whips of the hippopotamus's hide.
8. Gum.
9. Pimento.
10. Tamarinds, made into round cakes.
11. Leather ſacks for water (*ray*) and dry articles (*geraub*).
12. Peroquets in abundance, and ſome monkies and Guinea fowl.
13. Copper, white, in ſmall quantity.

CHAP. VI. — *Miſcellaneous Obſervations on Dar-Fûr, and ſome of the adjacent Countries.*

THE preceding chapters concerning Dar-Fûr, contain moſtly facts of which I was n eye-witneſs, or received from undoubted authority. But as every information, owever minute, may either conduce to facilitate farther progreſs in this part of Africa, r may perhaps intereſt the curious reader, as relating to regions little known, I ſhall ow proceed to ſome matters, related to me on the ſpot, but the accuracy of which I annot pretend to vouch.

The people of Fûr are repreſented as uſing many ſuperſtitious ceremonies at the eathering of the kettle-drum, a ceremony before mentioned. Among others, it is aid, they put to death, in the form of a ſacrifice, a young boy and girl. Even to his day, many idols are worſhipped by the women of the Sultan's harem. The nountaineers offer a kind of ſacrifice to the deity of the mountains, when they are in want of rain.

Several ſuperſtitious notions prevail among the ſlaves. One of them having died ſuddenly, it was imagined that he had been poſſeſſed by the devil, and none of them would waſh the body. It was with difficulty that they could be prevailed on even to carry it to the place of interment.

The people of Dageou, a country on the weſt, repreſented as not far from Bergoo, it is ſaid, conquered the country now called Fûr, and retained it till they were exhauſted by mutual contentions; upon which the preſent race of kings ſucceeded, but from what origin I have not been able to diſcover. Probably, Moors driven from the north by the Arabs. The race of Dageou is ſaid to have come from the vicinity of Tunis. It is reported, that they had a cuſtom of lighting a fire on the inauguration of their King, which was carefully kept burning till his death. At preſent there is a cuſtom in Fûr, of ſpreading the carpets on which the ſeveral deceaſed

Sultans

Sultans uſed to ſit, before the new prince, and from the one he prefers, it is judged his character will be analogous to that of its former poſſeſſor.

The Sultan Omar, one of the predeceſſors of Teraub, carried on a long and deſtructive war with the neighbouring country of Bergoo, in which he exhauſted his treaſures and people, and at the ſame time greatly weakened the adverſe country.

The families between which the pretenſions to authority now lie, are thoſe of Abd-el-Caſim, Teraub, and Chalifé, his brother. Each of them has a number of warm partizans among the ſoldiery, who would never be faithful to any of the other families. The competitors are ſo numerous that much confuſion is expected to follow the death of the preſent Sultan; and it is inferred that the kingdom will be divided.

I ſhall now proceed to ſtate ſome relations that were made to me concerning Kordofân and other adjacent countries.

A King, of the name of Abli-calik, is the idol of the people of Kordofân, where he reigned about fourteen years ago, and is renowned for probity and juſtice. The Kings of Kordofân had been deputed by the Mecque of Sennaar, till after the death of the ſon of Abli-calik, when it was uſurped by Fûr, in conſequence of the weakneſs and diſſenſions of the government at Sennaar.

The people of Kordofân are reported to be not only indifferent to the amours of their daughters and ſiſters, but even attached to their ſeducers. The father or brother will even draw the ſword againſt him who offends the refîk, or companion of his daughter or ſiſter. Very different is the mode of thinking in Sennaar, where immodeſty is only permitted among the female ſlaves. The chief merchants have companies of theſe ſlaves, and derive great profit from their proſtitution.

Afnou, a country beyond Bornóu to the weſtward, is ſaid to produce ſuch abundance of ſilver, that the natives conſtruct defenſive armour of that metal. The coats of mail are jointed, and repreſented as very beautiful. Of the ſame material, it is reported, are made pieces to protect the head and breaſt of their horſes, the former having the chaffron, or horn, known in our days of chivalry.

Among the ſouthern countries, whither the jelabs of Bergoo and Fûr ſometimes journey to procure ſlaves, is Dar Kulla. The chief article they carry to Kulla is ſalt, twelve pounds of which are eſtimated as the price of a male ſlave, ſedafé, about twelve or fourteen years of age. A female brings three pounds more, whimſically computed by the natives, as, a pound for the girl's eyes, another for her noſe, and a third for her ears. If copper be the medium, two rotals are eſteemed equal to four of ſalt. Hoddûr, a large ſort of Venetian glaſs beads, and tin, are in great eſteem. Of the latter they make rings and other ornaments.

The natives of Kulla are repreſented as partly negroes, partly of a red or copper colour. Their language is naſal, but very ſimple and eaſy. It is ſaid they worſhip idols. They are very cleanly, to which the abundance of water in their country contributes: and they are remarkable for honeſty, and even punctilious in their tranſactions with the jelabs.

They have ferry-boats on the river, which are impelled partly by poles, partly by a double oar, like our canoes. Slaves are obtained in Dar Kulla either by violence, ſelatéa, or by the following method. In that country the ſmalleſt treſpaſs on the property of another, is puniſhed by enſlaving the children or young relations of the treſpaſſer. If even a man's footſtep be obſerved among the corn of another, the circumſtance is attended by calling witneſſes, and application to a magiſtrate, and the certain conſequence of proof is the forfeiture of his ſon, daughter, nephew, or niece, to the perſon

perſon treſpaſſed on. Theſe accidents are continually happening, and produce a great number of ſlaves. A commiſſion to purchaſe any thing in a diſtant market, not exactly fulfilled, is attended with a like forfeiture. But above all, if a perſon of note die, the family have no idea of death as a neceſſary event, but ſay that it is effected by witchcraft. To diſcover the perpetrator, the poorer natives, far and near, are obliged to undergo expurgation by drinking a liquor which is called in Dar-Fûr kilingi, or ſomething that reſembles it; and the perſon on whom the ſuppoſed ſigns of guilt appear, may either be put to death, or ſold as a ſlave.

The people of Kulla are ſtrangers to venereal complaints, but are ſubject to the ſmall-pox. In that part of the country which is viſited by the jelabs there is a King; the reſt is occupied by ſmall tribes, each of which is ruled by the chief who happens to have moſt influence at the time. The kumba, or pimento-tree, is found there in ſuch plenty, that a rotal or pound of ſalt will purchaſe four or five mid, each mid about a peck.

The trees are ſo large, from the quantity of water and deep clay, that canoes are hollowed out of them ſufficiently capacious to contain ten perſons.

It was related to me by jelabs who have viſited that country, that the inhabitants of Dar Bergoo make war by ſudden incurſions, traverſing and laying waſte a large ſpace in a ſhort time. They leave their women behind, and are thus better adapted to military operations than the Fûrians, who follow an oppoſite practice, never marching without a hoſt of attendant females. The people of Bergoo ſeldom make ſelatéa.

Some of the idolatrous nations, dependent on Bergoo, are repreſented as making war in a very formidable manner. The combatants never retreat; and the women behind light a fire, in which they heat the heads of the ſpears, and exchange them for ſuch as are cooled in the combat. They alſo uſe poiſoned weapons.

There is a remote part of the Pagan country, from which ſlaves are brought, which the Arabs diſtinguiſh by the term Gnum Gnum, (a ſobriquet) whoſe inhabitants eat the fleſh of the priſoners they take in war. I have converſed with ſlaves who came thence, and they admit the fact. Theſe people are alſo in the habit of ſtripping off the ſkin of the hands and faces of their ſlaughtered foes, which afterwards undergo ſome preparation, and are worn as a mark of triumph. Their arms, a ſpear or javelin, are of iron, wrought by themſelves. After having heated them to redneſs, they ſtick the point into the trunk of a particular tree, and there leave the weapon till the juice has dried on. In this manner it acquires, as is reported, a moſt deadly poiſon.

A few of the more common vocabula in the language of Dar-Ruñga.

Water	Tta.
As eide (a pudding)	Gnung.
Come and eat	Gagra.
Quickly	Undelak nonnerâ.
Bring the bowl	Kiddeki, kiddeki.
A mat	Kubbenâng.
Cloths	Lemba.
Shoes	Bŏrŏ.
Sun	Agñing.
It is hot	Agñing betrân.

Moon

Moon	Medding.
A wooden mortar	Bedding.
Aſs	Guſſendĕ.
Horſe	Filah.
Dog	Ming.
Houſe	Ttong.
Kingdom	Kuſſé.
Wood of any kind	Unjŭm.
Fire	Niſſiek.
Woman	Mmi.
Man	Kameré.
Is it I?	Ammê?
Reprimanding	Ggó!
Grain	Aſſé.
Maize	Dimbiti.
Millet	Gurwendi.
Fowl	Kidi.
Winged ant	Agnemâ.
Spear	Sûbbûk.
Knife	Dangala.
Foot	Itar.
Eye	Khaſſo.
Ear	Neſſo.
Hand	Tuſſo.
Light blue	Endréng.
Dung	Abûrr.
Urine	Niſſich.
Copper	Simméri.
Tin	Fueddah.
Beads	Arrû.
Loins (of the human body) *alſo*	Arrû.
One	Kadenda.
Two	Embirr.
Three	Attik.
Four	Mendih.
Six	Subotîkeda.
Seven	Ow.
Eight	Sebatéis.
Nine	Atih.
Ten	Bûff.
Rain	Kiñga.
God, *alſo*	Kiñga.
By God, *an adjuration*	Kiñga go!
Honey	Tuggi.
Fiſh	Kognong.
Meat	Miſſich.
Gruel	Ba-birré.
Stone	Diſſi.
A ſtar	Beité.

The ſtars collectively - -	Beité-jûk.
Slave of either ſex - -	Guiah.
Male ſlave - - - -	Guiah méré.
Female ſlave - - -	Guiah Mmi.
Mountain - - - -	Ddéta.
Wind - - - -	Wwi.
Cinders - - - -	Firgi.

TRAVELS IN EGYPT.

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BOOK I.

OF THE LOWER PARTS OF EGY

CHAP. I. — *Of Egypt in General; Alexandria, and the Places near it.*

EGYPT was for many ages governed by its own Kings, until it was conquered by the Persians, under Cambyses. It remained in their hands until the time of Alexander, when it became subject to the Greeks. His General Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, was made King of Egypt, and it remained under his descendants, till it became a Roman province. After the division of the empire, Egypt fell to the lot of the eastern Emperors; from whom it was taken, soon after the establishment of the Mahometan religion, by the Saracens or Arabians; and was governed by different families, till, in 1270, the Mamaluke government, or the government of slaves, took place; for that is the meaning of this word: under which constitution, a slave was always to be advanced to the throne, and no son could succeed to his father. This government was suppressed by the Ottoman family, under Sultan Selim, in which it remains to this day.

Egypt was formerly divided into three parts: the Delta, and the countries to the east and west of it; Middle Egypt, called Heptanomis; and Upper Egypt, named the Thebais, now called Said; being all that country which is under the government of the Bey of Girge, as far as the ancient Egypt extended: what is now called Low Egypt, comprehending the other two.

Egypt was anciently divided into provinces called Nomi†, being certain districts, with their capital cities; something like the present division of the country under the government of beys.

According to Herodotus, it was one hundred eighty-seven miles and a half from the sea to Heliopolis, six hundred and five from thence to Thebes, and one hundred and two miles and a half from Thebes to Elephantine; so that the whole length of Egypt was eight hundred and ninety-five miles, according to this computation; which must

* London 1743, 2 vols. folio. (vol. i.) under the very vague title of "A Description of the *East* and some other *Countries*:" by *East* probably meaning *Levant*.

† Ἡ δὲ, χώρα τὴν μὲν πρώτην διαίρεσιν εἰς νομοὺς ἔσχε . . . . πάλιν δ' οἱ νομοὶ τομὰς ἄλλας ἔσχον· εἰς γὰρ τοπαρχίας οἱ πλεῖστοι διῄρηντο, καὶ αὗται δ' εἰς ἄλλας τομάς. ἐλάχισται δ' αἱ ἄρουραι μερίδες. Strab. xvii. p. 787.

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have been made by the windings of the river, for Egypt being eight degrees in length, computing ſeventy miles to a degree, it is only five hundred and ſixty miles long.

When Alexander the Great returned from conſulting the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, being pleaſed with the ſituation of Rhacotis, he ordered a city to be built there, which from him was called Alexandria. As the honour of being capital of the kingdom was tranſlated from Memphis to this place, ſo it was not afterwards a part of any province, but, with a territory about it, was a diſtinct government by itſelf. When this city was taken by the Saracens, according to the Arabian hiſtorians, there were in it four thouſand palaces, as many baths, four hundred ſquares, or places, and forty thouſand Jews that paid tribute.

As the ſea has gained in ſome parts, and loſt in others, ſo there is great difficulty in fixing the ſituation of many ancient places deſcribed by Strabo.

There being a bay about three leagues wide, the iſle Pharos* extending from eaſt to weſt, near to the eaſtern promontory Lochias, made the ports of Alexandria; the port Eunoſtus being to the weſt, and what they called the Great Port, to the eaſt: the latter is now called the New Port, and the other the Old Port.

The iſland was joined towards the weſt end† to the continent, by a cauſey and two bridges nine hundred paces long, which muſt have been about the quay of the old port. The ſea has gained on the weſt end of the iſland, where are ſeen under water the remains of ciſterns cut in the rock.

The famous Pharos ‡, or light-houſe, was on a rock at the eaſt end of the iſland, that was on every ſide encompaſſed with water, and ſo in a manner a ſmall ſeparate iſland §; which ſeems to be the ſpot on which the caſtle is built, at the entrance of the New Port; and the pillars ſeen in a calm ſea within the entrance, may be the remains of that ſuperb building: theſe pillars I ſaw when I went out in a boat on a calm day, and could ſee to the bottom. My obſerving ſo nicely, and ſo near the caſtle, was much taken notice of; and, as I was informed, ſeveral ſoldiers, who were that day on guard in the caſtle, were puniſhed for permitting me to examine the port ſo exactly.

The ſea has gained much on the iſle of Pharos every way, except to the ſouth; the weſtern part of the old iſland is now called the Cape of the Figs; becauſe it is famous for producing very early and excellent figs.

The ſea having loſt to the north, and alſo to the weſt, on the ſide of the ancient cauſeway to the iſland, is the reaſon why the eaſtern port at preſent is the leſs. There are two entrances to both ports, one near each cape of the continent; that to the eaſtern port is only for ſmall boats, whereas in the weſtern port, it is the ſafer entrance for the largeſt ſhips, and in the other port, the entrance by the caſtle is very narrow and dangerous, by reaſon of the rocks, as deſcribed by the ancients §.

* Ἡ δὲ Φάρος νησίον ἐστὶ παράμηκες πρὸς ἔσχατον τῇ ἠπείρῳ, λιμένα πρὸς αὐτὴν ποιοῦν ἀμφίστομον. Ἠιὼν γάρ ἐστι κολπώδης, ἄκρας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος προβεβλημένη δύο· τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ ἡ νῆσος ἵδρυται κλείουσα τὸν κόλπον, παραβέβληται γὰρ αὐτὸν κατὰ μῆκος· τῶν δ' ἄκρων τῆς Φάρου τό μέν οὖν ἑῶον μᾶλλόν ἐστι προσεχὲς τῇ ἠπείρῳ, καὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτὴν ἄκρα. Καλεῖται δ' Ἀκρολοχιὰς, καὶ ποιεῖ τὸν λιμένα ἀρτίστομον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ στενότητι τοῦ μεταξὺ πόρου καὶ πέτραι εἰσίν, αἱ μὲν ὕφαλοι, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξέχουσαι, τραχύνουσαι πᾶσαν ὥραν τὸ προσπίπτον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους κλυδώνιον· Ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς νησίδος ἄκρον πέτρα πολύκλυστος, ἔχουσα πῦργον θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένον λευκοῦ λίθου πολυόροφον, ὁμώνυμον τῇ νήσῳ. Strab. xvii p 791.

† Τὸ δὲ χῶμά ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπείρου γέφυρα ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσιν κατὰ τὸ ἑσπόριον αὐτῆς μέρος ἐκτεταμένη, δύο διάπλους διαλείπουσα μόνον εἰς τὸν Εὐνόστου λιμένα, καὶ αὐτοὺς γεγεφυρωμένους. Strab. xvii. p. 792.

‡ Pharus eſt in inſula turris, magna altitudine, mirificis operibus extractu, quæ nomen ab inſula accepit. Hæc inſula objecta Alexandriæ portum efficit: Sed a ſuperioribus regionibus in longitudinem paſſuum ncccc in mare jactis molibus anguſto itinere, et ponte, cum oppido conjungitur, Cæſar de Bello Civili, lib. iii.

§ See note (*).

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It is ſaid that Alexandria was waſhed on two ſides by the water, to the north by the ſea, and to the ſouth by the lake Mareotis; and that the other two ſides were each a kind of iſthmus *, or neck of land between the water, about ſeven ſtadia in length; on which account each of theſe ſides, eſpecially that to the weſt, was called Heptaſtadium, from which the cauſeway to the iſland is ſaid to have gone; which is a confirmation of what I ſuppoſe in the plan of Alexandria, that the Heptaſtadium began at the angle that is made near the weſt gate, at the ſouth-eaſt corner of the old port.

The firſt thing I did at Alexandria was to pace round the walls, and take the bearings; which I did with ſo much caution, that I thought I could only have been obſerved by the Janizary that attended me; notwithſtanding, it was ſoon publicly reported about the town, that I had meaſured the city walls by palms. The old walls of the city ſeem to have been built on the height, which extends from Cape Lochias towards the eaſt, the remains of a grand gateway being to be ſeen in the road to Roſetto at this high ground; and the foundations of the walls may from thence be traced to the canal. The outer walls round the old city are very beautifully built of hewn ſtone, and ſeem to be ancient; all the arches being true, and the workmanſhip very good: they are defended by ſemicircular towers, twenty feet diameter, and about one hundred and thirty feet apart; at each of them are ſtairs to aſcend up to the battlements, there being a walk round on the top of the walls built on arches. Theſe walls, as they now ſtand, ſeem to have incloſed all the city, except the palace of the Kings to the north-eaſt; and it is not improbable that the incloſure of the palace extended to the weſt, from the ſouth-eaſt corner to the preſent walls, near the gate of Roſetto, and that the foundations of the walls, ſeen all the way to the canal, were only a defence to the ſuburbs. The inner walls of the old city, which ſeem to be of the middle ages, are much ſtronger and higher than the others, and defended by large high towers. There are particularly two very large well-built towers to the north-weſt, towards the new city on the ſtrand.

The other is put to no uſe, has three floors, and ciſterns under; the upper floor conſiſts of a room in the middle about three and twenty feet ſquare, with a gallery round, and three rooms at the weſt end; the ground ſtory is much the ſame, except that it has two rooms and a ſtaircaſe to the eaſt. Theſe towers ſeem to have been built at the time the inner walls were made, and might be deſigned to hinder any deſcent on this part, where probably the quay was in the middle ages, and the grand entrance from it might be between theſe towers. What was without theſe walls, and the ſite of the palace, was probably the ſuburbs of the city, which I ſuppoſe in proceſs of time to have been walled in, extending down to the canal; and this ſuburbs, ſo walled in, began to be looked on as a part of the city itſelf, and ſeems to have been eſteemed ſo by thoſe authors who give an account of the city as three miles and three quarters long, and a mile broad, and ſpeak of it as bounded by the lake Mareotis, taking in the ſuburbs on both ſides of the canal of Canopus, if there were any to the eaſt, or in caſe there were none, as the canal run cloſe along by the ſide of the lake, they might not improperly ſay that the city extended to the lake Mareotis.

The palace, with the ſuburbs belonging to it, was a fourth part of the city; within its diſtrict was the muſeum † or academy, and the burial-place ‡ of the Kings, where

* Ἔστι δὲ χλαμυδοειδὲς τὸ σῆμα τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς πόλεως· οὗ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μήκους πλευρά ἐστι τὰ ἀμφίκλυστα, ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχοντα διάμετρον· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλάτος οἱ ἰσθμοὶ, ἑπτὰ ἢ ὀκτὼ σταδίων ἑκάτερος, σφιγγόμενος τη μὲν ὑπὸ θαλάττης, τῇ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς λίμνης. Strabo, xvii. p 793

† Τῶν δὲ βασιλείων μέρος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔχον περίπατον καὶ ἐξέδραν καὶ οἶκον μέγαν. Strabo, l. xvii p. 793.

‡ Μέρος δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σῶμα, ὃ περίβολος ἦν, ἐν ᾧ αἱ τῶν βασιλέων ταφαὶ, καὶ ἡ Αλεξάνδρου Strabo, l. xvii. p. 724.

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the body of Alexander was depoſited in a coffin of gold *, which being taken away, it was put into one of glaſs; in which condition it is probable, Auguſtus took a view of the corpſe of that great hero, and with the utmoſt veneration ſcattered flowers over it, and adorned it with a golden crown †. As the Mahometans have a great regard for the memory of Alexander, ſo there have been travellers, who relate, that they pretended to have his body in ſome moſque; but at preſent they have no account of it.

When Alexandria was no longer the reſidence of Kings, it is very natural to think that their palace in time fell to ruin, and that the materials of it were removed to the part of the city that was inhabited, and probably alſo to build the inner walls; though along by the ſea there are ſtill great remains, and on the ſhore are ſeen ſeveral pieces of porphyry, and other fine marbles, where the ancient palace ſtood; but as to the buildings on the ſea, near the obeliſks, and the fine round tower at the north-weſt corner, which has two ſtories, and a fine arch in the middle, ſupported by a pillar, they ſeem to be all buildings of the time when the inner walls were made, at leaſt not to be ſo old as the time of the Ptolemies or Cleopatra. In the round tower is a well, now ſpoiled; and they ſay there are wells alſo in ſome of the other towers.

Under theſe palaces was the private incloſed port of the Kings ‡, which might be oppoſite to the great round tower at the ſea, where ſhips now ſometimes come to anchor, and where the Turks, till within this fifty years, obliged all foreign ſhips to ride, not ſuffering them to anchor under the caſtle, as they do at preſent. In this part alſo was the iſle Antirrhodes §, in which was a palace, and a ſmall harbour or bay. This iſland ſeems to have been entirely deſtroyed by the ſea, and probably was oppoſite to the obeliſks, where there are ſtill ſeen great ruins in the ſea, and where they often raiſe up very fine pillars ‖. Over theſe places a theatre is mentioned, and afterwards the part of the city which had its name from Neptune, where there was a temple to him. This ſeems to have been about the corner of the bay ¶. In this diſtrict alſo Anthony built his Timonium, to which he retired in diſguſt after his misfortunes. Next to it the Cæſarium is mentioned, where the temple of Cæſar is ſuppoſed to have been; in which, according to Pliny, ſome obeliſks were erected. Further on was the Emporium, or market-place. Then followed the docks for their ſhipping; over which was the ancient city Rhacotis, with a ſort of ſuburbs round it called Bucolis, becauſe it was chiefly inhabited by herdſmen.

There was a communication between the ports by two bridges at the cauſeway to the iſland **, that began at the north-weſt corner of the town; at the Heptaſtadium to the weſt ††, which was one of the necks of land made by the ſea and the lake. Here

* Strabo, l. xvii. p. 274.

† Conditorium et corpus magni Alexandri, cum prolatum e penetrali ſubjeciſſet oculis, corona aurea impoſita, ac floribus aſperſis, veneratus eſt. *Sueton. Octavius*, c. 18.

‡ Τέτοις δ' ὑπόκειται ὁ, τε κρυπτὸς λιμὴν, καὶ κλειστὸς ἴδιος τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἡ Ἀντίῤῥοδος νησίον προκείμενον τῷ ὀρυκτῷ λιμένι, βασίλειον ἅμα καὶ λιμένιον ἔχον· — Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτου τὸ θέατρον· εἶτα τὸ Ποσειδώνιον, ἀγκὼν τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐμπορίου καλουμένης προπεπλωκώς, ἔχων ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος· ᾧ προσθεὶς χῶμα Ἀντώνιος ἔτι μᾶλλον προεξέβαλε εἰς μέσον τὸν λιμένα ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ κατεσκεύασε δίαιταν βασιλικὴν, ἣν Τιμώνιον προσηγόρευσε. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794.

§ See preceding note, with regard to this iſle, and the Timonium, &c.

‖ When Strabo mentions that Antirrhodes lies before τῷ ὀρυκτῷ λιμένι, he ſeems to need emendation, and it ought to be τῷ κρυπτῷ; the latter port being in this part, the other in the port Eunoſtus.

¶ This account is very different from what is given by ſome travellers, who ſuppoſe the Neptunium was where I place Cape Lochias, and that what is now without the port, was formerly within it; but any one, who conſiders the ſituation of the ſeveral parts with Strabo's account, may judge which is moſt probable.

** See a ſubſequent note for this and the following places.

†† It appears alſo by what follows in Strabo, that there was an aqueduct the iſland over this cauſey and the bridges.

it is probable the ſea has gained to the eaſt of the old port, as I have marked in the plan, where it now waſhes the walls from the great corner tower; at which the walls make an elbow to the north-weſt, for it is evident it has gained on the ſhore, farther on, where many grottos appear half waſhed away by the ſea.

Within this weſtern port, anciently called Eunoſtus, and now the old port, was the port Cibotus, from which there was a navigable canal to the lake *; and there is now a canal or foſſee along by the walls from the canal of Canopus to the ſea, by which the water runs into the ſea from the great canal, at the overflow of the Nile. When any ſhips that do not belong to the Turks, by ſtreſs of weather are obliged to go into the old port, they muſt remove into the other, as ſoon as they have an opportunity; which is the harbour allotted for the ſhips of Chriſtendom.

In the city a hill is mentioned called Panium, which, from the deſcription of it, ſeems to be the high hill within the walls near the weſt gate of the old port †.

The ſtreet which extended the whole length of the city, from the gate of Necropolis to the gate of Canopus, is ſaid to have been one hundred feet wide ‡, and doubtleſs, had in it many magnificent buildings, as appears from the granite pillars ſtill remaining in two or three parts. Among them was the gymnaſium § or public ſchools, to which there were porticos in extent above half a quarter of a mile; it might be where there are great ruins to the weſt of that ſtreet, and ſeveral large red granite pillars ſtanding. The forum, or court of judicature, was alſo probably another building in this magnificent ſtreet, and might be where ſome pillars remain nearer the ſea. The gate of Necropolis I ſuppoſe to be the gate to the ſouth-weſt, which is now built up. This gate has ſome ornaments about it of lions rampant. It is ſaid that the two chief ſtreets of Alexandria croſſed one another at right angles; ſo that if the ſtreet, that extended the whole breadth of the city, began at the old gate, it is probable the gate on the other ſide was oppoſite to it, in ſuch manner as that the ſtreet might anſwer this deſcription.

Among the remains of Alexandria, the moſt extraordinary are thoſe ciſterns which were built under their houſes, ſupported by two or three ſtories of arches on columns, in order to receive the Nile water by the canal, as they do at this day. In the ſame manner the rain water is preſerved in ciſterns, under the houſes at Jeruſalem. This canal of Canopus comes to the walls near Pompey's pillar, having run to the weſt of it: it has a paſſage under the walls, and from that part a foſſee has been cut along the outſide of the walls to the ſea; but the water is not only conveyed to the ciſterns from the canal, as it there enters the city, but alſo before, from ſeveral parts of the canal, by paſſages under ground to the higher parts of the city. There are entrances down to theſe paſſages in ſeveral parts, in order to clean them: the ciſterns alſo muſt be cleanſed; and the deſcent down to them is by round wells, in which there are holes on each ſide, at about two feet diſtance, to put the feet in to deſcend by: they draw up the water by a windlaſs, and carry it in leather bags on camels to the houſes. Before the Nile fills them again, the water in many of them is not good; owing, it may be, to

* Ἑξῆς δ' Εὐνόστου λιμὴν μετὰ τὸ ἐπταστάδιον· καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ὀρυκτὸς, ὃν καὶ Κιβωτὸν καλοῦσιν, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς νεώρια. Ενδοτέρω δὲ τούτου διώρυξ πλωτὴ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης τεταμένη τῆς Μαρεώτιδος. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

† Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Πάνειον, ὕψος τὶ χειροποίητον, στροβιλοειδὲς, ἐμφερὲς ὄχθῳ πετρώδει, διὰ κοχλίου τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἔχον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐστιν ἀπιδεῖν ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ὑποκειμένην αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

‡ Ἅπασα μὲν ὁδοῖς κατατέτμηται, ἱππηλάταις καὶ ἁρματηλάταις· δυσὶ δὲ πλατυτάταις· ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πλέθρον ἀναπεπταμέναις· αἳ δὴ δίχα καὶ πρὸς ὀρθὰς τέμνουσιν ἀλλήλας. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793. According to Suidas τὸ πλέθρον was the ſixth part of a ſtadium or furlong, that is one hundred feet.

§ Κάλλιστον δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον, μείζους ἢ σταδιαίας ἔχον τὰς στοὰς ἐν μέσῳ .... Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νεκροπόλεως ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος πλατεῖα διατείνει παρὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον μέχρι τῆς πύλης τῆς κανωβικῆς. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

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their not keeping them clean; for in ſome, and particularly that which belongs to the Latin convent, the water is obſerved to be always good.

The old city is entirely ruined, and the materials carried away to build the new. Excepting a very few houſes at the Roſetto, and bagnio gates, there are only ſome few moſques, and three convents within the old walls.

One of the moſques is called the Moſque of a thouſand and one pillars; it is to the weſt, near the gate of Necropolis. I obſerved in it four rows of pillars to the ſouth and weſt, and one row on the other ſides. Here, they ſay was a church dedicated to St. Mark, and the Patriarch reſided at it; being near the gate without which, it is ſaid, the Evangeliſt was martyred. The other great moſque is that of St. Athanaſius; where there was, without doubt, a church of that name.

At the church of the Copti convent they ſhew the patriarchal chair, and pretend alſo to have the head of St. Mark, and ſome even ſay that his body is there; as at the Greek convent they ſhew ſome things which they ſay relate to the martyrdom of St. Catherine in this city. The Latins alſo have their convent in the old city, belonging to that of Jeruſalem; and there are always ſome poor Arabs encamped about within the walls, ſo that it is dangerous being abroad after ſun-ſet, when all the company begin to retire.

At the ſouth-weſt corner is a large caſtle, with a few ſoldiers in it, no Europeans are admitted there. In the gates, eſpecially that of Roſetto, are many fine pieces of granite, and all over the city are ſeen fragments of columns of beautiful marble; all ſo many remains of the grandeur and magnificence of the ancient city.

The new city is built on the ſtrand to the north, without the walls, on the ground that ſeems to have been left by the ſea, and makes a very mean appearance; taking up all that ſpace in the plan without the walls, except the ſtrand to the eaſt, and a great part not built on towards the old port, as well as the ſpot of the old iſle of Pharos. In ſeveral houſes built round courts on porticos, they have placed a great variety of pillars, moſtly granite, which were the ornaments of the ancient city. The old city was, without doubt, in a flouriſhing condition, when the trade of the Eaſt Indies was carried on that way by the Venetians; and the decay of it may be dated from the time the paſſage was found out by the Cape of Good Hope, when the commerce took another channel; but when the trade of coffee and other commodities began in ſome meaſure to flouriſh, about fifty years ago, the preſent city then began to riſe out of the ruins of the old.

Of the two obeliſks, one is broke, and part of it lies on the ground. It has been found, by digging under ground, that the bottoms of the obeliſks were rounded, and let into a plinth, as the Egyptians uſed to place their pillars; as may be ſeen in the obſervations on architecture. Theſe obeliſks might be before the temple of Neptune. If I made no miſtake in taking the height of that which is ſtanding, by the quadrant, it is ſixty-three feet high; the piece of the obeliſk that is broke, is eighteen feet long, and at the bottom meaſured ſeven feet ſquare.

Higher up in the city, over the iſle Antirrhodes, that is probably in a line from it, the theatre is mentioned, which ſeems to have been at the hill towards the gate of Roſetto, called Coum Dimas; which I conjecture from the ſhape of that hill, where they were digging when I was in Alexandria, in order to carry away the ſtones.

The pillar commonly called Pompey's pillar is ſituated on a ſmall height, about a quarter of a mile to the ſouth of the walls, and may be ſuppoſed to have been erected after Strabo's time, as he makes no mention of ſuch an extraordinary monument: it might be ſet up either in honour of Titus, or Adrian, who were in Egypt. Near it are ſome fragments of granite pillars, four feet diameter, and it appears plainly from

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Part of the New City of Alexandria
with the Light House

many old foundations, that there has been ſome magnificent building there, in the area of which, it is probable, this pillar was erected; and ſome Arabian hiſtorians (on what authority I know not) call it the palace of Julius Cæſar. This famous pillar is of red granite: beſides the foundation, it conſiſts of three ſtones; the capital, which is judged to be about eight or nine feet deep, is of the Corinthian order, the leaves being perfectly plain, and not the leaſt indented, and ſeem to be the plain laurel or bay leaf. Some ſailors have found means to get to the top, which has a hole in it, from which it is judged that there was a ſtatue fixed on the top of the pillar; the ſhaft of the pillar, taking in the upper Torus of the baſe, is of one ſtone, the remainder of the baſe and pedeſtal of another, and all is raiſed on a foundation built of ſeveral ſtones, in the nature of two plinths, of two tier of ſtone, the lower ſetting out four inches beyond the upper, as that ſets out a foot beyond the plinth that is over it. This foundation is four feet nine inches high, and the pedeſtal, and part of the baſe, which is of one ſtone, are twelve feet and a half high. I found the whole height by the ſhadow to be one hundred and fourteen feet, which agrees pretty nearly with the account ſome others have given; ſo that taking out the above meaſures, and a half a foot for the upper Torus, the height of the ſhaft is eighty-eight feet nine inches, that is, about ten diameters of the column; for I found the diameter of it to be about nine feet; the die of the pedeſtal is twelve feet two inches ſquare, and the plinth is two feet wider. I obſerved the ſwell in the pillar, and that it leans a little to the ſouth-weſt. * The pillar is well preſerved, except that it has ſcaled away a very little to the ſouth, and more to the north-eaſt; the face of the foundation is repreſented in the draught of the pillar, as it is to the weſt-ſouth-weſt, where ſome of the ſtones have been taken away, ſo as to ſhew the middle ſtone, which has been ſo much talked of, as if the pillar reſted on that alone, whereas the work remains all round, on which the pillar is raiſed; and yet it is indeed probable that the main weight of the pillar does reſt on this ſtone, which on that ſide is about four feet wide, and appeared to me to be a mixture of alabaſter and flints of a great variety of colours, and has hieroglyphics on it. When I returned a ſecond time to Alexandria, this part was repaired in ſuch a manner, that the lower plinth is made a ſeat for people to ſit on; and ſo it is no more to be ſeen in its ancient ſtate. There are ſome ſigns of a Greek inſcription on the weſt ſide, which can hardly be diſcerned, unleſs the ſun ſhines on it: it conſiſts of four lines; what letters I could make any conjecture of, I have given below *.

To the weſt, beyond the canal of Canopus, and near a Sheik's burial place, are ſome catacombs; they conſiſt of ſeveral apartments cut in the rock, on each ſide of an open gallery: on both ſides of theſe apartments are three ſtories of holes, big enough to depoſit the bodies in †. Here we may ſuppoſe the ſuburbs began, in which were gardens, ſepulchres, and places to prepare the bodies for interment; as the quarter called Necropolis, or city of the dead, was to the weſt of the city. The catacombs extended above a mile to the weſt, and there are a great number all along by the ſea; many of them have been waſhed away by the water, which in ſuch a long tract of time has gained on the freeſtone rock, as appears by the remains of them ſeen in the ſea. I was

* ΙϽ . . 7 . . . . OCOTATOI P. O. P. TA
TCC . . O CONIOY. TONAAEAAA
ΔIC MAPPOAIION TON ΔΔI . .
ΠΟCE . . . . . APACC . . . . .

† It appears that ſome of them have been plaiſtered over, and adorned with a ſort of corniſh in ſtucco work. Some of them had alſo other ſmaller cells within them at the end or on one ſide, which might be for children.

in ſome grottos cut out of the rock, in long narrow galleries running parallel toone another, and ſome alſo croſſing them at right angles. Theſe I conjectured were thoſe magazines in which they embalmed the bodies *. The moſt extraordinary catacombs are towards the further end, and may be reckoned among the fineſt that have been diſcovered; being beautiful rooms cut out of a rock, and niches in many of them, ſo as to depoſit the bodies in, adorned with a ſort of Doric pilaſters on each ſide. The round room, and that leading to it are very beautiful, and ſo are the four rooms drawn in the plan with niches.

Near a mile farther is a foſſee between thirty and forty paces broad, which ſeems to have been cut from the lake Mareotis to the ſea. As the city is ſaid to have extended a little beyond the canal that came into the port Cibotus, this cannot be that canal, becauſe it is not only beyond the city, but alſo further to the weſt than Necropolis. It was thought hazardous to go ſo far as the foſſee, only accompanied with a janizary and ſervant; and it was with ſome art that I led the janizary ſo far, and indeed he began to be weary of waiting on me. It was certainly very hot weather to go abroad all day, as I often did, and found the janizary full employment, which is what they are not uſed to; and not knowing their cuſtoms, I deſigned to gratify him at my departure, whereas they like to make ſure of ſomething, and to have a ſmall piece of money every time they go out, ſo he always pretended ſome excuſe not to go with me; but the greateſt reaſon of all was, that I ſuppoſe ſome people had talked to him on the part of the governor, that I obſerved every thing about the city in a manner not uſually practiſed, and might ſay ſome other things to deter him from going any more with me; for it is uſual for the governor to have a certain ſum paid for every ſtranger that goes out of the gate with the janizaries of Alexandria, whom they oblige to pay it, but if they go out with the janizaries of Cairo, the governor has no power over them to oblige them to pay; ſo I took one of the janizaries of the place, and paid him the uſual tribute, and found myſelf at perfect liberty to do what I pleaſed.

I had an account from a gentleman who had been about thirty miles weſt of Alexandria, and about two hours ſouth of the tower of Arabia, in a vale to the weſt of the lake Mareotis, that he ſaw under ground a building ſupported by thirty-ſix marble pillars: this probably was Tapoſiris †, ſaid to be at a diſtance from the ſea, and this building might be for the great ſolemn meeting that was held there; and if ſo, it is probable the tower of Arabia is the old Cynoſema, and the vale above mentioned might be what they call Baher-Bellomah, or the ſea without water, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention.

The great lake Mareotis, which was formerly navigable, is now generally dry, and has only water in it for ſome time after great rains: it is probable the canals which conveyed the water to it from the Nile, have been obſtructed and filled in ſuch a long courſe of time before thoſe canals were made, or if at any time after they were choaked up, it might have been a plain as it is at preſent; and Pomponius Mela, ſpeaking of the lake Mœris, by which he ſeems to mean this great lake, as I obſerve elſewhere, ſays that what is now a lake, was formerly fields ‡.

The canal of Canopus, which brings the water to Alexandria, would likewiſe be ſtopped up if they were not ſometimes at great expence in cleaning it, which was done when I was in Egypt, and the water continued in it two months longer than it did before

* Εἶθ' ἡ Νεκρόπολις, καὶ τὸ προάστειον, ἐν ᾧ κῆποί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ καταγωγαὶ, πρὸς τὰς παρειχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτηδειαι. Strabo, xvii. p. 795.

† Εἶτα κυνὸς σῆμα, εἶτα Ταπόσιρις ὑπὲρ θαλάττης παγήγυριν δεχομένη μεγάλην. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 799.

‡ See the notes in the geographical diſſertation.

it

it was cleanſed. There is an opinion that this whole canal was lined with brick; and it is certain about Alexandria, in ſome parts the ſides are caſed with ſtone, though it might be only ſo there, as a quay for the convenience of unloading the boats. This canal runs about half a mile ſouth of the walls of the old city, and then turning to the north near Pompey's pillar, in that courſe it runs in under the walls of the city, the baſon of the old lake coming almoſt up to the canal; and about three miles from the town, it turns to the weſt from a northern direction.

The racing place, called the Hippodromus *, without the gate of Canopus, was probably in the plain towards the canal, beyond the high ground, where I ſuppoſe that gate was.

I made ſome excurſions to the eaſt, to ſee what remains there were of antiquity. In theſe expeditions I often met ſome Arabs on horſeback, who would voluntarily offer to guard me to the gate of the city, in order to get a ſmall gratuity; but when I found out their deſign, and was ſatisfied there was no danger, I ſignified to them that they need not give themſelves that trouble, on which they always went quietly away. Theſe Arabs, when they have any difference with the city, as often happens, will not permit any body to go out, and in a manner blockade the city.

The people of Alexandria have a very bad character, eſpecially the military men, and among them particularly the janizaries: they very well anſwer the character Cæſar † gives of the ſoldiery of Alexandria in his time; they raiſe tumults, plunder, and are often guilty of aſſaſſinations, and it is very difficult to get any juſtice of them.

Going about two miles to the eaſt by the canal, I came to a height to the north of it, on which are ſeveral ruins that probably are the remains of Eleuſis, mentioned by Strabo as a village of Alexandria in this ſituation near Nicopolis.

Nicopolis ‡ was three miles and three quarters from Alexandria, and received its name from the victory Auguſtus gained there over Antony, and on that account the place was much improved by him. At the firſt entrance on the height from the plain, I obſerved they had been digging out ſtones, which, as they ſaid, were foundations of a wall; but I ſaw plainly there had been a ſmall channel lined with ſtone, carried along under ground, which probably conveyed the water from the canal to the reſervoir of Nicopolis; which, though it may ſeem a very great and extraordinary work, on account of the height of the ground, yet there are ſuch paſſages made under ground in Syria to convey the water for many miles, with piles down at certain diſtances, both to bring up the earth as they made the aqueduct, and alſo to clear it in caſe of any obſtructions, as before deſcribed, from the canal of Canopus to Alexandria. Towards the ſea it is an uneven high ground all the way to Nicopolis, on which there are many ruins; but about the ſite of Nicopolis, there are remains of a very extraordinary building, which is commonly called the theatre, and I imagine to have been ſomething in the nature of a Roman caſtrum; it was built with an entrance in on every ſide, and ſix ſemicircular towers, and a ſquare one at each corner. By the manner in which the ground lies, there ſeems to have been ſome buildings within: it is built of ſmall hewn ſtone, there being three tiers of brick at the diſtance of every four feet and a half; the mortar is very thick, which made me conjecture that it was built towards the time of the

* Εἶθ' Ἱππόδρομος καλούμενός ἐστι, καὶ αἱ παρακείμεναι αἱ ἄλλαι μέχρι τῆς διώρυγος τῆς κανωβικῆς. Strabo, l. 17. p. 795.

† At the latter end of the third book, De Bello Civili.

‡ Διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου διελθόντι ἡ Νικόπολίς ἐστιν, ἔχουσα κατοικίαν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάττω. Τριάκοντα δέ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλξανδρείας στάδιοι. Τοῦτον δ' ἐτίμησεν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ τὸν τόπον. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

lower

lower empire; the walls are not any where entire, but could not be leſs than twenty feet high.

About four leagues from Alexandria, is Aboukir, called by Europeans Bikiere; it is on the weſt ſide of a wide bay, which has to the eaſt that head of land that makes out to the north from Roſetto: on this little cape to the weſt of the bay, there is a garriſoned caſtle, and ſhips ride here in tolerable ſafety. We were lodged with a Jew, who is vice-conſul to all the trading nations of Europe, to aſſiſt the ſhipping that come to anchor there. We ſent a letter we had to the governor, who ordered his lieutenant to come to us to offer us his ſervice; and this officer came afterwards, and ſerved to us the coffee the governor ſent us.

We had ſeen in the way about two leagues from Alexandria, ſuch channels made of ſtone near the ſurface of the ground, as I ſuppoſed were made to Nicopolis; by which probably the water of the canal was conveyed to theſe parts. In the way alſo is a ſalt lake, the water of which they ſay, comes by under-ground paſſages from the ſea, and is much ſalter than the ſalt lakes that have no communication with the ſea.

A chain of rocks extend above a league from Bikiere to an iſland, which is about half a mile long, and a furlong wide; there are remains in it of ſome under-ground paſſages, and of a piece of a ſtatue we conjectured was a ſphynx. I obſerved alſo that a chain of rocks extended from it towards Alexandria, ſo that probably the ſea has gained much on the land; which may be conjectured not only from this appearance, but is alſo evident from a view of the ſhore itſelf, where not only many works cut in the rocks are ſeen in the ſea, but alſo ruins of ancient buildings; and poſſibly this iſland might formerly be the cape of Tapoſiris *, where there was alſo a city of that name: this was thought to be the ancient Thonis, ſaid to be ſo called from the King who entertained Menelaus and Helen.

About two miles nearer Alexandria, are ruins of an ancient temple in the water: whether it were the temple of Venus, Arſinoe of Tapoſiris, or ſome other temple that might be at Zephyrium, mentioned in the way to Nicopolis, I leave the reader to judge; there are pieces of columns in the water three feet diameter. I ſaw alſo three broken ſtatues of ſphynxes about ſeven feet long, and three others about four feet long, moſt of them of a yellow marble. I took particular notice of the ſtatue of a woman of red granite, twelve feet long, and a block of marble four feet diameter, which ſeemed to have been the head of a coloſſal ſtatue, and many pieces about it appeared to be fragments of the ſame ſtatue, particularly the hands, which from the wriſt to the knuckles meaſured eighteen inches.

Near this building alſo are other ruins, part of which ſeem to have been a grand portico, there being about it many pieces of pillars of grey and red granite. To the ſouth of theſe are many red granite pillars, which from the order they lie in, and the ſhape of the ground, ſeem to have belonged to a round temple; moſt of them are fluted, and three feet three inches diameter. Several pieces of plain pillars lie together two feet diameter; I conjectured that they might belong to the portico, and that the fluted pillars were within the temple. All along the ſhore are many ruins, and the rocks at the bottom of the ſea ſeem cut out in ſuch a manner, as ſhews that there have been great buildings there. They dig wells all about this ſhore, and find water

* Στενὴ γὰρ τὶς ταινία μεταξὺ διήκει τῆ τε θελάσσης καὶ τῆς διώρυγος, ἐν ᾗ ἐστιν ἥτε μικρὰ Ταπόσιρις, μετὰ τὴν Νικόπολιν καὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον, ἄκρα κάλλιστον ἔχουσα Αρσινόης Αφροδίτης. Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ Θῶνιν τινὰ πόλιν ἐνταῦθα φασὶ, ἐπώνυμον τῦ βασιλέως τῦ δέξαμένου Μενέλαόν τε καὶ Ἑλένην ξενίᾳ. Strabo, l. 17. p. 800.

that is very little brackiſh according to the account that Hirtius * gives of the Alexandrian war; from which one may conjecture that the water may come not only from the canals, which ſometimes have very little water in them, but alſo from the Nile, which, it has been found by experience, fills all the ſandy ſoil of Egypt as high as the level of the waters of that river. Though experiments have been made to prove that freſh water may be found by digging wells on ſhores above high water mark: and Cæſar ſeems to have thought that the water came from the ſea. So that it may be doubted whether, ſo near the ſhore, the water comes from the ſea or the Nile.

CHAP. II.—*From Alexandria to Roſetto and Grand Cairo.*

HAVING embarked at Leghorn on the 7th of September 1737, old ſtyle, we arrived at Alexandria on the 29th of the ſame month, being only a week in the voyage, from the time we loſt ſight of Sicily. On the 24th of October, we ſet out from Alexandria to Roſetto; and leaving Bikiere on the left hand about a league, we came to the madea or ferry, about two leagues from Bikiere. The paſſage is over the outlet of a lake that is ſuppoſed to have been the lower part of the Canopic branch of the Nile, as this ferry cloſe by the ſea muſt have been the mouth of it. Heracleum † was probably ſomewhere near, from which it was alſo called the Heracleotic branch. Canopus ‡ I ſuppoſe to have been higher up this river, probably about the place where the canal went out of it. This place was famous for the diſſolute manner in which the Alexandrians diverted themſelves there, as well as in many other places along the canal that led to it: it is ſaid to have its name from Canopus, Menelaus's pilot, who died there. On the other ſide of this ferry is a cane, where paſſengers repoſe, and think themſelves ſafe from the Arabs, who rarely go to that ſide. All the country here is a ſandy deſert; it might be otherwiſe when this branch of the Nile annually overflowed, but there being a ridge of low ſandy hills running from north to ſouth near the Nile, it is poſſible that the fruitful ſoil may have been covered with the ſand blown from thoſe hills. It might, however, be a curious experiment to dig and ſee if any ſuch ſoil is to be found as is uſually brought by the Nile. The ſand changes ſo often, that it would be difficult to find the way, if they had not built eleven pillars acroſs the plain, which I conjectured might be about half a mile apart, in order to direct the way, which otherwiſe it would be difficult to find at ſuch times as the wind raiſes great clouds of ſand, as it often does in Egypt. At one of thoſe pillars an arch is turned, and an earthen vaſe is placed under it; which, by ſome charity, is kept full of Nile water, for the benefit of travellers.

In this journey I had the honour to accompany the Engliſh conſul, who was met by his vice-conſul of Roſetto, as alſo by many of the French, above a league from that town. When we were come within the ſandy hills, we were ſurpriſed at the ſight of a magnificent tent, where a handſome collation was prepared. After this refreſhment, we were all mounted on fine horſes, ſent out by the governor of the city, each attended by a groom on foot, and ſo arrived at Roſetto. The next morning the go-

* Puteis foſſis aquam dulcem poſſe reperiri affirmabat: omnia enim litora naturaliter aquæ dulcis venas habere: quod ſi alia eſſet litoris Ægyptii natura, atque omnium reliquorum, &c. *Hirtius, de Bello Alex.*

† Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κάνωβόν ἐστι τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ Ἡρακλέους ἔχον ἱερόν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 801.

‡ Κάνωβος δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις ἀπὸ Αλεξανδρείας πεζῇ ἰοῦσιν, ἐπώνυμος Κανώβου τοῦ Μενελάου κυβερνήτου, ἀποθανόντος αὐτόθι, ἔχουσα τὸ τοῦ Σαραπίδος ἱερὸν, &c. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 801.

vernor

vernor ſent a preſent of ſheep and fowl to the conſul, which I ſuppoſe was returned by ſomething of much greater value.

Roſetto is on the weſt ſide of the branch of the Nile, anciently called Bolbitinum, which Herodotus ſays was made by art. This town is called by the Egyptians, Raſchid, and is eſteemed one of the moſt pleaſant places in Egypt; it is near two miles in length, conſiſting of about two or three ſtreets. It would be carrying conjectures too far to ſuppoſe that the Mileſians ſettled here when firſt they arrived in Egypt, as they came into the branch of Bolbitinum, went out afterwards eaſt of it, and built the wall of the Mileſians, and at length ſettled at Naucratis*. Any one that ſees the hills about Roſetto, would judge that they had been the ancient barriers of the ſea, and conclude that the ſea had not loſt more ground than the ſpace between the hills and the water. The fine country of Delta, on the other ſide of the Nile, and two beautiful iſlands a little below the town, make the proſpect very delightful; the country to the north is improved with moſt pleaſant gardens of oranges, lemons, and citrons, and almoſt all ſorts of fruits, with the agreeable variety of groves of palm-trees, and ſmall lakes in different parts; and when the fields are green with rice, which is much cultivated here, it adds a great beauty to the country. Great part of the land of Roſetto belongs to Mecca, and they have a tradition that a relation of Mahomet was there, and lived at a place where they have built a moſque towards the north end of the town. They have alſo a notion that if Mecca were taken from them, the devotion of it would be removed to this place.

They have here a great manufactory of ſtriped and other coarſe linens; but the chief buſineſs of the place is the carriage of goods between this town and Cairo; all European merchandizes being brought to this place from Alexandria by ſea, and loaded on other boats to be carried to Cairo, as thoſe brought from Cairo on the Nile, are here put into large boats to be ſent to Alexandria. For this purpoſe the Europeans have their vice-conſuls and factors here to tranſact their buſineſs, and letters are brought regularly from Alexandria by land, to be ſent by boats to Cairo, on the days they ſet forwards; but letters of greater conſequence, that require diſpatch, are ſent by foot meſſengers acroſs the deſerts directly to Cairo. Though Roſetto is ſo near the ſea, yet the water is very good, unleſs when the north wind blows very ſtrong, or the Nile is at loweſt, when the water is a little brackiſh. It is remarkable that the Nile does not riſe here above three or four feet, becauſe its banks are low, and the water ſpreads itſelf all over the country.

I ſaw in Roſetto two of thoſe naked ſaints, who are commonly natural fools, and are had in great veneration in Egypt; one was a luſty, elderly man, the other a youth about eighteen years old. As the latter went along the ſtreet, I obſerved the people kiſſed his hand. I was alſ[illegible] that on Fridays, when the women go to the burial places, they frequently ſi[illegible]nce of them; and that they not only kiſs their hands, but ſhew them the[illegible]t that was paid to a certain heathen idol, and ſeem to expect the ſame kin[illegible]ntage from it. I myſelf ſaw one of theſe ſaints ſitting at a moſque door in th[illegible]oad without the gates of Cairo, with a woman on each ſide of him, at the tim[illegible] caravan was going to Mecca, and a multitude of people were paſſing by, who a[illegible] ſo accuſtomed to ſuch ſights, that they took no notice of it.

* Πλέυσαντες γὰρ ἐπὶ Ψαμμιτίχῳ τριάκοντα ναυσὶ Μιλήσιοι κατὰ Κναξάρη (ἔτυχε δ' ἦν τῶν Μήδων) κατέσχον ἐς τὸ στόμα τὸ Βολβίτινον· ἔπ' ἐκβάντες ἐπίχισαν τὸ λεχθὲν χῶμα· χρόνῳ δ' ἀναπλέυσαντες ἐς τὸν Σαϊτικὸν νομὸν κατακαυμα χήσαντες Ἴναχον, πόλιν ἔκτισαν Ναύκρατιν ἐ πολὺ τῆς Σχεδίας ὑπερθεν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 801.

I went

G. Cooke. sc. after Denon.

View of a Mosque near Rosetta

(Lower Egypt.)

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BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

I went about two miles north to the caſtle of Roſetto, on the weſt ſide of the river; it is a ſquare building, with round towers at the corners; there are port holes near the bottom of it: I obſerved about them ſeveral pieces of yellow marble, many of which had hieroglyphics on them, and might be the pieces of ſome broken obeliſk. I ſaw here ſeveral iron cannon made in the old way, with bars and rings, being in two or three pieces, which fit into one another; and three large braſs cannons. On one were ornaments of flower de luces, on the other was a tree with two letters for the arms. This caſtle is built of brick, caſed with ſtone, and is ſaid to be the work of Keyck Bey, who lived, as I was informed, about three hundred years ago; but I ſhould rather think it was built about the time of the holy wars, and that this Bey might repair it, and make the port holes. A little lower down, on the other ſide of the river, is a platform of guns, and to the eaſt of it are ſalt lakes, where they collect a great quantity of ſalt. At the mouth of the river is an iſland of a triangular form, called Latomia: it is overflowed when the wind blows from the north-weſt, and then becomes two iſlands; it is about a mile in circumference, and there are ſandy hillocks from eaſt to weſt along the middle of it. To the ſouth, the iſland is a ſort of moraſs, and to the north it is ſandy. It is probable this iſland had its name from the Greeks, on account of the diviſion of the water here, by which two entrances are made at the mouth of the river. Without the mouth of the eaſtern channel, are ruins of a caſtle at ſome diſtance, which, if I miſtake not, is on an iſland; it is called Burgimageſelzareh-Achmed, from the perſon that built it.

At Roſetto I paid a viſit to Coſmas, the Greek patriarch of Alexandria, whoſe uſual reſidence is at Cairo. As I was introduced by the dragoman, or interpreter from the conſul, I had all the honours done me that are uſual at an eaſtern viſit. Firſt a lighted pipe is offered, brought by the ſervant to you, then a ſaucer of ſweetmeats is carried about, and a little in a ſmall ſpoon given to every perſon. After the coffee is ſerved, the ſervants bring to every one a baſon of ſherbet, with a handkerchief on the arm for them to wipe after they have drank; and when it is time to go away, they ſprinkle roſe water on the hands, with which the gueſt rubs his face; then the incenſe is brought, which he receives leaning the head forward, and holding out his garment on each ſide to take the ſmoak. This compliment is paid only where they would ſhew a particular regard, and the maſter makes a ſign for it, when he thinks it is time the viſit ſhould end, or the gueſt offers to go away; which is never done when the viſiter is much ſuperior, till he makes a motion to go. In theſe viſits, every thing is done with the greateſt decency, and moſt profound ſilence; their ſlaves or ſervants ſtanding at the bottom of the room, with their hands joined before them, and with the utmoſt attention watch every motion of their maſter, who commands them by ſigns.

There is great difficulty in ſettling the ancient branches of the Nile, after its diviſion into ſeven parts, when it runs through that part of Egypt which was called Delta, by reaſon that many of them have been filled up for want of being cleaned; and the maps that have been made of thoſe parts are not entirely to be depended upon. About four leagues north-eaſt of Roſetto, is the large lake Brulos, which I ſuppoſe is the extent of the Sebennytic lake, as well as of the lake Butice *, of the ancients. About the eaſt end of this lake, the Sebennytic branch might empty itſelf into the ſea. In two manuſcript maps of Egypt, procured at Venice, and probably made when the Venetians had ſo great an intercourſe with Egypt, I find a place called Boltin, on this lake, which may

* Μετὰ δὲ τὸ τῶν Μιλησίων τεῖχος ἐπὶ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν προσιόντι στόμα, λίμναι εἰσὶν ὧν ἡ ἑτέρα Βουτικὴ καλεῖται ἀπὸ Βούτου πόλεως. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 802.

be

be the old Butus, where there was an oracle of Diana, and on an iſland near it was Hermopolis, which might be Brulos placed by Sicard in an iſland before this lake. It may be ſuppoſed that this lake, which is now of ſo great an extent, takes in all the other lakes mentioned by the ancients to the eaſt, and that the ſea breaking in has made this alteration; for though the ſea may have loſt juſt about the great mouths of the rivers, yet it appears plainly to have gained in other parts.

On the fourth of November I embarked with the conſul for Cairo, on board a fine galley. They are flat-bottomed veſſels with three maſts; near half of them being covered, they have in them one large handſome room, and near the ſtern a ſmaller for the women, if there are any on board. They are made with lattice windows all round, and have ſwivel cannon faſtened towards the prow. With a good briſk wind, they ſail well againſt the current, but when there is little wind, or it is contrary, the men draw them up with a cord faſtened to the maſt; though if the wind is high and contrary, they are obliged to lie by, as they commonly do at night, eſpecially if the Nile is low, when they are in greater danger of running aground. At ſuch times the people divert themſelves in telling long Arabian ſtories; and if they are obliged to ſtop by day, the boat-men frequently paſs away the time in acting ſome low farces. The ſailing on the Nile is very pleaſant; the country on each ſide is rich and fruitful, the villages having palm-trees planted round them, appear like ſo many fine groves, as, when the country is overflown, they look like iſlands, as they really are. But Egypt appears in greateſt beauty in the month of December, when it is the middle of the ſpring, and the whole country is covered with green corn and clover, and many plants appear in full bloſſom.

We came to Foua, above twenty miles from Roſetto, and almoſt oppoſite to a canal, which, I ſuppoſe, was the ancient continuation of the Canopic branch. This canal, they told me, communicated with the canal of Alexandria, and is probably that which was navigated when the trade was carried on this way to Alexandria, at which time the European factors lived at Foua; but the boats having been often robbed by the Arabs, they were obliged to make uſe of this conveyance by ſea, and removed to Roſetto about fifty or ſixty years ago. It is probable that Naucratis* was about this place, which was built by the Mileſians, and was afterwards made the great mart for all foreign goods, the ſhips being obliged to bring them to this place; or, if they were put into any other port, and could not conveniently come to this city, they were obliged to ſend them round by boats, ſo that it muſt have been a very conſiderable city†. Ten miles to the eaſt of this branch of the Nile was Sais ‡, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the Sin of the Scriptures. Herodotus § gives an extraordinary account of a room cut out of one ſtone, that was placed before the temple of Minerva in this city; it was on the outſide twenty-one cubits long, fourteen broad, and eight high, and within above eighteen long, twelve broad, and five high; two thouſand men were employed three years in bringing it down by water from Elphantine at the cataract, being probably cut out of one of the iſlands there. Near Sais was the aſylum of Oſiris, where it was the common opinion

* Ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δέλτα ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ποταμῷ Ναύκρατις. Strabo, l. xvii p. 803.

† See Herodotus, l. ii. c. 179.

‡ Ἀπὸ δὲ τῦ ποταμῦ δίχοινον διέχουσα ἡ Σάϊς, καὶ μικρὸν ταύτης ὑπερθε τὸ τῦ Ὀσίριδος Ἄσυλον, ἐν ᾧ κεῖσθαι τὸν Ὀσίριν φασίν. Strabo, l. xvii p. 803.

§ Τὸ δὲ ἐχ ἧκιστα ἀυτέων, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θαυμάζω, ἔστι τόδε οἴκημα μονόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος. καὶ τῦτο ἐκόμιζε μὲν ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία, διοχίλιοι δὲ οἱ προστετάχατο ἀνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ ἔτο ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνῆται· τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔξωθέν ἐστι εἰς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεες· εὖρος δὲ, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα· ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ· ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μονοκλίθου ἐστί· ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεων, καὶ πυγόνος· τὸ δὲ εὖρος δώδεκα πήχεων· τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πήχεων ἐστί. Herod. ii. p. 175.

Oſiris

Oſiris was buried; Iſis having depoſited ſeveral coffins in different places, that Typhon might not find out his body, according to the Egyptian mythology.

About a quarter of the way to Cairo, is the ſepulchre of Sherk Ahmed Bedoui, who was the ſon of one of Mahomet's uncles; and here ſome of the common people ſay the pilgrimage of devotion would be made, in caſe Mecca were taken from them. Stopping at a village for want of wind, we went to ſee the governor of the place, who offered us coffee; and when we came away, he ſent after us a ſmall preſent of fifty eggs as a compliment, and a mark of his reſpect. In this country I ſaw the way of making indigo blue, with an herb called nil. We arrived at Ouarden and went to ſee the governor, who would have entertained us, and ſent a preſent of a hundred eggs and a lamb, and afterwards came on horſeback to the boat, and returned the viſit; and having the uſual honours done him on that occaſion, it was ſignified by the conſul's people that wine would be an acceptable preſent to him, which accordingly was ſent after it was dark, not to give umbrage to conſcientious muſſulmen.

The deſert of St. Macarius is about a ſmall day's journey weſt of this town, where there are four Copti convents, to which there is a great reſort by the Copti Chriſtians; and in order to go, they commonly land here. Beyond theſe convents are the lakes of Natron*, and the ſea without water, as they call it, in Arabic, Baher-Bellomah, where they find eagle ſtones; and the rocks are in ſuch ſhapes, that they may give the common people occaſion to ſay there are petrified ſhips in this place. It ſeems to have been an ancient communication from the Lake Mareotis to the Lake Mœris: I was informed that about theſe convents there are a great number of wild boars. The night before we finiſhed our voyage, was ſpent in mirth and firing of cannon, on our friends coming out to meet us. The next evening we came to the village of Hele, near Cairo, which ſeems to be ſome remains of the name of the ancient Heliopolis, that was about five miles diſtant. On the morning of the 11th of November, a great number of people came out to meet the conſul, who, mounted on a fine horſe, was preceded by ſix Janizaries; and, according to an eaſtern cuſtom of ſtate, a man went before and ſprinkled water on the ground to lay the duſt. In this manner he entered the city, followed by his friends and dependants on humble aſſes; no Chriſtian, except the conſul, being allowed to ride on a horſe in the city.

CHAP. III. — *Between Damiata and Grand Cairo.*

THOUGH I did not make a voyage on the eaſtern branch of the Nile, till I left Grand Cairo to go out of Egypt, taking the ſame way again on my return into Egypt, yet I chooſe, in this place, to finiſh my account of Delta, and the country about it.

The Bubaſtic and the Peluſiac branches are the ſame; Ptolemy calls it the Bubaſtic branch below Buſiris, which is ſuppoſed to have been at Baalbait, to the north-eaſt of Mattal' ; ſo that the Tanitic branch, muſt have gone out of the Bubaſtic ſtill lower, and I ſuppoſe it was at the river that runs north of Manſoura, and that this river was the continuation of the Peluſiac branch, going on as I have marked it in the map; but being obſtructed, the waters ſeem to have made their courſe chiefly by the Tanitic branch, which runs now by Damiata, and partly by a ſmaller channel to the eaſt of it†.

* Ὑπὲρ δὲ Μομέμφεως ἀὸὶ δύο πυρίαι πολίσμον πύριον ἔχουσαι καὶ νομὸς Νιτριώτης. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 803.

† See geographical diſſertation.

The country from Damiata to Gaza is inhabited chiefly by Arabs, who are under no regular government. The river, or torrent of Egypt ſeems, without any diſpute, to be the rivulet near Rhinocorura *. I ſuppoſe that the ſea has gained on the Lake Sirbonis, there being no account to be had of it; it is not impoſſible that the rocks about this place were the ancient barriers between the ſea and the lake; the poets feign that Typhon lay under it. Either this lake had the ſame properties as the Dead Sea, or Strabo, by miſtake, has applied them to it †. Near it was Mount Caſſius ‡, deſcribed as a ſandy hill running out into the ſea, which ſeems to be the place now called Tenere by mariners. At the foot of it, in the town, was a temple to Jupiter Caſſius; and Pompey being murdered near, was buried on this hill.

The great lake called Menzale, between the ancient Peluſium and Damiata, ſeems to to be made by the ſea on theſe low and marſhy grounds, which were formerly overflowed by the Nile §. This lake abounds in ſea fiſh, and great quantities are brought to Damiata, eſpecially a ſort of mullets, the roes of which, when cured, they call Botargo; and when they would preſerve them in the beſt manner, they dip them in wax, and carry them not only all over Turkey, but alſo to many parts of Chriſtendom. Peluſium is thought by ſome to be Sin; but it is doubted whether it was this city or Sais. Twelve miles from Peluſium was Migdol, mentioned by Jeremiah, and famous for the defeat of the Syrians, by Neco King of Egypt.

The road for ſhipping to ride in at this mouth of the Nile, is about two leagues from the land, and very dangerous; inſomuch that when the wind is high, they are often obliged to ſlip their cables and go to ſea. For ſeven or eight leagues from the land, they know by the ſounding plummet if they are near Egypt; as within that diſtance it brings up the black, ſlimy mud of the Nile, that ſettles at the bottom of the ſea, which is often of great uſe in navigation, the low land of this country not being ſeen afar off.

There are two bars of ſand at the mouth of the river, which make the entrance very difficult, even for ſmall boats; notwithſtanding veſſels of thirty or forty tun watch their fit opportunities to come in unloaded, and are laid up at the town during the winter ſeaſon, or when they have no buſineſs. As the people here are very abſolute, ſo in order to encourage the navigation of their own boats, they will not permit any ſhip-boats to come to the town; and all the goods are carried out in ſmall boats, two leagues to ſea to the ſhipping. On the ſandy point, to the weſt of the entrance, above a quarter of a mile from the end of it, is a ſmall round caſtle, and a mile higher on the other ſide, at Iſhbely Borge, where the cuſtom-houſe is kept, is a ruined caſtle of brick, ſaid to be built by Lewis the ninth of France, and higher ſtill on the other ſide is a ſmall octagon caſtle and platform, which are likewiſe of brick.

Damiata is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the Nile, four or five miles from the mouth of the river; the Lake Menzale, as well as I could be informed, comes within two or three miles of it; and on the weſt ſide, between the river and the ſea, is a narrow tract of land that is not a mile broad, it will hardly be thought that Damiata could be ſaid to be but a mile from the ſea in this reſpect, as ſome authors of the middle ages ſeem to deſcribe it, who ſay alſo that it was a ſea-port town, as it may indeed be called

* See geographical diſſertation on this ſubject. † See Strabo xvi. p. 763.

‡ Ἐσὶ δὲ τὸ Κάσιον, θινώδης τὶς λόφος ἀκρωτηριάζων ἀνύδρος, ὅπου τὸ Πομπηΐου τοῦ Μάγνου σῶμα κεῖται καὶ Διὸς ἐστιν ἱερὸν Κασίου. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 760.

§ Τὰ πρὸς τῷ Πηλουσίῳ βάραθρα, ἃ ποιεῖ ὁ παρεκχεόμενος Νεῖλος φύσει κοίλων καὶ ἐλωδῶν ὄντων τῶν τόπων. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 760.

at

at preſent, being the harbour for boats and ſmall ſhips; though it is poſſible this miſtake may have riſen from the caſtle I have mentioned, (where there is a cuſtom-houſe) being conſidered as the port of Damiata, where there are great ruins of houſes, and might be near a mile from the ſea ſeveral hundred years paſt. At the north end of Damiata, there is a very fine large round tower, built of hewn ſtone, which might be the work of the Mamalukes, after they recovered Damiata from the Chriſtians. The town is large, but moſt of it ill built, being chiefly inhabited by fiſhermen and janizaries. I ſaw ſome water about two miles eaſt of the town, with land to the north of it, which, as well as I could be informed, is the great Lake Menzale, for travellers can take no journies into this country to make obſervations; for, beſides the rogues that are without, the people of Damiata themſelves are the very worſt people in all Turkey, and a ſtranger cannot ſo much as go into the ſtreets of the town, that are not uſually frequented by them, without being inſulted. They have a particular averſion to Europeans, which ſeems to be handed down to them from their forefathers, and to be occaſioned by the holy war; the chief ſcene of which, in Egypt, was about Damiata, which was taken by the Chriſtians: and when Lewis the Ninth was made priſoner, it was ſurrendered to the Egyptians as a part of his ranſom. No perſons muſt appear here in the European dreſs; and as a Chriſtian is known by his mien, no ſtrangers dare go out of the ſtreets they are uſed to frequent. I myſelf was two or three times inſulted, and having the black ſaſh round my turban, which janizaries often wear, one of them who paſſed by pulled it from my head, which put a ſtop to my walks into the town. They have alſo traditions, that perſons employed as European conſuls have been maſſacred, and others obliged to leave the place. There is a remarkable inſtance of their villany and cunning. They have a ſtrict law againſt taking away cables and anchors, which are left by the ſhips that are drove away by ſtreſs of weather, and yet there are not wanting ſome even of top reputation among them, who employ their own people to rob, and then negociate with the captains for money to have them reſtored out of the hands of thoſe they pretend they dare not diſcover; and as no ſhip-boats can come to the town, if any perſon of influence has any demand on the captains of ſhips, which they cannot come at any other way, it has been known that they have ſtopped them in the town, by contriving that none of the boats ſhould be permitted to carry them off.

The great trade here is an export of rice and coffee to all parts of Turkey, and of the former a counterband trade to Europe, which has been the cauſe of tumults againſt the Chriſtians: they have alſo an import of tobacco from Latichea, and of ſoap from the coaſts of Syria.

Going from Damiata to Cairo, we paſſed by the large city of Manſoura, on the eaſt ſide of the Nile: this I conjecture might be Tanis *, the Zoan of ſcripture. Some travellers mention ruins ſix or ſeven leagues off, called Themaſe, which may be the ſame that Sicard calls Balbeis, and probably is the ancient little Heracleopolis, which was capital of a province. Near Manſoura, the Chriſtian forces of the holy war were twice defeated; in the firſt action the Earl of Artois was drowned, and the brave Earl of Saliſbury died fighting on his knees; all the forces being cut to pieces. The French engaging afterwards with Lewis the Ninth at their head, the King was taken priſoner, and Damiata, among other things, was given for his ranſom. The canal that runs north of the town, falls into the Lake Menzale, and the ſouth end of it ſeems to be part of the Peluſiac branch, as it is, without doubt, the river Tafnes, mentioned

* Ὁ Τανίτης νομὸς, καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλη Τάνις. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 802.

by the hiſtorians of the holy war; which ſeems to have its name from Daphne near Peluſium, by which I ſuppoſe it formerly ran; that town being ſuppoſed to be Tahpanhes of the ſcriptures.

Nothing can be imagined more beautiful than the country on each ſide of the river, the villages are very thick, and have pleaſant groves of palm-trees about them, the country exceeding rich, and when it is green in the ſpring ſeaſon, and many things appear in bloſſom, it has a moſt delightful aſpect, far exceeding the country which is on the other branch of the Nile. We ſtopped at the port of great Mahalla on the weſt, and rid on hired aſſes about four miles to the city, which is ſituated between two canals; it is a large city, tolerably well built of brick, and is the capital of the province of Garbieh, where a ſanjack or bey reſides, and a detachment from each of the ſeven military bodies, with its ſardar or captain. There are about five hundred Copti Chriſtians in the town, who have a poor little church. I was recommended here to a merchant, who, I think, was a native of the parts towards Morocco; and, though he had been fourteen times at Mecca, was a very honeſt and worthy muſſulman; he gave me a man that ſpoke the Lingua Franca, (a corrupt Italian uſed in the eaſt) to go along with me wherever I pleaſed, and a very good apartment in a cane that belonged to him; he ſent us a very handſome collation in the morning, when I firſt taſted the butter of Egypt in the month of December, in its greateſt perfection, which is very delicate. At night we were ſerved with a very plentiful ſupper, and he came to us towards the latter end of it, but would not eat; which is the cuſtom in the eaſt, if they come to you at all whilſt at table, which they rarely do, unleſs they attend on perſons of very ſuperior rank.

The next day I ſet out for Baalbait, four or five miles to the north-eaſt; it is ſituated about a furlong to the eaſt of the canal Thabanea, part of which I take to be the ancient Mendeſian branch of the Nile; but I ſuppoſe that the Buſiritic canal paſſing by Baalbait, in the way to the Phatnitic branch, a canal was after cut from it to the Mendeſian river, which was further to the north, as may be ſeen in the map of Egypt; and this probably is that canal which now makes part of the canal Thabanea. The village of Baalbait is one of theſe artificial heights, on which probably Buſiris was built; which is thought to have been in this place, being deſcribed as in the middle of Delta, and was famous for a large temple dedicated to Iſis*, there being great remains of a temple here, the moſt coſtly in its materials of any in Egypt; it is built of granite, and appears by the hieroglyphics and capitals of the pillars, to have been a temple of Iſis: the ruins of it are on the low ground to the ſouth-eaſt. As well as I could trace out the foundation, it ſeemed to have been about two hundred feet long, and a hundred feet broad, for it is all a confuſed heap of ruins. At about one hundred feet diſtance is a mound raiſed round it, as to keep out the Nile, with an entrance on each ſide; the walls of the temple ſeem to have been ten feet thick, and to be built on the outſide with grey granite, in very ſmall ſpecks, with ſome mixture of red. The inſide was built of fine red granite. Meaſuring the ſtones, I found moſt of them were ten feet long, and five feet deep and broad; the pillars, all broke to pieces, were four feet diameter, of red granite, the capital being the head of Iſis, as number thirteen, in the fourth plate of the Egyptian architecture. They are every day deſtroying theſe fine morſels of Egyptian antiquity; and I ſaw ſome of the pillars hewn into mill-ſtones. I conjectured that there might have been four rows of twelve pillars each in the temple;

* Ἐς Βάσιριν πόλιν . . . . ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱρὸν, ἕδρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα. Herod. l. ii. c. 59.

but

but what commanded our attention ſtill more, was the exquiſite ſculpture of the hieroglyphics; and though the figures, about four feet high, are in the Egyptian taſte, yet there is ſomething ſo fine, ſo divine, in a manner, in the mien of the deities and prieſts, that it far exceeds any thing I ever ſaw in this way. I obſerved ſeveral pieces of very fine and uncommon marbles, which probably are the remains of ſtatues that adorned the temple.

Returning to the boat, and going on towards Cairo, we paſſed by Semenud, on the weſt, and ſoon after Abouſir, two conſiderable towns; the former does not ſeem to be Sebennytus, capital of the upper province of this name, which ought to be looked for on the Sebennytic branch.

The canal between Eſhbou and Motrody, might be the canal of the Kings to the Red Sea; and if ſo, Phacuſa muſt have been here, at which place this canal began from the Peluſiac branch. This great work was undertaken by Seſoſtris King of Egypt, probably carried on by Neco *, one of his ſucceſſors, and afterwards by Darius, and finiſhed by Ptolemy the ſecond of that name, King of Egypt, in ſuch manner as that they could let in the water at pleaſure; the work having before been left unfiniſhed, out of an opinion that the Red Sea was higher than the land of Egypt, and conſequently, if this canal was opened, might drown the country, or at leaſt ſpoil the waters of the Nile.

Further on the eaſt ſide, we came to Benalhaſſar, where there are great marks of an ancient city to the north of the village; two baſins, as of ſmall lakes, divided by a broad mound, are encompaſſed with high ground, that ſeems to have been raiſed by art, probably out of thoſe hollows to build the city on, ſo as to be defended againſt the overflowing of the Nile; the whole ſeems to be about two miles in compaſs. This might be the ancient Bubaſtus, thought to be Phibeſeth of the ſcripture.

It very well anſwers to the deſcription Herodotus † gives of it, and the temple he mentions might be on the high ground between the two baſins which, from Herodotus's account, ſeem formerly to have been open to the river, and the ground of the city being raiſed by art, the temple remained in the middle, as it was at firſt, on a ground not ſo high, though it might have been raiſed above the other ground: the whole is about a mile long, and half a mile broad, and the mounds about a furlong wide; on each of which they probably had three ſtreets. This temple was dedicated to Diana, who in the Egyptian language was called Bubaſtis, and from the worſhip of her this city had its name.

Higher on the river was Onias, a town which had its name from a Hebrew prieſt, who had obtained it of a King of Egypt, and built a temple there in oppoſition to that

* Νεκὼς —— ὃς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ· τὴν Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε. Herod. l. ii. c. 158.

Ἐτμήθη δὲ ἡ διώρυξ καταρχὰς μὲν ὑπὸ Σεσώστριος πρὸ τῶν Τροϊκῶν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμιτίχου παιδὸς, ἀρξαμένου μόνον, εἶτ' ἐκλιπόντος τὸν βίον· ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ πρώτου διαδεξαμένου τὸ ἑξῆς ἔργον· —— οἱ μέντοι Πτολεμαϊκοὶ βασιλεῖς διακόψαντες, κλειστὸν ἐποίησαν τὸν Εὔριπον, ὥστε ὅτε βούλοιντο ἐκπλεῖν ἀκωλύτως εἰς τὴν ἔξω θάλατταν, καὶ εἰσπλεῖν πάλιν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πηλουσιακοῦ στόματος διώρυξ ἐστὶ χειροποίητος εἰς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν. Ταύτην δ' ἐπεβάλετο πρῶτος κατασκευάζειν Νεκὼς ὁ Ψαμμιτίκου, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης· καὶ προκόψας τοῖς ἔργοις ἕως τινὸς, τὸ τελευταῖον, εἴασεν αὐτὴν ἀσυντέγεστον· ἐδιδάχθη γὰρ ὑπό τινων ὅτι διορύξας τὸν ἰσθμὸν αἴτιος ἔσται τοῦ κατακλυθῆναι τὴν Αἴγυπτον, μερτεωροτέραν γὰρ ἀπεδείκνυον ὑπάρχει· — τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν· ὕστερον δὲ ὁ δεύτερος Πτολεμαῖος συνετέλεσεν αὐτὸν, &c. Diodorus, l. i. p. 29.

Ultra deterruit inundationis metus, excelſiore tribus cubitis Rubro mari comperto. Aliqui non eam afferunt cauſam, ſed ne immiſſo mari, corrumperentur aquæ Nili, quæ ſola potus præbet. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* l. 6. c. 29.

† Μάλιστα ἡ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλις ἐξεχώθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἱρόν ἐστι Βουβάστιος, &c. Herod. l. ii. p. 137.

of

of Jeruſalem, of which Joſephus gives a very full account; by which it appears from the words of Ptolemy's grant, that it was before called Leontopolis, in this province of Heliopolis, and that there was a ruined temple there dedicated to rural Bubaſtis, or Diana.

We paſſed the Delta, and ſailed up the Nile towards Cairo, where it runs in one ſtream. To the eaſt of the river about a league, was the ancient city of Heliopolis, which is On of the ſcriptures, and is now called Matarea; it was a city of great antiquity, and famous for the worſhip of the ſun *. They worſhipped alſo a bull they kept here under the name of Mnevis; as they adored that animal at Memphis, by the name of Apis. The account of the firſt foundation of it by Actis †, the ſon of Rhoda and the ſun, and that he taught them aſtronomy, muſt be looked on as a fabulous account. The ſmall remains of this city are to the north-north-eaſt of Cairo. A large mound encompaſſes the whole; the ancient ſite being about half a mile broad, and a mile long. At the ſouth end are two entrances, and at the weſt a large one, which might have been the ancient way to the temple, for near it are ruins of a ſphynx of a bright ſpangling yellow marble; it is about two-and-twenty feet in length, the ear is two feet long, and the head four feet broad; it has ſuch a tutulus or ornament on each ſide of the head, channelled as the great ſphynx at the pyramids has, with which the ſphynx is commonly repreſented. Near it is a piece of the ſame ſtone, with hieroglyphics cut on it. Sixteen paces to the north, are ſeveral ſtones that ſeem to be the ruins of another ſphynx; to the eaſt are ſome others that might be part of two other ſphynxes, and a large ſtone ſix feet long and three feet broad, adorned with hieroglyphics on one ſide. There is an obeliſk remaining, almoſt oppoſite to the gate, but a little more to the ſouth, as there doubtleſs was another to the north. I found by the quadrant that it was ſixty-ſeven feet and a half high, ſo that ſuppoſing it to be one of the four erected by Sochis, which were ſeventy feet high, and allowing three feet for the depth of the plinth it was let into, the ground has riſen ſeven feet and a half. This obeliſk is ſix feet wide to the north and ſouth, and ſix feet four inches to the eaſt and weſt, and it is diſcoloured by the water to the height of near ſeven feet. It is well preſerved, except that on the weſt ſide it is ſcaled away for about fifteen feet high. To the north of this obeliſk, and of the place where the other may be ſuppoſed to have ſtood, the ground is very much raiſed; on which the ancient city might be built. To the ſouth of the weſt entrance, the earth has been dug away, and I ſaw a ruſticated wall three feet eight inches thick, built with two rows of ſtone in breadth, clamped together with irons.

Sultan Selim encamped his army in this place when he came to beſiege Cairo, and there are great mounds raiſed all round, of very large unburnt brick, and alſo a rampart to the eaſt of the obeliſk, as repreſented in the drawing. There is a tradition that Sultan Selim cauſed the ſphynx I have mentioned to be blown up. The prieſts ‡ of Heliopolis were the moſt famous of all Egypt for the ſtudy of philoſophy and aſtronomy, and were the firſt that computed time by years, each of three hundred and ſixty-five days. They had here a ſort of college, conſiſting of a great number of rooms.

* Ἡ τῆ Ἡλίῳ πόλις ἐπὶ χώματος ἀξιολόγου κειμένη, τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσα τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ τὸν βῶν τὸν Μεῦιν ἐν σηκῷ τινὶ τρεφόμενον, ὃς παρ' αὐτοῖς νενόμισται θεός. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 805.

† Ακτις δ' ὁ Αιγυπτιον ἀπάσας ἐκλιπε τὴν Ἡλιούπολιν ὀνομαζομένην, ἀπὸ τῦ παλῃὸς θέμενος τὴν περοσηγορίαν· οἱ δ' Αιγύπτιοι ἔμαθον παρ' αὐτῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν θεωρήματα. Diodorus, l. v. p. 328.

‡ Οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων σοφώτατοι εἶναι λογιμώτατοι. Herod. l. ii. c. 3.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡλιοπόλει καὶ οἶκους εἴδομεν μεγάλους, ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς· μάγιστα γὰρ δὴ ταύτην κατοικίαν ἱερέων γεγονέναι φασὶ τὸ παλαιὸν, φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 806.

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R. Sands sculp.

Principal Square in Grand Cairo, with Murad Bey's Palace.

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Herodotus came to this place to be instructed in the learning of the Egyptians, and Strabo, when he came to the city, was shewn the apartments of Plato and Eudoxus; the latter was a great astronomer, and they studied here together for thirteen years; a famous observatory near Heliopolis had its name from Eudoxus *, opposite to which, on the other side of the Nile, where it divides, was the city of Cercesura; but all this learning, the same author gives an account, was no more at Heliopolis in his time.

The village of Matarea is a little to the south of the described enclosure. What it is very remarkable for, as well as the country two miles farther south, is the excellent water that is always found here on digging about four feet deep; it is said to be lighter than the Nile water, and that digging nearer the river, they must go deeper to find the springs, where the ground may be higher. It is certain that all over the land of Egypt, if they dig down lower than the surface of the Nile, they find water, though the soil being mostly salt, it makes the water brackish; but it is probable that there happens to be here a vein of earth that is free from salt, and serves as a strainer, that makes the waters of the Nile purer than they are in its own bed.

The Christians of the country have a tradition that the holy family lay hid here for some time when they came into Egypt, and add that a tree opened and became hollow to receiv[illegible] shelter them from some bad people. The Coptis pretend to shew the very [illegible] is hollow, and of the sort they call Pharaoh's fig, or the sycamore, and [illegible] pieces of it as relics; but the Romans say that the old tree fell down and [illegible] away by the monks of the convent belonging to Jerusalem.

Th[illegible] a field they call the Balsam Garden, where they say the trees grew of w[illegible] the balm of Gilead; and there is some account that Cleopatra, relyin[illegible] favour of Anthony, removed those trees from the holy land †, contrary to th[illegible] mation of Herod; and that from this place they were transplanted to the count[illegible] beyond Mecca.

Th[illegible]re is great reason to think that the country about Heliopolis is the land of Goshen, which [illegible]s called also Rameses in scripture, especially as the children of Israel went by Ramef[illegible]s the first station on their departure from Egypt; this country being near Memph[illegible]is, where it is probable Pharaoh resided at that time.

CHAP. IV. — *Of Grand Cairo.*

OLD [illegible] Cairo seems to have succeeded to the town and fortress of Babylon, which I imagine [illegible] to have been on Mount Jehusi, at the south end of old Cairo; from the north end of w[illegible]hich the foot of the hill makes out to the river, answering the description, that by the f[illegible]ot of the hill which came to the river, they raised the water up to the height; about w[illegible]ich a hundred and fifty men were constantly employed, who, it is to be supposed, worked at the machines for that purpose. There is a way to the south, which seems to have been opened through this height; and though this and some other high grounds near, look very much like heaps raised by throwing out the rubbish of the city, yet it is very probable that from the height they might carry their dung, and throw it

* Ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ Κερκέσουρα πόλις κατὰ τὰς Εὐδόξου κειμένη σκοπάς· δείκνυται γὰρ σκοπή τις πρὸ τῆς Ἡλίου πόλεως, καθάπερ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κνίδου, καθ' ἣν ἐσημειοῦτο ἐκεῖνος τῶν οὐρανίων τινὰς κινήσεις. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 806.

† Ἱερικοὺς —— ἐστὶ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ βασίλειον, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βαλσάμου Παράδεισος· ἔστι δὲ τὸ φυτὸν θαμνῶδες, κυτίσῳ ἐοικὸς καὶ τερμινθῷ, ἀρωμάτιζον· οὗ τὸν φλοιὸν ἐπιχίσαντες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἀγγείοις τὸν ὀπὸν, γλίσχρῳ γάλακτι παραπλήσιον· ἀναληφθεὶς δ' εἰς κογχάρια λαμβάνει πῆξιν· λύει δὲ κεφαλαλγίας θαυμαστῶς καὶ ὑποχύσεις ἀρχομένας, καὶ ἀμβλυωπίας· τίμιος οὖν ἐστι, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα μόνον γεννᾶται. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 763.

down

down on each ſide of this foot of the hill to raiſe it higher, and make this fortreſs the more inacceſſible *. It is more probable alſo that Babylon was here, becauſe it is directly oppoſite to the pyramids, as deſcribed by the ancient geographers, and very near the Nile; whereas the caſtle of Cairo is a mile from the Nile, and it is a plain ground almoſt all the way to the river. Some † captives from Babylon, on the Euphrates, having eſcaped, fled to this hill, made excurſions, and plundered the country; but obtaining a pardon, and ſubmitting to the government, they had this place given them to inhabit, and called it Babylon from their own city.

On the top of the hill is the uninhabited convent of St. Michael; to which a prieſt goes every Sunday to officiate. The town of Babylon, probably in time, extended down to the plain; for to the north of that part of the hill which ſets out towards the river, are remains of a very extenſive building, which I conjecture might be a fort of caſtrum for the Roman legion which was at Babylon ‡. It is called Caſr Kieman §, caſtle Kieman, and is exactly of the ſame manner of architecture, as the building deſcribed at Nicopolis, the walls being built of ſmall hewn ſtone, and at the diſtance of every four foot, are three layers of brick. One tower is now forty feet high, the other much higher; but as it is converted into a Greek nunnery, the inſide is very much altered; on the third ſtory is a room, the ceiling of which is ſupp[illegible] by eight Corinthian pillars; and at preſent there is a well down from the middl[illegible]oom: all the doors and windows of the whole building are arched at top[illegible]tle is inhabited by Chriſtians, ſo that there are ſeveral churches in it; and [illegible] very ruinous condition, it has been often the refuge for fugitives in the tim[illegible] inſurrections. The building in many parts, is entirely deſtroyed, and th[illegible]y the ſtones to build.

The city of Grand Cairo has been much magnified as to its extent, and th[illegible]umber of its inhabitants; it conſiſts now of three towns or cities a mile apart, that is old Cairo, Cairo properly ſo called, and the port called Bulac. The ancient city which ſeems to have ſucceeded to Babylon, and was built near it, was called Meſr, the old name of Egypt; it had alſo the name of Foſthath ‖, becauſe Amrou-Ben-As pitched his tent there when he beſieged Babylon. From this, that part which was afterwards

* Beyond this height are three or four old Copti convents uninhabited, to which the prieſts go to officiate. The hill Jehudi runs ſo as to make a ſmall ſemicircle, about the middle of which there is a way up by an eaſy aſcent, by which alſo the water might be raiſed, that might enter to the very foot of the hill, as it does at preſent by a ſmall canal: and there being a paſſage between the hills to the ſouth towards Al-Baſetin, a larger canal runs there from the ſouth of Saroneby, and waters all that country.

† Λέγεται δὲ, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὰς ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἀλόντας ἀποσῶναι τῷ βασιλέως, μὴ δυναμένους φέρειν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ταλαιπωρίας· ὡς καλαλαβομένους παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν χωρίον καρτερὸν διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τὴν σύνεγκυς χώραν καλαφθείρειν· τέλος δὲ, δοθείσης ἀδείας αὐτοῖς καλοικῆσαι τόπον ὃν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς Βαβυλῶνα προσαγορεῦσαι. Diod. l. i. p. 52.

Ἀναπλεύσαντι δ' ἐστὶ Βαβυλὼν φρούριον ἐρυμνὸν, ἀποτάφρων ἐνταῦθα Βαβυλωνίων τινῶν, ἅτα διαπραξαμένων ἐνταῦθα καλοικίαν παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων· νυνὶ δ' ἐστὶ στρατόπεδον ἐνὸς τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων τῶν φρουρούντων τὴν Αἴγυπτον· ῥᾴχις δ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατοπέδου καὶ μέχρι Νείλου καθήκουσα, δι' ἧς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τροχοὶ καὶ κοχλίαι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνάγουσιν, ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐργαζομένων, δισμύριοι· ἀφορῶσι δ' ἐνθάδε πυραμίδες ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι ἐν Μέμφει, καὶ εἰσὶ θαυμάσιον. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 807.

It appears from Diodorus Siculus, that the founders of Babylon were the captives taken by Seſoſtris, of their deſcendants; though there was another account which he does not ſeem to credit, that it was built by ſome Babylonians, who came with Semiramis into Egypt. Joſephus ſeems to ſay that this city was not built till the time of Cambyſes.

‡ See the quotation out of Strabo in the preceding note.

§ It is poſſible the ſoldiers quartered here might be called the archers, and that from thence it might have its name; Kieman, in the Arabic language, ſignifying the ſign Sagittarius. I found ſome called this place Caſrkeſhemeh.

‖ Foſthath, in the old Arabic, ſignifies a tent.

built on had its name, which it might after communicate to the whole town. The preſent great city of Cairo, which was called by the Arabs Caher*, according to their hiſtorians, was built by a general of the firſt Calif of the Fathmites, in the year nine hundred and ſeventy-three of Chriſt. It is ſaid Saladin built walls round both theſe cities.

A third city was built between the old and new cities called Kebaſeh, which has been ſince deſtroyed, and the ruins of it are now ſeen†. Gize has been mentioned as a city adjoining, and alſo Roida in the iſland I ſhall ſpeak of.

Old Cairo is reduced to a very ſmall compaſs, and is not above two miles round; it is the port for the boats that come from upper Egypt: ſome of the beys have a ſort of country houſes here, to which they retire at the time of the high Nile.

In old Cairo are the granaries commonly called Joſeph's. They are only ſquare courts encompaſſed with walls about fifteen feet high, ſtrengthened with ſemicircular buttreſſes; they ſeem originally to have been built of ſtone, but now a great part of them is of brick. Theſe courts are filled with corn, leaving only room to enter at the door; the grain is covered over with matting, and there is a ſlight fence made round the top of the walls of canes, which I imagined were deſigned in order to diſcover if any people have got over the walls: the locks of the doors alſo are covered over with clay, and ſealed. As the birds ſometimes get to the corn, ſo the keepers of the granaries are allowed a certain quantity on that account. They ſay there were ſeven of theſe granaries, and there are remains of ſome of them turned to other uſes, this being the only one now uſed for corn, which is what is brought down from upper Egypt for the uſe of the ſoldiers, and diſtributed out to them as part of their pay, and they uſually ſell it: ſix yards of this granary were full of wheat, and one of barley for the horſe.

At the north end of old Cairo is the building for raiſing the water of the Nile to the aqueduct; it is a very magnificent plain fabric, ſaid to be erected by Campion, the immediate predeceſſor of the laſt of the Mamaluke Kings; it is a hexagon building, each ſide being between eighty and ninety feet long, and about as many high; the aſcent to it on the outſide is very eaſy for the oxen to go up, that turn the Perſian wheels to raiſe the water to the top of it. The water comes into the reſervoir below by a channel from the Nile; but when the Nile is low, it comes into a lower reſervoir, from which it is drawn into the other by another wheel: from this it is conveyed up about a hundred feet by five oxen, to as many wheels above. Five oxen turn as many wheels on the top of the building, by which the water is drawn up in the vaſes fixed to the cords that turn on the wheels, and from the top of them emptying themſelves into the baſins under; from thence the water runs into the baſins, by canals made for that purpoſe.

The aqueduct itſelf is very grand, in the ruſtic ſtyle, the arches and piers are of different dimenſions; but the former are moſtly from ten to fifteen feet wide, and the piers about ten feet. In ſome parts a plain wall is built for ſeveral feet without arches; I numbered two hundred and eighty-nine arches, though others mention a greater number, ſome near three hundred and twenty. The arches are low towards the caſtle hill, where the ground is higher, and the water running into a reſervoir is raiſed up to the caſtle by ſeveral wheels one over another.

* Among the ſeveral interpretations of this word Caher, the moſt natural ſeems to be that they ſignified by it the city; Caer, or ſomething like it, in many old languages, ſignifying a city; and the Turkiſh word at preſent is Sehir, though poſſibly it may have its name from Caherah, which ſignifies victorious.

† See Bibliotheque Oriental D'Herbelot, under Maſr and Caherah.

Oppoſite to this reſervoir of water at the Nile, is the canal that conveys the water to Cairo, and ſeems to be that which was made by Trajan. Near the mouth of it they perform the ceremony of cutting or opening the canal, by breaking down a mound they make acroſs it every year. This is done with great rejoicing, when the Nile is at a certain height; and as there is a tradition that they formerly ſacrificed a virgin every year when they performed this ceremony, ſo I was ſhewn a ſort of pillar of earth, with graſs growing on it, which when the canal is opened, if I miſtake not, is adorned with flowers; and when the Nile is let in, is waſhed away in lieu of the damſel they uſed to offer to the river God.

There are about twelve churches belonging to the Coptis in old Cairo, moſtly in one quarter of the town, inhabited by Chriſtians: they have churches alſo in Cairo, one of which belongs to the patriarch; but his proper church ſeems to be St. Macarius's, in old Cairo, where he is elected and enthroned; this is in the ſtreet of the patriarch. In the church of St. Barbara, they ſay they have her head, and ſome other relics. Moſt of the churches have old ones under them; and they ſay the holy family was in the lower church dedicated to St. Sergius, where there are ſome paintings relating to that ſubject. Theſe churches generally conſiſt of a nave and two aiſles, with galleries over the aiſles ſupported by pillars, and adorned with columns in the front that ſupport the roof. The part of the altar is ſeparated by a partition that is often finely adorned with carving, and inlaid with ivory and tortoiſe ſhell. In the church of St. George of the Greeks, they ſay they have the arm of that ſaint; they ſhewed me a pillar, to which an iron collar with a chain is fixed; and they ſay mad people confined in it for three days, certainly recover. They informed me that the Turks often try this experiment, and having a great veneration for the ſaint, frequently come and ſay their prayers here on Fridays.

There is alſo a ſynagogue, ſaid to have been built about ſixteen hundred years ago, in the manner it now is, which is much like the churches. They ſay the prophet Jeremiah was on the very ſpot where they uſually read the law; but that now no one enters into that part, out of reverence. I ſaw there two ancient manuſcripts of the law; and they pretend to have a manuſcript of the bible, writ by Ezra, who they ſay, out of reſpect omitting to write the name of God, found it writ throughout the next day after it was finiſhed: they hold it ſo ſacred, that it is not permitted that any one ſhould touch it; and they ſay the book is in a niche about ten feet high, before which a curtain is drawn, and lamps are kept always burning before it.

Towards the back part of the town is the ſtreet of the patriarch. Here are two churches, one of which is St. Macarius's, where the patriarch is elected, and a houſe with a chapel belonging to the patriarch, which probably is on the ſite of the ancient patriarchal palace; for when the patriarchs firſt removed from Alexandria, it is probable they took up their reſidence in old Cairo, and had their church and houſe there; but as that place became leſs frequented, and not ſo ſafe, they might remove into Cairo. The Franciſcans, belonging to the convent of Jeruſalem have a very neat ſmall convent or hoſpitium in old Cairo, where two or three of them generally live.

The moſque Amrah, to the north-eaſt of old Cairo, is ſaid to have been a church; there are in it near four hundred pillars, which with their capitals, ſeem to have been collected from ſeveral ancient buildings; the middle part is open. It is probable this was made a moſque by Amrou the calif, who built Foſthath. At the north end of old Cairo is a moſque of very ſolid ruſtic work, though in a ruinous condition; it is called the moſque of Omar, and is ſaid to be the firſt moſque built in this place, though probably it was rebuilt by the Mamalukes, being much like their manner of buildings.

As

View of the Aqueduct which conveys the water of the Nile to Cairo.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
BRITISH AND FOREIGN

As this is mentioned as the firſt moſque that was built here, it was doubtleſs founded by Omar, the ſecond calif of the race of Mahomet, who firſt conquered Egypt.

From old Cairo, I went over to the pleaſant iſle of Roida, or Raoudah, which is oppoſite to it, the channel of the Nile between being dry when the water is low; it is a very delightful ſpot, the weſt ſide is planted with large ſycamore trees, commonly called Pharaoh's fig. Towards the north end is the ſmall village of Roida, the iſle being near a mile long. At the ſouth end is the Mikias, or houſe in which is the famous pillar for meaſuring the Nile; it is a column in a deep baſin, the bottom of which is on a level with the bed of the Nile, the water entering on one ſide, and paſſing out on the other. The pillar is divided into meaſures, by which they ſee the riſe of the Nile; it has a fine old Corinthian capital at top, which has commonly been omitted in the draughts, and on that reſts a beam which goes acroſs to the gallery. Concerning this manner of meaſuring the riſe of the Nile, I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more in another place. From the court that leads to this houſe, is a deſcent to the Nile by ſteps, on which the common people will have it, that Moſes was found, after he had been expoſed on the banks of the river.

There are great remains of buildings at this end of the iſland, eſpecially about the meaſuring place; and to the weſt there are remains of walls ten feet thick, built of brick, with turrets that are a quarter of a circle, but do not ſeem to have been high, and I ſuppoſe that they were rather deſigned to prevent the iſle being encroached on by the river, than for any defence. They ſay ſome Sultan built a palace here, and reſided much on this iſland for the ſake of the air, and the pleaſantneſs of the ſituation.

Half a mile north of old Cairo, is a place called Caſſaraline, where there are ſeveral gardens of oranges, lemons, citrons, and caſſia; but what it is moſt remarkable for, is a convent of between thirty and forty derviſhes. As theſe people affect a ſort of extraordinary ſanctity, ſo they live in a manner in their moſque, which is a large ſquare room covered with a very fine dome. In this we were preſented to the head of them, who was reading, and entertained us very civilly in the Turkiſh manner. In it I ſaw ſome ancient vaſes, one being of white oriental alabaſter. The ſuperior had two pikes near him with Arabic ſentences on them, and there was alſo one on each ſide of the niche, which directs them which way they are to turn at prayer. In this room, and likewiſe at the entrance of the convent, are ſeveral curious things hung up, that have been collected by the derviſhes in their travels abroad, moſt of them having ſomething of the wonderful in them; as particularly I ſaw a very large boot, which they ſay belonged to ſome giant, and a bowl of a pipe in proportion to it. Theſe derviſhes are not thoſe that dance, of which ſort there are none in Egypt.

A mile further north on the river is Bulac, about a mile from new Cairo; it is near two miles in compaſs, and is the port for all boats that come up the river from the parts of Delta: here they have a cuſtom-houſe, many warehouſes and canes for travellers; it is remarkable for nothing but a fine bagnio.

The city of Cairo is ſituated about a mile from the river, and extends eaſtward near two miles to the mountain; it is about ſeven miles round, for I was ſomething more than two hours and three quarters going round the city on a beaſt of Cairo, computing that I went two miles and a half an hour *.

* From the great moſque, which is in the way going from the European quarter to Ali Caia Agelphi's houſe, to the entrance at the ſouth-weſt corner of Lake Eſbikien, twenty-five minutes. From thence to the entrance from old Cairo, twenty-three minutes, and then round the caſtle to the place I began at, two hours.

The city is ſaid to have been larger than it is at preſent, when it was the centre of trade from the Eaſt Indies; it was walled round, and part of the walls of freeſtone remain to the north-eaſt of the caſtle, where they make an angle, turning from the north to the weſt: I ſaw alſo ſome remains of them to the ſouth of the caſtle, going towards the aqueduct, which I ſuppoſe were the walls of Tailoun; they are built with ſemicircular towers, and ſeem to have been made in imitation of the outer walls of Alexandria. There are likewiſe three or four very grand gates that were built by the Mamalukes; the workmanſhip of them is very good, and amidſt all the ſimplicity of the architecture, every one muſt be ſtruck with the ſurprizing magnificence of them. One of them to the ſouth is called Babel Zuile (the gate of Zuile) from a ſuburbs of that name it leads to. Under the arch of the gate is a piece of rope faſtened to a hook, where they ſay Toman Bey, the laſt Mamaluke Sultan, was hanged by order of Sultan Selim, after he had been tortured to reveal treaſures, and carried through all the ſtreets on a lean camel, dreſſed in ragged clothes, and his hands bound. Another gate is Babel Naſſer; and they ſay that Sultan Selim made his public entrance through this gate. It probably had its name from ſome of the Califs or Sultans of Egypt, who had the name of Naſſer. A little to the ſouth of it is a gate ſtill more magnificent, which is called Babel Futuh, that is, the gate of victory; it is of hewn ſtone, very high, and has a ſquare tower on each ſide, the water tables of which are richly adorned with ſculptures.

The canal that comes out of the Nile at old Cairo, goes all through the city, though it is ſeen only from the back of the houſes that are built on it; for though there are ſeveral bridges over it, yet there are houſes built on each ſide of them, ſo as to intercept the view of the canal, but when it is dry, it is as a ſtreet, along which the common people frequently go; however towards the time it begins to be dry, it is but a bad neighbour, as a ſtench ariſes from it that is very diſagreeable to thoſe that live on it, and muſt be unwholeſome.

If one imagines that there are ſeveral ſquares or places about the city, from a quarter to three quarters of a mile round, contrived ſo as to receive and hold the water of the Nile, that is conveyed to them by the canals when the river riſes, it may give ſome idea of the ſeveral lakes that are about the city during the greater part of the year; and nothing can be imagined more beautiful than to ſee thoſe places filled with water, round which the beſt houſes in the city are built; and when the Nile is high in the ſummer, it muſt be an entertaining proſpect to ſee them covered with the fine boats and barges of all the great people, who come out in the evening to divert themſelves with their ladies: as I have been informed, concerts of muſic are never wanting, and ſometimes fireworks add to the amuſement; all the houſes round being in a manner illuminated, and the windows full of ſpectators to behold this glorious ſight. The ſcene is much altered when the waters are gone off, and nothing but mud appears; but is ſoon ſucceeded by a more agreeable view of green corn, and afterwards of harveſt, in the middle of a great city, on thoſe very ſpots where the boats were ſailing a few months before.

The ſtreets of Cairo, as of all the Turkiſh cities are very narrow; the wideſt goes the length of the city from the gate Naſſer to the gate Zuile, but would be looked on as a lane in Europe. The other ſtreets are ſo narrow, that they frequently make a roof from one houſe to the other over the ſtreet, and put a ſlight covering on it to defend them from the ſun. The city of Cairo is exceedingly well regulated for its ſecurity, more eſpecially by night; for moſt of the ſtreets, or at leaſt each end of every diſtrict or ward, has a gate and porter to it, who ſhuts up the gate as ſoon as it is dark, and

and to every one of theſe wards is a guard of two or three or more janizaries, ſo that no idle people can go about the ſtreets at night. Some little ſtreets conſiſt only of ſhops, without any houſes, and ſo they leave their ſhops locked up, and go to their houſes at night. There are alſo ſeveral places for ſhops like our exchanges, called bezeſtans, which are ſhut up at night, and ſhops of the ſame trade are generally together in theſe as well as in the ſtreets.

Turkiſh houſes, eſpecially in Cairo, have very little beauty in them; they are generally built round a court, where they make the beſt appearance, nothing but uſe being conſidered as to the outſide of their houſes, what they have of ornament being in their ſaloons within; ſo that their houſes, built below of ſtone, and above a ſort of cage work, ſometimes filled up with unburnt brick, and few or no windows towards the ſtreet, are a very diſagreeable ſight to one who has ſeen only European cities, that have ſomething of outward regularity, as well as conveniency and beauty within.

There are ſeveral magnificent moſques in and about Cairo; but that which exceeds them all, both as to the ſolidity of its building, and a certain grandeur and magnificence that ſtrikes in a very ſurpriſing manner, is the moſque of Sultan Haſſan, built at the foot of the caſtle hill; it is very high, of an oblong ſquare figure crowned with a corniſh all round that projects a great way, and is adorned with a particular ſort of groteſque carvings after the Turkiſh manner; the entrance to it is very finely inlaid with ſeveral ſorts of marbles, and carved in like manner at top; the aſcent was by ſeveral ſteps which are broken down, and the door walled up, becauſe in times of public inſurrections, the rebels have often taken ſhelter there. The place is ſo ſtrong that now there is always a garriſon of janizaries within the diſtrict of it, in apartments adjoining to the moſque. To the north-eaſt of the town is a very fine moſque called Kubbeel-Azab, or the cupola of the Arabs, belonging to the body of the Azabs; it is a very fine room about ſixty feet ſquare, with a beautiful dome over it, raiſed on a baſe of ſixteen ſides, in each of which is a window; the room is wainſcotted round eight feet high in pannels, with all the moſt valuable marbles, among which are ſeveral fine ſlabs of red and green porphyry; the borders round the pannels are carved and gilt, a ſort of freeze ranges round, in which are ſentences cut in large gilt characters, called the Couphe character, in which they here anciently writ the Arabic language. The walls above this are adorned with Arabic inſcriptions in letters of gold, and the whole cupola is painted and gilt in the fineſt manner, and all over the moſque are hung a great number of glaſs lamps and oſtridges' eggs; adjoining to it are ſeveral apartments built for the prieſts, and alſo ſome grand ones for the great people who ſometimes come and reſide here. It is ſaid this magnificent room was built by a grand vizier, who deſired the Sultan to give him leave to prepare a place fit to offer him a ſhirbet in, on his return from Mecca.

A part of the town to the ſouth is called Tailoun, ſaid to have been built before this city was founded, by Tholoun who was maſter of Egypt, in ſuch a manner as to be almoſt independent of the Califs; and it is ſaid left old Cairo, and built a palace and moſque here. This at firſt was probably called Cateia, becauſe that perſon is ſaid to have built a palace of that name. What remains of the ancient palace goes by the name of Kalatel-Kebſh, and they ſay, Sultan Selim lodged here. There are remains of the caſtle walls and high ground within them, which may have been raiſed by throwing out the dung of the city, and afterwards building on the high ground, though to the weſt I ſaw there was a natural rock. In this wall is a ſort of ſquare turret they call the ſeat of Pharaoh; near it under an arch, is an ancient ſarcophagus of black marble, which receives the water of a conduit; it is called the fountain of treaſure, and by

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ſome writers the fountain of lovers, concerning which the people tell ſome ſtories. It is richly adorned both inſide and out with hieroglyphics. One man ſeems to have a crocodile's head, and on a ſort of altar marked out in ſquares, ſeemed to be cut two horſes' heads; for the reſt, I could not be permitted to make any further obſervations, or to take the hieroglyphics exactly that are cut in thoſe columns. At each end is a man, and ſix columns of hieroglyphics on each ſide. There are, beſides the turret called Pharaoh's ſeat, others in a ſemicircular form, ſo that probably this was the encloſure of the old palace. In this quarter is a large moſque, ſaid to reſemble that of Mecca, and an ancient building which ſeems to have been the quarter of the body of ſoldiers called Cherkes, to whom it ſtill belongs, and goes by their name.

To the eaſt of Tailoun is the caſtle of Cairo, ſituated on a rocky hill, which ſeems to be ſeparated by art from the hill or mountain Jebel Duiſe, which is the name of the eaſt end of Jebel Mocattham. It is ſaid this caſtle was built by Saladin. There are two entrances to it on the north ſide; one to the weſt is called the gate of the Azabs, the other to the eaſt, the gate of the janizaries. The deſcent by the former is narrow, cut through the rock, and paſſing by two round towers near the gate, and then by a fine large round tower; the way is by a high wall, on which at a great height, is a relief of a very large ſpread eagle, and ſo the entrance is oppoſite to the building that is called Joſeph's hall. The aſcent by the gate of the janizaries is more ſpacious and grand; on each ſide of the inner gate is a tower of many ſides, and further on at another entrance, is a large round tower on each ſide, oppoſite to the great moſque. The caſtle is walled all round, but is ſo commanded by the hill to the eaſt, that it can be a place of no ſtrength ſince the invention of cannon. At the weſt of the caſtle, are remains of very grand apartments, ſome of them covered with domes, and adorned with Moſaic pictures of trees and houſes, that doubtleſs belonged to the ancient Sultans, and it is ſaid, have ſince been inhabited by the Paſhas. This part of the caſtle is now only uſed for weaving, embroidering, and preparing the hangings and coverings they ſend every year to Mecca. I ſaw them about this work; and, though they look on it as a profanation for a Chriſtian ſo much as to touch thoſe rich damaſks that are to cover what they call the houſe of God, yet notwithſtanding I ventured to approach them.

Over this is a higher ground to the eaſt, near the grand ſaloon, commonly called Joſeph's hall, from which there is a moſt delightful proſpect of Cairo, the pyramids, and all the country round. It was probably a terrace to that magnificent room, which is now all open, except to the ſouth ſide, and is adorned with very large and beautiful pillars of red granite; the walls built on them on the outſide have ſuch windows as are repreſented in the draught of the fourteenth plate *, as well as I could take it under the reſtraint that ſtrangers are in here. Walls alſo are built with ſuch windows on many of the pillars within, eſpecially on the ſecond and third from the entrance, with arches turned from one pillar to another †. Some of the capitals of the pillars are good Corinthian, others very plain, and ſome only marked out in lines like leaves; many of them are only plain ſtones ſhaped a little like a capital, on ſome of which there are lines like a figure of eight, and moſt of them have ſome little relief. They have only a rough baſe, ſomething like the ancient Egyptian manner, and all the pillars have an Arabic inſcription of one line cut on them. On the ſide that is built up, where the wall ſets in, and arches are turned over, there ſeem to have been three

* See the original edit.

† This hall ought not to be repreſented as covered.

doors,

doors, the middle one being adorned at the top with that groteſque ſort of work which is common in the eaſtern buildings; and over the pillars and arches is a ſort of wooden freeze, filled with Arabic inſcriptions. The two couplets of pillars in the middle ſeem to have been deſigned to ſupport a dome; and probably they intended to have two others for that purpoſe, marked in the plan, for it is to be queſtioned if this room was ever finiſhed, and probably the firſt row of pillars in the front was deſigned for a portico. The pillars doubtleſs were brought from ſome ancient buildings, moſt probably from Alexandria; pillars of one ſtone not ſeeming to have been in uſe in Egypt before the Greeks came among them, who ſhewed all their art and magnificence in that city. To the weſt part of the caſtle alſo is the jail, which the common people will have to be the priſon in which Joſeph was confined.

About the middle of the caſtle is a large court, on the ſouth ſide of which are the Paſha's apartments, and the great divan, over the karameidan, or black place to the ſouth. The plain under the caſtle to the north-weſt is called Remle, or the ſandy-place. In this divan I ſaw the ſheilds of leather, above half an inch thick, with the ſpears remaining in them, with which Sultan Amurath pierced them. Here alſo I ſaw the divan of Beys aſſembled, under the Kaia, or prime miniſter of the Paſha, as they conſtantly meet three times a week, the Paſha, whenever he pleaſes, ſitting in a room behind that has a communication by ſome lattice-windows. A ſtranger may go in with the conſul's dragoman or interpreter, and being conducted afterwards to the Paſha's coffee room, is civilly entertained by his people with ſweatmeats and coffee. The mint alſo is near, where they coin their gold, and ſome ſmall pieces called Medines, which are of the value of three farthings, and are of iron waſhed over with ſilver, the baſe money of Conſtantinople not paſſing in Egypt. I ſaw a piece of a ſmall obeliſk of black marble, with hieroglyphics on it made uſe of as the ſill of a window; it is about eight feet long, and eighteen inches ſquare.

The well in the caſtle has often been deſcribed and ſpoken of as a very wonderful thing; it is called Joſeph's well, not from the Patriarch Joſeph, but, as ſome authors obſerve, from a grand vizier of that name, who had the care of this work under Sultan Mahomet, ſon of Calaun, who did not live ſeven hundred years ago. It has been looked on as a very extraordinary thing to cut ſuch a well down through the rock; but the ſtone is ſoft, and it would have been much more difficult to have dug it down, had the ſoil been of earth or ſand, and to have built a wall round within. Moreover, the ſtone they dug up, as it would ſerve for building, might be of great uſe in making improvements in the caſtle. The paſſage down is round the well, the rock being left about two feet thick between the paſſage and the well; the deſcent for the firſt five flights is on the ſouth ſide of the well, and ſo far the well and the paſſages are built; afterwards, it is round the well as deſcribed; the paſſage being about ſix feet and a half ſquare; holes are cut archwiſe in the partition, about three feet and a half wide, and ſomething higher, in order to give ſome light to the paſſage down. The well is of an oblong ſquare form, and the deſcent to the bottom of the firſt well goes three times round in twelve flights, being one hundred and fifty feet deep; the deſcent is very eaſy, each ſtep being about ſix inches high, and five feet broad, but the place is ſo dirty, that in moſt parts the ſteps are hardly perceivable. On the long ſide I thought I could number fifteen ſteps, and on the other ſide twelve. On the left hand of the paſſage, at the bottom of this well, is an entrance now ſtopped up, the people ſay it leads to the pyramids; and another mentioned to the right, they ſay went to the Red Sea. From the bottom of this well, by the hole, is an entrance to another well not ſo big; the deſcent is very difficult, by reaſon of the wet and dirt, and alſo dangerous, as the ſtairs are narrow,

row, and no partition between them and the well; it is one hundred and twenty feet deep. The bottom of this well being probably on a level with the bed of the Nile, or rather lower, the water never fails, but paſſing through the ſalt ſoil, it is a little brackiſh, and ſerves only for common uſes; and is not good to drink. From this place it is raiſed to the bottom of the upper well, by a wheel turned there by oxen, which raiſes ſeventy-two vaſes that hold near three quarts each; they are tied to ropes that hang on the wheel, and there being conveyed into another baſin, it is by the ſame means raiſed to the top by another ſet of oxen, and eighty-five vaſes. There is one thing very particular in this well, that between twenty and thirty feet from the top, on two oppoſite ſides, it is cut in, as I conjectured, ſix or ſeven feet archwiſe, and ſo continues all the way down to the bottom, which was probably done to make the flights of ſtairs longer, and conſequently a more eaſy deſcent. Some have remarked that ſeveral ſuch wells have been found at old Cairo, only with this difference, that they are ſingle, but very deep, and an oblong ſquare of about ten feet by twelve, and that ſome are even in uſe to this day. Near this well is the laſt wheel that raiſes up the water, which is conveyed by the aqueduct for better uſes. This caſtle, which is about a mile in circumference, is like a little town, but the moſt part of it is in a very ruinous condition.

To the ſouth of the caſtle, extending away to the ſouth-eaſt, is a ſort of ancient ſuburbs, called Caraffa. At the entrance to this place are ſome magnificent tombs covered with domes, ſaid to be the monuments of ſome Kings of Egypt; the people ſay they are the califs, the relations of Mahomet, who conquered this country; and ſo great a veneration they have for them, that they oblige Chriſtians and Jews to deſcend from their aſſes, out of reſpect, when they paſs this way. Caraffa ſeems to have been the ancient univerſity for the united ſtudies of their law and divinity; it is now in a manner a plain of ruins to the ſouth of mount Duiſe; being the remains of many colleges and convents of derviſhes, where it is ſaid there were ſo great a number, that a ſtranger could paſs a year at free coſt, only ſpending one day in each of them. On the right, I ſaw on a height the great moſque of El-Imam Schafei, one of the four great doctors of the law, who is had in great veneration amongſt them, and whoſe ſepulchre is there; it is called La-Salehiah, from a title they gave Saladin who built it, together with an hoſpital and college; and he obliged all the doctors of Egypt to follow the doctrine of this relation of Mahomet, who was a native of Gaza. I ſaw to the eaſt of the ſouth point of the hill Jehuſy, where I ſuppoſe Babylon was, great remains of arches of a very conſiderable aqueduct, by which the water was probably conveyed to this and other moſques; and at another time, when I was to the ſouth of that hill, by the river, I ſaw a building like that at the head of the aqueduct, that is built to the caſtle, which I ſuppoſe is the reſervoir to which the water was raiſed from the canal that goes to Al-Baſetin; but there was no venturing to go further to take a nearer view of it, this being reckoned the moſt dangerous part about Cairo. Three or four miles from the town is Baſetin, ſo called from the gardens that are there. About two miles on this ſide of it, is the Jews burial place, to which place every body is eſcorted by a guard of Arabs, who are paid money for their protection, and do not fail to uſe you ill. I had the curioſity to go out and ſee the manner in which the Jews bury their dead in theſe parts: they dig a grave about ſix feet deep; on the weſt ſide of the bottom of the grave, they dig in a hole big enough to receive the body, then they depoſit it, laying broad ſtones againſt the hole, and fill up the grave; it being contrary to their law, as I was informed, to lay earth on the body. South of the burial place are three ſmall arched houſes, where they waſh and prepare the bodies for

burial, that die out of their houſes; for when that happens, they never carry the corpſe into the houſe.

I went up to the top of Jebel Duiſe, which is to the north, from which, as I obſerved, it is poſſible the caſtle hill might be ſeparated by art. At the eaſt end there are ſeveral grottos all up the ſide of the hill in many ſtories, ſeveral of which are inacceſſible, but there is a way to ſome by a narrow terrace; they are moſtly rooms eight or ten feet ſquare, and high. On the top of the hill, towards the weſt brow of it, are two rooms cut near the ſurface of the rock, with holes on the top to let in light; over it is a raiſed place where the great men often go and enjoy one of the fineſt proſpects in Egypt, commanding a view of Cairo, and of all the country, eſpecially into Delta, as far as the eye can carry. To the eaſt, over the ſouth clift, is the moſque in which the Sheik Duiſe is buried, who has given name both to the hill and moſque. The moſque within is painted all over with flowers, on a red ground; near it are buried ſeveral of his children, and the ſons of ſome Paſhas. We had free admittance every where, and the Sheik ſpread a carpet before the moſque, and ſerved a collation. Beyond this moſque, on a hill, is a ſolid building of ſtone, about three feet wide, built with ten ſteps, being at top about three feet ſquare, on which the Sheik mounts to pray on any extraordinary occaſions, when all the people go out; as at the beginning of a war, and here in Egypt, when the Nile does not riſe as they expect it ſhould; and ſuch a praying place they have without all the towns throughout Turkey. On another height of the hill, to the eaſt, over the ſouth brow, is a ruined building like a moſque. I expected to have ſeen ſomething of an obſervatory here, mentioned by the Arabian hiſtorians, on this hill; that particular part being a very advantageous ſituation. This hill being reckoned a very dangerous place, the janizary diſſuaded me from going, but I went without him, notwithſtanding that ſome people called after me that were on the hill, to prevent my going, being very deſirous to take a view of this building. We deſcended the hill to the north, by a very eaſy way, practicable by camels; the aſcent to the ſouth being a winding foot way up the ſide of the hill, which is there almoſt perpendicular. On the north ſide there is a quarry of freeſtone, which is very much uſed for the buildings of Cairo.

Under this hill, to the north, are the burial places called Keick Bey, I ſuppoſe from ſome bey of that name having a remarkable ſepulchre here, where there are a great number of magnificent tombs covered with cupolas, and ſeveral large moſques built over the burial places of great men, extending for above a mile to the north-eaſt. In one part, many of the relations of Mahomet are buried, probably of the families of the ancient califs of Egypt; which places are eſteemed ſo ſacred, that it is not permitted for Chriſtians to go among thoſe ſepulchres. Beyond theſe ſepulchres, and the cube of the Azabs, is the country called Adalia, where there is only one houſe, in which the tribute is depoſited, that is to be ſent to Cairo, after the bey that is to attend it has made his public proceſſion through the city, till ſuch time as all things are ready for their departure, which is often three or four months. A bey with a guard is alſo appointed monthly to guard this part of the country, as another has in charge old Cairo, and the parts about it.

In Cairo there are ſeveral bagnios, ſome of which are very handſome within, being places of great reſort in Turkey, both on a religious account, in order to purify themſelves, and alſo as places of refreſhment and diverſion, eſpecially for the women, who once or twice a week ſpend moſt part of the day in the bagnios, and are glad of ſuch a pretence to get out of their confinement. There are ſome bagnios on purpoſe for the women, but the more general method is to ſet apart certain times for them: but the

ladies are deprived of this public opportunity of bathing among the very great people, who have bagnios prepared for them in their own houſes.

They have alſo ſeveral canes in Cairo, which they call here okelas; they are very indifferent buildings round a court, are commonly appropriated to merchants of a particular country, with their merchandiſe; as there is one for thoſe of Nubia, and the black ſlaves and other goods they bring along with them; another for white ſlaves from Georgia: they have alſo ſeveral canes at Bulac, in all which ſtrangers are accommodated with a room at a very ſmall price, but with nothing elſe; ſo that excepting the room, there are no greater accommodations in theſe houſes than there are in the deſerts, unleſs from the conveniency of a market near.

I went to ſee ſome of the beſt houſes in Cairo. The great men have a ſaloon for common uſe, and another for ſtate; and as they have four wives, each of them has a ſaloon, with the apartments about it, that have no communication with the other parts of the houſe, except the common entrance for the ſervants, which is kept locked; and the private entrance, of which the maſter keeps the key. They have ſuch a machine made to turn round, as they uſe in nunneries, which receives any thing they want to give in or out, without ſeeing one another. At the houſe of Oſman Bey, there is a fine ſaloon with a lobby before it; the grand room is an oblong ſquare; in the middle is an octagon marble pillar; the room is wainſcotted on two ſides about eight feet high, in pannels of grey marble, with a border round every pannel of moſaic work; the end at which one enters, and the ſide where the windows are, not being finiſhed in this manner; the ſopha extends all round the room, and the whole is furniſhed with the richeſt velvet cuſhions, and the floor covered with fine carpets. I ſaw another magnificent houſe, of a much older date than this; it is ſaid to have been built by Sultan Naſir Iben Calahoun, or Calaun, who was the ſeventh King of Egypt of the Mamalukes, called Baharites, and lived about the year 1279. The houſe is built round a ſmall court, in which there are ſeveral large apartments. The entrance to the grand apartment is by a fine old door, ſomething in the Gothic taſte; there is one thing very particular, a ſort of double pillars on each ſide of the door, cut out of one ſtone, worked ſo as to appear as if two pillars were bent and linked together, like a chain. The magnificent ſaloon is in the figure of a Greek croſs, with a cupola in the middle; it is wainſcotted for ten feet high, in a very coſtly manner; round at top, about two feet deep, are Arabic inſcriptions; then for about two feet more, are works of mother of pearl, and fine marbles, in the figure of ſmall arches. Below this it is all done in pannels, which have a border round of moſaic work in mother of pearl, and blue ſmalt, or a ſort of glaſs that is not tranſparent; in ſome the middle part is of the fineſt marbles, in others all of moſaic work. I went to ſee the manner of hatching chickens in ovens, and the method they take to make ſal armoniac, which I ſhall particularly deſcribe in another place. Thoſe ſeem much to exceed as to the number of people in Cairo, who compute that there are two millions, though it is poſitively affirmed that ſeven thouſand have died in one day of the plague; in which they ſay they can make an exact computation, from the number of biers that are let to carry out the dead. There is a great mixture of people in Cairo, the city being compoſed of original Egyptians, among whom are the Copti Chriſtians; of Arabians; of the people of Barbary, and the weſtern parts of Africa; of the Berberines of the parts of Nubia, a great number of their men coming here to offer themſelves as ſervants. They are a Molotto race; have a ſort of government among themſelves, thoſe of ſuch a part of the country chuſing a ſheik or head, who takes care of all new comers to recommend them to places, to ſupply them with money when they are out of ſervice, or ſick, for which they have a common purſe; and when they are

able, they faithfully return what was diſburſed on them. There are likewiſe ſome of the Turcoman race, ſuch as are ſent from Conſtantinople to fill ſome places, and ſuch as the Paſhas bring with them, and chance to ſettle here; but it is probable that the greater part of the people of Cairo are of the Mamaluke race, deſcended from thoſe ſlaves moſtly of Georgia and parts about it, who have ſince the Mamaluke eſtabliſhment, come into the government, and into moſt of their offices, and continue to do ſo by a conſtant freſh ſupply to this day; of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more under the government of Egypt. There are likewiſe in Cairo ſome Greeks, a few Armenians, and many Jews. Of the Europeans, there are ſettled here only the French, Engliſh, and ſome Italians from Venice and Leghorn. The Franciſcans dependant on the convent at Jeruſalem, have a large new-built monaſtery, which was pulled down once or twice by the mob, whilſt they were building it, before they could ſatisfy the great people, who wanted preſents; and it coſt them great ſums of money, not only for the building, but to make all the great men their friends. The ſuperior here is called the vice-prefect of Egypt, the guardian of Jeruſalem having the title of prefect. There is another convent of Franciſcans, who are ſent miſſionaries from Rome with a ſuperior, who is called alſo the prefect of Egypt, and commands three convents they have in upper Egypt. Theſe live on a ſmall allowance they have from Rome, and on the charity of their diſciples; they are under the protection of the Engliſh, who are ready in theſe countries, to protect all Chriſtians. The other Franciſcans, a convent of Capuchines, and another of Jeſuits, are under the protection of the French. When any of the Engliſh happen to die in any parts of the Levant, they are buried with the Greeks, and according to the ceremonies of their church, where there is no Engliſh chaplain. The European merchants ſettled here, conſidering how much they are confined, live agreeably enough among themſelves; are generally ſociable with thoſe of their own nation; and in a plentiful country, they do not want whatever may make life paſs agreeably. The morning being ſpent in buſineſs, the remainder of the day is often paſſed in riding out to the fields and gardens to the north of Cairo, where for a mile out of town, there is little danger; ſometimes the whole day is ſpent in diverſions that way; and they have a relaxation from buſineſs both on the Chriſtian and Jewiſh ſabbath, as the Jews tranſact a great part of their affairs. When the Nile is high, and little buſineſs is done, they ſpend their time in the houſes they have at old Cairo and Gize; ſo that ſtrangers paſs their time as agreeably as the circumſtances of the place will admit, the gentlemen here ſhewing them all manner of civility, eſpecially ſuch as come out of curioſity, who never fail to meet with a kind reception in their houſes, which they eaſily oblige them to make their home, as it is very difficult to be otherwiſe accommodated here.

The great trade of this place is an import of broad clothes, tin, and lead, an export of coffee, ſenna, ſaffranoones for dying, flax, and ſeveral drugs which come moſtly from Perſia; they alſo import raw ſilk from Aſia, and manufacture it chiefly into ſattins, and ſome ſilks in imitation of thoſe of India; and at ſome places near, they have manufactures of coarſe linen. They alſo make ſugar of the growth of the country, which is neither cheap nor fine, except a ſmall quantity, very fine, for the uſe of the Grand Signior; but as it is very dear, ſo it is not commonly to be met with for ſale. They have ſome manufactures in great perfection, as making Turkiſh ſtirrops, and all furniture for horſes; and I obſerved the bars both of iron and braſs they make chequerwiſe to put before their windows, were of very good workmanſhip, though I imagined they were moſtly of the time of the Mamalukes. They make lattices for windows of turned work, in wood, in a very curious and beautiful manner. About Menouſieh alſo in

Delta, they make that fine matting of dyed ruſhes, which is ſent not only all over the Turkiſh empire, but alſo to moſt parts of Europe. They work alſo very well at the ſilver trade, as in moſt parts of Turkey, for ornaments for their women and horſes, which is generally carried on every where by the Chriſtians. The conveniency of water-carriage makes Cairo a place of great trade, for there are few arts in any tolerable perfection higher up, or indeed in any other part of Egypt, ſo that all the country, up the Nile at leaſt, is ſupplied with moſt things from the great city; and as there is little credit among the Turks, and it is very rare they truſt one another to negociate any buſineſs by bills, or riſque their money in the hands of any one, this always occaſions a great conflux of people to Grand Cairo; ſo that probably near a quarter of the ſouls in the city not being fixed inhabitants, and as they are not afraid of the plague, but come to the city notwithſtanding the infection, ſo it may be ſuppoſed that a great number of the people that die of that diſtemper, are thoſe who come every day to Cairo about their affairs.

CHAP. V.—*Of Memphis, and the Pyramids near Cairo.*

IT is very extraordinary that the ſituation of Memphis ſhould not be well known, which was ſo great and famous a city, and for ſo long a time the capital of Egypt; but as many of the beſt materials of it might be carried to Alexandria; and afterwards when ſuch large cities were built near it, as Cairo, and thoſe about it, it is no wonder that all the materials ſhould be carried away to places ſo near and ſo well frequented; and the city being in this manner levelled, and the Nile overflowing the old ruins, it may be eaſily accounted for, how every thing has been buried or covered over, as if no ſuch place had ever been. There are two diſtances mentioned by Strabo*, in order to fix the ſituation of Memphis; he ſays it was about eleven miles from Delta, and five from the height on which the pyramids were built, which appear to be the pyramids of Gize. Diodorus ſays that it was fifteen miles from the pyramids, which ſeems to be a miſtake. Strabo ſpeaks alſo of Memphis as near Babylon, ſo that probably it was ſituated on the Nile, about the middle, between the pyramids of Gize and Sacara, ſo that I conjecture this city was about Mocanan and Metrahenny, which are in the road from Cairo to Faiume, on the weſt ſide of the Nile, and rather nearer to the pyramids of Sacara, than to thoſe of Gize; for at Mocanan I ſaw ſome heaps of rubbiſh, but much greater about Metrahenny, and a great number of grottos cut in the oppoſite hills on the eaſt ſide of the river, which might be the ſepulchres of the common people of Memphis, as thoſe on the weſtern hills were probably, for the moſt part, the burial places of their deities, their kings, their great people, and their deſcendants. I obſerved alſo a large bank to the ſouth of Metrahenny, running towards Sacara, which may be the rampart mentioned by Diodorus Siculus †, as a defence to the city, not only againſt the overflowing of the Nile, but alſo againſt an enemy; and

* Ἡ Μέμφις αὐτὴ τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· ἔστι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆ Δέλτα τρίσχοινον εἰς αὐτὴν —— Πόλις δ' ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐανδρος, δευτέρα μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, μιγάδων ἀνδρῶν καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ συμφκισμένων· πρόκειται δὲ καὶ λίμναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν βασιλείων, ἃ νῦν μὲν κατέσπασται, καὶ ἔστιν ἔρημα. ἴδρυται δ' ἐφ' ὑψους κειθήκοντα μέχρι τῆ κάτω τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφους· συνάπτει δ' ἄλσος αὐτῷ καὶ λίμνη. Ἑπτὰ παράκοντα δ' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίοις προελθόντι, ὀρεινή τις ὀφρὺς ἐστιν, ἐφ' ἧ πολλαὶ μὲν Πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ταῦθοι τῶν βασιλέων. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 807, 808.

† Ῥέοντος γὰρ τῆ Νείλου περὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἐπικλύζοντος, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆ νότου προεβάλετο χῶμα παμμέγεθες πρὸς μὲν τὴν πλήρωσιν τῆ ποταμῆ προβλήματος, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πολεμίους, ἀκροπόλεως ἔχον τάξιν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν πανταχόθεν ὤρυξε λίμνην μεγάλην καὶ βαθεῖαν, ἣ τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆ ποταμῆ δεχομένη, καὶ παύλα τὸν περὶ, τὴν πόλιν τόπον πληρῶσα, ὅπου τὸ χῶμα κατεσκεύαστο θαυμαστὴν ἐποίει τὴν ὀχυρότητα. Diodorus, l. i. p. 46.

therefore

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Scott sculp

The Pyramids from Old Cairo.

therefore muſt be different from that mentioned by Herodotus, as twelve miles and a half ſouth of Memphis, by which the courſe of the river was turned, and conſequently at that diſtance, could not well be ſaid to be a defence to the city. Pliny is ſtill more plain, and ſays that the pyramids were between Memphis and Delta, not four miles from the river, and ſix from Memphis*, which fixes this city about the place I mention.

There is another circumſtance in the ſituation of this city, that there were large lakes† to the north and weſt of it, both as a defence, and probably alſo to ſupply ſome part of the city with water; and I ſaw ſeveral ſuch lakes to the north and weſt of Metrahenny. It is alſo very remarkable that Menes the firſt King of Egypt, according to Herodotus, turned the courſe of the Nile, which run under the weſtern hills, and made it paſs in the middle between them and the eaſtern hills, and built the city where the river firſt run; it is not improbable that Calig Al-Heram, that is, the canal of the pyramids, and the weſtern canal, ſome miles beyond Metrahenny, over which there is a large bridge, and which at preſent runs under the hills, may at leaſt in ſome parts, be the remains of the ancient bed of the Nile; and from this account we have, the city of Memphis ſeems to have extended from the old canal to the new one, and ſome parts of it to have reached as far as the hills; for the Serapium‡ is mentioned in a very ſandy place, and conſequently towards the hills where the Nile does not overflow, for I found the country ſandy in ſome parts for near a mile from the hills. The palace of the Kings alſo was on high ground, extending down to the lower parts of the city, where there were lakes and groves adjoining to it; and I ſaw near Sacara a ſort of wood of the Acacia tree, this and Dendera being the only places in Egypt where I ſaw wood grow as without art, and it is poſſible this wood may be ſome remains of the ancient groves about Memphis. This city being, according to ſome authors, above eighteen miles round§, it might very well take up the whole ſpace between the river and the hills, which I take not to be above four or five miles; but what fixes the ſituation of Memphis to this part, is Pliny's account, who ſays that the pyramids were between Memphis and the Delta.

This city was famous for the worſhip of Oſiris, under the ſhape of a living bull they called Apis, probably becauſe that animal is ſo uſeful in agriculture invented by that King. They had alſo a famous temple of Vulcan, and another that was dedicated to Venus.

The moſt remarkable pyramids which are taken notice of by the ancients, muſt, according to this account, have been to the north-weſt of Memphis; they are called now the pyramids of Gize, and according to this deſcription of the ancients, are towards the brow of the hills; for the low hills extending to the ſouth-eaſt, on the weſt ſide of the Delta, and near to this place, they here ſet out for about two miles to the eaſt, and then running ſouth, the pyramids are built towards the north-eaſt angle‖, the hills being computed to be about one hundred feet high above the plain, and are of ſuch freeſtone as the pyramids are built with. On examining the pyramids, and taking a view from the top of the great pyramid, I made the plan of them and the

* See a former quotation on the pyramids.

† Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύξαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ ἑσπέρην· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει· τοῦτο δὲ, τῇ Ἡφαίστῳ τῇ ἰρὸν ἱδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ ἐὸν μεγα τε καὶ ἀξιαφηγητότατον. Herodotus, l. ij. c. 99. See note, p. 196.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σεράπιον ἐν ἀμμώδει τόπῳ σφόδρα, ὥστ' ὑπ' ἀνέμων θίνας ἄμμων σωρεύεσθαι. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 807.

§ Τὸν μὲν δὴ περίβολον τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησε σταδίων ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Diodorus, l. i. p. 46.

‖ See note, p. 196.

ſepulchres,

ſepulchres about them; and it was a conſiderable time after I left Egypt, that I imagined ſome regularity might have been deſigned, if not on building the firſt great pyramid, yet at ſome time after, it may be when they began to build the ſecond; and where I have ſupplied the plan to make it regular, I either ſuppoſe it to be deſtroyed, or which is more likely, that it might be laid down as a plan by ſome King, to be executed by his ſucceſſors; but as all this is pure conjecture, ſo every one may judge as he thinks proper. The tombs about the great pyramid are diſtinguiſhed from the ſmall pyramids by their not being ſhaded. Moſt of thoſe pyramids are very much ruined, and ſome of them I concluded to be ſo only from their being ſquare, higher than the tombs, and having ruins about them. Theſe tombs are oblong ſquare ſolid buildings raiſed two or three feet above the ground; and I ſaw in ſome of them holes filled up with ſand, by which without doubt they deſcended to the apartments where they depoſited the dead. Theſe might be the ſepulchres of the near dependants, or poſſibly of ſome of the relations of the Kings, who were buried in the great pyramids; and it may be the relations might be buried under theſe ſmall pyramids, which might be a diſtinction not permitted to any others. Some appear only as holes, being probably tombs they had deſtroyed, and dug down to ſee if they could find any treaſures.

As the pyramids are ſuppoſed to have been caſed with a hard ſtone or marble brought from the mountains of Arabia, of which there are quarries near the Red Sea, ſo it muſt have been a work of great labour to bring the materials to this place. Herodotus* obſerves, that they made a cauſey of ſtone five furlongs in length, fifty feet broad, and in ſome parts forty feet high; though this latter ſeems to be a miſtake, unleſs any bridge of that heighth in the way may juſtify our author's expreſſion, who adds that it was made of poliſhed ſtones that were adorned with the figures of beaſts, which might be only in ſome particular parts. This he thinks was a work not much inferior to that of building the pyramids. The ſtones might be conveyed by the canal that runs about two miles north of the pyramids, and from thence part of the way by this extraordinary cauſeway; for at this time there is a cauſey from that part, extending about a thouſand yards in length, and twenty feet wide, built of hewn ſtone; the length of it agreeing ſo well with the account of Herodotus, is a ſtrong confirmation that this cauſey has been kept up ever ſince, though ſome of the materials of it may have been changed, all being now built with freeſtone. It is ſtrengthened on each ſide with ſemicircular buttreſſes, about fourteen feet diameter, and thirty feet apart; there are ſixty-one of theſe buttreſſes, beginning from the north: ſixty feet further it turns to the weſt for a little way, then there is a bridge of about twelve arches, twenty feet wide, built on piers that are ten feet wide. Above one hundred yards further, there is ſuch another bridge, beyond which the cauſey continues about one hundred yards to the ſouth, ending about a mile from the pyramids, where the ground is higher. The country over which the cauſey is built being low, and the water lying on it a great while, ſeems to be the reaſon for building this cauſeway at firſt, and continuing to keep it in repair. Oppoſite to it, if I am not miſtaken, there is an eaſy aſcent up for the carriage of the ſtone. The hill to the eaſt of this, on the north ſide, is very ſteep, and it is with the greateſt difficulty one aſcends by the way

* Χρόνον δὲ ἐγενέσθαι τριϐομένῳ τῷ λιϑῳ δέκα μὲν ἔτεα τῆς ὁδοῦ, κατ' ἣν εἵλκον τοὺς λίθους τὴν ἔδεμαν ἔχγον εἶν ὀ πολλῷ πέφ ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δόκεειν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ μήκός ἐστι πέντε στάδιοι· εὖρος δὲ, δέκα ὀργυιαὶ· ὕψος δὲ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ὀργυιαί· λίθοι τε ξεστοὶ καὶ ζώων ἐγγεγλυμμένων· ταύτῃ δὲ δὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ, ἐπ' ὃν ἑστᾶσι αἱ πυραμίδες τῶν ὑπὸ γην οἰκημάτων· τὰς ἐποιέετο θήκας ἑωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυγα τῇ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. Herodotus, ii. c. 124.

that

that leads up oppoſite to the great pyramid which is at the north-eaſt angle of the hill. Herodotus ſays it was built by Cheops, King of Egypt; Diodorus calls him Chemmis or Chembes. The former * ſays it was eight hundred Greek feet ſquare, the latter † ſeven hundred, Strabo ‡ leſs than ſix hundred, and Greaves meaſuring it very exactly, found it to be ſix hundred ninety-three Engliſh feet; ſo that the area takes up a little more than eleven acres. The perpendicular height he found to be four hundred ninety-nine feet, the inclined plain being equal to its baſis, the angles and baſe making an equilateral triangle. Greaves found the meaſure at top thirteen feet, Diodorus ſays it was nine feet, thoſe who have made it more are not to be credited, and it is poſſible that one tier of ſtone may have been taken away. There are on the top nine ſtones, two being wanting at the angles, and the two upper ſteps are not perfect; nor could I ſee any ſign in the middle of a ſtatue having been fixed there. The upper tiers of ſtones not being entire, I meaſured two ſteps below the top, and it was twenty-ſix feet on the north ſide, and thirty on the weſt; ſo that either the pyramid is not ſquare, or it inclines with a greater angle to the weſt and eaſt, than to the north and ſouth. The number of ſteps have been related very differently; from two hundred and ſeven, Greaves's number, to two hundred and ſixty, the number of Albert Lewenſtein; but as Mallet, who alſo was very exact, counted two hundred and eight, it is probable the number of the ſteps is two hundred and ſeven, or eight, though I counted them two hundred and twelve. The ſteps are from two feet and a half to four feet high, not being ſo high towards the top as at the bottom, and broad in proportion to their height, being placed, as Greaves obſerves, ſo as that a line ſtretched from the bottom to the top, would touch the angle of every ſtep. The method of aſcending is by the angle to the north-eaſt, in order to keep in a ſtrait line; and when the ſteps are high, or ſometimes one ſtep entirely broke away, they are obliged to look for a convenient place to aſcend, where the ſteps are entire, or a high ſtep is a little mouldered away, ſo as to make the aſcent more eaſy. It is thought that this, as well as the other pyramids, was caſed with a finer ſtone on the outſide, becauſe it is ſaid that not only the mortar has been ſeen in which the ſtones were fixed, but alſo ſome pieces of white marble ſticking to the mortar, which they ſuppoſe were left on their taking away the ſtone for ſome other uſe; and this ſeems to be intimated by Herodotus, who ſays that this pyramid was built at firſt with ſteps; that being done, they raiſed the ſtones (as it muſt be ſuppoſed to caſe it) by machines from one ſtep to another, not having any longer a greater breadth than a ſtep to fix their machines on, which muſt have been a great work. In this manner he ſays they did the upper part firſt, and ſo continued it down, finiſhing the lower part laſt. Pliny § mentions a very extraordinary thing with regard to theſe pyramids, and that is, that ſome men were ſo very adroit that they could go up to the top of them; which if they

* Ἐςὶ παντακῆ μέτωπον ἑκατὸν ὀκτὼ πλέθρα, ἐούσης τετραγώνου καὶ ὕψος ἴσον. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 125.

† Τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως πλευρὰν ἑκάςην ἔχει πλέθρων ἑπτά, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἔχει πλείω τῶν ἓξ πλέθρων· συναγωγὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον λαμβάνουσα μέχρι τῆς κορυφῆς, ἑκάςην πλευρὰν ποιεῖ πηχῶν ἕξ. Diodorus, l. i. p. 57.

‡ Τρεῖς δ' ἀξιόλογοι, τὰς δὲ δύο τούτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ θεάμασι καταριθμοῦνται· εἰσὶ γὰρ ςαδιαῖαι τὸ ὕψος, τετράγωνοι τῷ σχήματι τῆς πλευρᾶς ἑκάςης μικρῷ μεῖζον τὸ ὕψος ἔχουσαι· μικρῷ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα τῆς ἑτέρας ἐςὶ μείζων· ἔχει δ' ἐν ὕψει μέσως πως τῶν πλευρῶν λίθον ἐξαιρέσιμον· ἀρθέντος δὲ σύριγξ ἐςὶ σκολιὰ μέχρι τῆς θήκης· αὗται μὲν οὖν ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπιπέδῳ. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 808.

§ Sitæ ſunt in parte Africæ, monte ſaxeo ſterilique, inter Memphim oppidum et quod appellari diximus Delta, a Nilo minus quatuor millia paſſuum, a Memphi ſex; vico appoſito quam vocant Buſiris, in quo ſunt aſſueti ſcandere illas.—— Sed pyramis ampliſſima ex Arabicis lapidicinis conſtat; Trecenta xvi. hominum millia annis viginti eam conſtruxiſſe produntur. Tres vero factæ annis ſexaginta octo, menſibus quatuor. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* l. lxvi. c. 12.

were

were cafed with ſuch hard ſmooth ſtone as they appear to have been, this would incline any one to conclude that this ſtory ought to be looked on in the ſame light as many other extravagant things he mentions; for to aſcend by the ſteps could never have been very difficult, and was probably what the workmen did every day. Herodotus ſpeaks of ſubterraneous apartments under the pyramid, and ſays that the tomb was in an iſland made by water brought from the Nile by a canal; from which one would conjecture that the wells I ſhall mention led to the ſepulchre, and that the tomb which is ſeen in the large room, was deſigned for ſome other perſon of the royal family.

It may be looked on as a very extraordinary thing, how the entrance into the pyramid ſhould be found out, which it is ſaid was an enterprize of the Calif Mahomet, who lived in the year eight hundred twenty-ſeven of the Chriſtian æra; but without doubt this prince was informed of every thing related by ancient authors, with regard to theſe extraordinary buildings, that they were the ſepulchres of the Kings of Egypt, and that as Strabo relates, there was in the middle of the pyramids a ſtone that might be taken out to open a way to the paſſage that led to the tombs; not that it is probable that they immediately found the place, but having meaſured out the middle of the pyramid, they might begin and work lower; all below being covered with ſtones and rubbiſh: they might alſo get ſome light by ſounding along up the middle of the pyramid, in order to conjecture where the hollow paſſage might be, or by piercing it in ſeveral parts with proper tools.

For the particulars of the inſide of the pyramid, I refer to Mailet's account, which I have added at the latter end of this volume, and to the meaſures below †, taken from Greaves, as well as my own obſervations and others.

† An account of the meaſures of the inſide of the great pyramid from Greaves G. ſupplied from Maillet M. Sicard S. and my own obſervations P. Mallet's and Sicard's meaſures being French feet.

	Feet.	Inches.	Parts of feet.	
Steps to the entrance	16	0	—	G.P.
Height to it	38	0	—	G.
Wide and high	3	0	1000/463	G.
Long	92	6	—	G.
Broken paſſage G.				
Long	89	0	—	G.
Broad	20	0	—	G.
Height to paſſage H.	9	0	—	G.
Paſſage H. wide and high	5	0	—	G.
Long	110	0	—	G.
Landing place L. long	15	0	—	M.
Paſſage N. wide and high	3	3	—	G.
Long	110	0	—	M.
Room O. long	17	6	—	M.
Broad	15	10	—	S.
Walls high to the ſlope	11	3	—	S.
Length of the ſlope	10	6	—	G.
Diameter of well, above	3	0	—	M.
Aſcent into the gallery at M. about	12		—	
Middle paſſage broad at M.	3	0	1000/435	

	Feet.	Inches.	Parts of feet.	
Benches high at Q.	1	0	1000/717	
Wide	1	0	1000/717	
Whole breadth of gall P.	6	0	1000/870	G.
Holes for the ſeat at Q.				
Long	1	1	—	P.
Broad	0	7	—	P.
Deep	0	6	—	S.
Diſtance from one another	3	9	—	P.
Twenty-eight of theſe holes on each ſide S.				
This gallery high	26	0	—	G.
Height of two tiers of ſtone, to the ſtone that ſets in	5	3	—	P.
Each ſtone ſets out	0	3	—	P.
The ſeven tiers that ſet out, each in depth about	2	6	—	P.
Landing place R. is of the ſame width P.				
Long	5	6	—	P.
High	10	0	—	G.
Paſſage T. long	8	0	—	P.
Wide	4	0	—	P.
High	4	0	—	P.
Second room Y. wide	4	6	—	P.
Long	6	9	—	P.
Next paſſage B B.				
Wide	4	0	—	P.

It

Long

Engraved by Grace Cache, from Simon.

Djébéléïn, or the Two Mountains,

Upper Egypt

It is to be obſerved that the room has pilaſters round it ſix inches broad, and three feet apart. Mailet alſo ſays that there are but four tier of ſtones on the ſides that ſet out on each ſide of the gallery, though Greaves gives an account of ſeven, and ſo I am almoſt certain I numbered them myſelf.

The ſecond pyramid has a foſſee cut in the rock to the north and weſt of it, which is about ninety feet wide, and thirty feet deep; there are ſmall apartments cut from it into the rock, ſome of which are double, a plan of them may be ſeen as repreſented in the ſixteenth plate. Over the doors, about ten feet from the ground, are holes cut in the rock as to let in the ends of ſtones, which I ſuppoſe were for the cover of a portico, being laid on pillars that might be before theſe apartments. Ten feet higher, are holes cut in like manner in the rock; ſo that they might have deſigned to make other apartments over theſe, cut likewiſe out of the rock, and to have a gallery before them as below. It is ſaid this pyramid was built by Cephrenes, the brother of Cheops. Thevenot affirms that it is ſix hundred and thirty-one French feet ſquare, and Herodotus * ſeems to ſay that it ſtood on as much ground as the other, but that it was forty feet lower; he ſays alſo that it had not buildings under ground as the firſt, nor a channel to it from the Nile, but that an iſland was made within it by means of an aqueduct, in which lay the body of Cheops; ſo that it is probable a paſſage was hewn through the rock to an apartment cut likewiſe out of the ſolid rock, in which this iſland might be contrived, according to the account that Herodotus had. Strabo ſays that the height of both the pyramids was a little more than the length of the ſides, which ſeems to be a miſtake for a little leſs †. He ſays they were both of the ſame height, and ſo they ſeemed to me when I was at the top of the great one; but he adds that one was a little leſs than the other, which might be, if we ſuppoſe one to have a more eaſy aſcent than the other. The account of Strabo ſeems to be the more probable, the ſecond pyramid appearing ſteeper than the other. It was completely finiſhed on the outſide, though ruined in ſeveral places; and a hole has been made ſome way up, as to find an entrance on the north ſide. Herodotus alſo obſerves, that the firſt tier of ſtone was of Ethiopic marble, that is granite; this probably was the loweſt tier, or the baſe of the pyramid. And Diodorus ‡ ſays there were ſteps cut in the ſide of this pyramid, which might be contrived in the middle, by not filling up

	Feet.	Inches.	Parts of feet.	
Long	8	3	—	P.
Great room long	34	0	$\frac{1000}{380}$	G.
Wide	17	0	$\frac{1000}{190}$	G.
High	19	6	—	G.
Nine ſtones cover the room.				
The two next the walls wide	2	0	—	M.
The reſt wide	4	0	—	M.

	Feet.	Inches.	Parts of feet.	
Six tiers of ſtone compoſe the ſides, being all of an equal breadth.				
The tomb long	7	$3\frac{1}{2}$	—	G.
Wide	3	$3\frac{3}{4}$	—	G.
Deep	3	$3\frac{3}{4}$	—	G.
Long within	6	0	$\frac{1000}{438}$	G.
Wide within	2	0	$\frac{1000}{218}$	G.
Deep within	2	0	$\frac{1000}{260}$	G.

* Ἐτελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληΐην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἑτέρῳ τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· οὔτε γάρ ὑπέστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυξ ἥκει ἐς αὐτήν, ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην, ῥέουσα· διοικοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω, νῆσον περιῤῥέειν· ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέοπα· ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου, τεσσαράκοντα πόδας ὑποβὰς τῆς ἑτέρης, τὠυτὸ μέγεθος ἐχομένη τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδομης· ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 127.

† This is an error that might eaſily be made, by putting μείζων for μείων.

‡ Ἀνάβασιν δ' ἔχει διὰ μιᾶς τῶν πλευρῶν ἐγκεκολαμμένην. Diodorus, l. i. p. 58.

the

the ſteps there, and by making two ſteps of one, as was the practice in the aſcents they made in the ancient theatres. According to my obſervations, the caſing of this pyramid did not project beyond the angle of the ſteps, as it did in thoſe beyond Sacara. I obſerved that on the north and eaſt ſides, the upper part of the pyramid was entire for forty or fifty feet down from the top, as I conjectured, and the ſtone ſeemed to ſet further out for near a hundred feet from the top than it does below, which I could not account for.

Towards the ſouth eaſt corner of this pyramid, there are ſome grottos cut in the rock, and adorned with hieroglyphics; and to the eaſt of it there are remains of walls, which probably may be what a certain author calls a temple, before the ſecond pyramid; there being more viſible remains before the third pyramid, which ſeem to be the ruins of a temple.

Directly in the front of the ſecond pyramid, about a quarter of a mile to the eaſt of it, is the famous ſphynx, about half a quarter of a mile from the water when the Nile overflows, being on much lower ground than the pyramids. Here ſeems to have been the grand way up to theſe magnificent ſtructures; the other I mentioned having been probably made for the conveniency of carrying the ſtone up to the great pyramid.

The rock ſeems to have been dug away all round the ſphynx for a great way, and the ſtone was doubtleſs employed in building the pyramids, the ſphynx being cut out of the ſolid rock; for what has been taken by ſome to be joinings of the ſtone, is only veins in the rock. This extraordinary monument is ſaid to have been the ſepulchre of Amaſis, though I think it is mentioned by none of the ancient authors, except Pliny *. I found by the quadrant that it is about twenty-ſeven feet high, the neck, and head only being above ground; the lower part of the neck, or the beginning of the breaſt is thirty-three feet wide, and it is twenty feet from the fore part of the neck to the back, and thence to the hole in the back it is ſeventy-five feet, the hole being five feet long, from which to the tail, if I miſtake not, it is thirty feet; which ſomething exceeds Pliny's account, who ſays that it is a hundred and thirteen feet long. The ſand is riſen up in ſuch a manner that the top of the back only is ſeen; ſome perſons have lately got to the top of the head, where they found a hole, which probably ſerved for the arts of the prieſts in uttering oracles; as that in the back might be to deſcend to the apartments beneath.

A little to the weſt-north-weſt of the ſphynx is a ſmall ruined pyramid as I concluded it to be; a way had been opened into it, but every thing now is almoſt ruined. I ſaw in it two handſome high door places oppoſite to one another, the ſpace between them being only five feet; over them are hieroglyphics, among which I ſaw the Ibis and ſtags. Oppoſite to this pyramid, on the other ſide of the valley to the ſouth, is ſuch another, which ſeemed to have been built with ſteps, and eaſt of it is another, erected on a foundation of rock, fifteen feet high; it ſeemed to have been built up higher only with a thick wall about a hundred and fifty feet ſquare. The firſt of theſe

* Ante has eſt ſphynx, vel magis miranda, quaſi ſylveſtre numen accolentium. Amaſin regem putant in ea conditum, et volunt invectam videri. Eſt autem ſaxo naturali elaborata et lubrica. Capitis monſtri ambitus per frontem centum duos pedes colligit, longitudo pedum cxiii. eſt, altitudo a ventre ad ſummum apicem in capite lxiii. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* l. xxxvi. c. 12.

My account makes the ſphynx one hundred and thirty feet long, that is about ſeventeen feet more than Pliny. He ſays it was ſixty-three feet high, probably taking in a plinth that might be cut out under it; ſo that about thirty ſix feet muſt be buried in the ſand.

pyramids,

pyramids, from the deſcription of Herodotus *, ſeems to be that which he imagined was built by the daughter of Cheops, who proſtituted herſelf in obedience to her father. The grand way up to the ſecond pyramid, as has been obſerved, ſeems to have been from the ſphynx, and turning there to the right and left, it might join two ways coming from the weſt: what I took for the foundation of a wall, might be ſome remains of that to the north; the way towards the ſouth is a cauſeway made of great ſtones eleven paces wide, and leading up to the temple, which is before the third pyramid. The ſtones employed in building the temple are ſix feet broad and deep, which is the thickneſs of the walls; and moſt of them are ſixteen or ſeventeen feet long, and ſome twenty-two, the whole building being a hundred and ſixty feet deep, and a hundred and eighty in front. To the eaſt of it is the third pyramid, ſaid to be built by Mycerinus. Herodotus † ſpeaks of it as three hundred feet ſquare; I meaſured it at the top fourteen feet on the north ſide, and twelve on the eaſt, and counting ſeventy-eight ſteps, at one foot nine inches broad, it amounts to about this number of feet. Our author affirms that it was built half way up with Ethiopian marble, that is caſed with it; Diodorus mentions fifteen tier, ſo that computing each tier on the outſide to be five feet deep, as I found them, that will amount to ſeventy-five feet, which anſwers within ſix feet of the height, computed at one hundred fifty-ſix feet, ſuppoſing the ſteps to be two feet high. On this account Strabo ſays it was as expenſive a work as the others; all round it are remains of the granite it was adorned with, which has been pulled down, and great part of it carried away: I ſaw however two ſtones remaining in their places, about five feet deep. To the ſouth of this are three ſmall pyramids, the two weſtern ones are about eighty-ſeven feet ſquare; they are built with three degrees ten feet broad, each of them conſiſting of three tier of ſtone four or five feet deep, that ſet out about a foot, as repreſented in an upright of one of them. The eaſtern pyramid is a hundred feet ſquare, being what is commonly called the fourth pyramid.

Theſe ſeem to be the three pyramids mentioned by Diodorus immediately after the third, as built for the wives of the three Kings, the ſucceſſors of Mycerinus. I cannot but mention a conjecture that has alſo been made by others, which will make the labour that was beſtowed on the pyramids much leſs than is imagined; and that is, that they might take the advantage of building round a hill when they begun a pyramid; and if this is probable, the great pyramid might be built about two rocky hills; the preſent entrance probably on the top of one, and the grand room which has the tomb in it on the top of the other; and the paſſage and room under, might be cut out on the ſide of the hill, though at ſome diſtance from the outſide of it; which is the more probable, if we ſuppoſe, as I ſhall after obſerve, that the firſt invention of pyramids might be

* Ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος, ὥστε τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, χρημάτων δεόμενον, κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος, προστάξαι πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δή τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτόγε ἔλεγον. τήνδε, τά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι· ἰδίη δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημόσυνον καταλιπέσθαι· καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἑκάστου δέεσθαι ὅκως ἂν αὐτῇ ἕνα λιθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοισι δωρέοιτο· ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι, τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκυῖαν, ἔμπροσθεν τῆς μεγάγης πυραμίδος τῆς τὸ κῶλον ἕκαστον ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσιος πλήθρου. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 126.

† Πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐείκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαν, κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων ἐούσης τετραγόνου· λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 134.

Ἀποτέρω δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ὕψει μείζονι τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἡ τρίτη πολὺ ἐλάττων ταῖν δυοῖν, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος δαπάνης κατεσκευασμένη· ἀπὸ γὰρ θεμελίων μέχρι μέσου σχεδὸν, μέλανος λίθου ἐστὶν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰς θυίας κατασκευατίζουσι κομίζοντες πόρρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ὀρῶν, ὃς τῷ σκληρὸς εἶναι καὶ δυσκατέργαστος, πολυτελῆ τὴν πραγματείαν παρεῖχε. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 808.

Πυραμίδα οὗτος δ' ἐπιβαλόμενος τρίτην κατασκευάζειν, πρότερον ἐτελεύτησε· ἤπερ τὸ ἔργον ἔλαβε συντέλειαν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ βάσεως ἑκάστην πλευρὰν ὑπεστήσατο πλέθρων τριῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοίχους ἐπὶ μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα δόμοισι κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ μέλανος λίθου, τῷ Θηβαϊκῷ παραπλησίου. Diodorus, l. i. p. 58.

owing

owing to the cafing of fmall hills with ftone. I went twice to thefe famous monuments, and I entered as often into the great pyramid. The firft time I was in company with fome Engliſh and French, and attended by the caimacam, or governor of Gizeh. They had fent out great plenty of proviſions, and I could not but take particular notice of the leſſon of hoſpitality the governor taught them, by diſtributing about to all the Arabs of the good fare they had brought, even before he had ſerved himſelf. The ſecond time I went out was with the conſul, and moſt of the Engliſh, when we went round by the bridges, and ſaw a great number of wild fowl all over the waters. We pitched a tent in the plain, about half a mile to the north of the pyramids; the people of the neighbouring village came and ſat round, and had contrived to take away a garment that belonged to us, and carried it to their village; but when it was miſſing, and we threatened to make complaint to their landlord, who was one of the beys, if they did not go to the village in ſearch of it, and return it, they went off and brought it back. It was this ſecond time that I went alone down to the bottom of the firſt well in the pyramid, having prepared a lanthorn to let down to the bottom of each well, that I might ſee how far I had to deſcend; but none of the Arabs would go down with me. The method of deſcending is by the holes in the ſide to ſet the feet in, which were much broken; ſo that it was very difficult, being obliged to reſt much on the arms. I ſhould however have certainly gone down as far as I could, even alone, if I had not been indiſpoſed by a cauſe ſo far diſtant as drinking the waters of Aleppo half a year before; of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more in another place.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Catacombs and Pyramids of Saccara.*

THOUGH the pyramids and catacombs of Saccara are not ten miles from thoſe of Gizeh, yet the common way is to go from Cairo for five miles along the eaſt ſide of the river, to the convent of St. George, where croſſing the Nile, the road paſſes by Mocanan and Metrahenny; the laſt place is three or four miles from Saccara. Between Metrahenny and Saccara, I paſſed over a canal on a large bridge of four arches; this is called the weſtern canal.

It was on my return from Faiume that I went to Saccara, going out of the direct road to Cairo, ſoon after we had paſſed the ſandy deſerts; and travelling about five miles north-weſt, we came to Daſhour, where there is a *cane*, in which there are public harlots, who are profeſſed Mahometans, as I was informed they are alſo in many other parts. Theſe women are always unveiled; and knowing that we were Europeans, they came and ſtared at us, and were very impudent, inſomuch that my ſervant was obliged to drive them away. From this place we travelled along by the weſtern canal, and after two miles we came to a village called Elmenſhieh Daſhour, being oppoſite to the great pyramid to the ſouth; the pyramid built of brick being in a line with Daſhour. We ſoon after came to the ſandy deſert, having the large canal to the eaſt of us; we after paſſed between the melon gardens, and came to a wood of acacia trees, which extends about a mile north to the groves of palm trees that are near Saccara, which is a poor village at the foot of the hills. Having letters of recommendation, I went to the houſe of the ſheik, who according to cuſtom, ſet of their fare before us, and promiſed after he had been at the moſque at noon, it being Friday, to go with me to the pyramids that were near. Accordingly we went half a mile to the ſouth, there being a ſmall lake on that part of the town. We came to a cauſeway made of great ſtones thirty-five feet wide, leading weſtward up the hills. This day and the two following I made the obſervations, in which I am the more exact, as few

perſons have deſcribed any thing particularly here except the catacombs. The aſcent is ſhort to a ſandy plain, that may extend four or five miles to higher hills. The pyramids are built from north to ſouth along the brow of the hill, extending from the three northern ones which are three or four miles from Saccara, for eight or nine miles to the ſouth. About half a mile eaſt of the pyramid that appears at a diſtance to be built with great ſteps, is a little deſcent to a ſort of a round plain with a riſing in the middle; bones and ſkulls are ſeen almoſt all over this ſpot, under which are the catacombs of the mummies, extending near to this pyramid, the whole country being a rocky ſoil, covered over with ſand five or ſix feet deep. About half a mile to the north of the ſame pyramid, are the catacombs of the birds. In this part I found about the ſands many of thoſe little earthen ſtatues of Oſiris, that are covered with a ſort of green enamel or paint. I ſaw here ſeveral heaps of ruins, and a ſort of foſſee which goes all round to the ſouth of Saccara; ſo that probably this place was formerly encloſed.

The three pyramids are three or four miles further to the north; they ſeem to be about the ſize of the third pyramid of Gize, and are on a height extending rather more to the eaſt than the other hills. As there is nothing remarkable in them, ſo travellers never go to them. Between theſe pyramids and thoſe of Gize, the hills retire and make a ſort of a ſemicircle. Here I imagined I ſaw ſeveral ruins, and poſſibly this might be the part of Memphis that extended up to the deſert. To the ſouth eaſt of theſe catacombs of the birds, I ſaw a ruined pyramid about ſixty feet ſquare; and further ſouth, ſome ſquare monuments that might have been ſmall pyramids. Near theſe is a pyramid called by the Arabs the pyramid with ſteps. I omitted to meaſure it any otherwiſe than by paces *, by which I computed the meaſure to be three hundred feet to the north, and two hundred ſeventy-five to the eaſt; and I found that moſt of theſe pyramids are broader one way than the other. This is a hundred and fifty feet high, conſiſting of ſix ſteps or degrees, eleven feet broad, and twenty-five feet deep in the perpendicular, being, I ſuppoſe, thirty-five in the inclined plain on ſome of the ſides, as I find I meaſured it in ſome parts; for the front of the degrees is an inclined plain. As it is much ruined at the angles, I aſcended at the north-eaſt angle, and deſcended by the north-weſt; it meaſured at top twenty-two feet ſix inches to the eaſt, and fifty feet ſix inches to the north, which muſt be accounted for by its inclining with a different angle one way from what it does the other. The outſide caſing is of hewn ſtone, twenty tier to each degree, each tier being one foot three inches deep. The building within is of ſmall thin ſtones, and the yellow gravelly mortar is ſix inches thick between them. There are two holes broken in on the ſouth ſide. On the ſame ſide, three quarters of the lower degree is broken away, and on the north ſide the loweſt degree is entirely gone; and on the eaſt ſide the ground is riſen up to the height of the firſt degree. Near this pyramid I ſaw many pieces of a ſort of red and yellow marble.

A pyramid to the ſouth-weſt, appears round at top; and there are three or four built in the ſame manner towards the firſt entrance on the hills from the cauſeway; one of them meaſured a hundred feet to the eaſt and weſt, and eighty to the north and ſouth; another is of the ſame dimenſions one way, and only ninety feet wide on the eaſt ſide. This latter has ſome great ſtones remaining towards the top, but there are

* Though I was guilty of a great omiſſion in not being more exact in theſe meaſures, as well as ſome others, in relation to which I ſhall always mention in what manner I took the meaſures, if I was not exact; yet I thought it better to give an account of theſe imperfect obſervations, in the manner I made them, than to paſs them over in ſilence, that others may be induced hereafter to give a more exact account.

none

none about the other; this as well as ſome others, ſeems to have been filled up in the middle with ſmall ſtones and ſand; on each ſide the entrance are two ſmaller: theſe latter do not look like pyramids, but more like hillocks caſed with ſtone; ſo that it is probable either that the original of pyramids was owing to the caſing with ſtone ſuch raiſed grounds that they threw up in memory of their dead, or that theſe hillocks in the northern parts, were a barbarous imitation of pyramids; and as in Syria there are ſome not very ſmall caſed with ſtone, that at preſent have caſtles built on them, it is poſſible they might firſt have been made in honour of ſome great men, and afterwards be converted to another uſe. Going near two miles to the ſouth, and croſſing over a little height which runs from eaſt to weſt, we came to the imperfect pyramid called Muſtabait-el-Pharaone, or the ſeat of Pharaoh, on which the Arabs ſay the Kings of Egypt promulged their laws; it is two hundred ſeventy-three feet wide to the north, and two hundred and eight to the eaſt; at preſent it is forty-ſix feet high, all the ſteps ſetting in a foot, except the third from the bottom, which ſets in ten feet; it is built of large mouldering ſtones, full of ſhells, they are ſeven feet long, and of the ſame depth as the ſteps, that is, four feet ſix inches. To the weſt-north-weſt of it there is a ſmall raiſed pyramid, being about two hundred feet ſquare. From this place we went two miles to the great pyramid called Il-Herem-Elkebere-El-Barieh, the great pyramid to the north. As there are heaps of ſtone round the pyramid that has ſcaled off, and I had no inſtruments to take the level, ſo I was obliged to meaſure the pyramid at a diſtance, by beginning oppoſite to the angles, which muſt be acknowledged not to be ſo certain; but in this manner I meaſured ſeven hundred and ten feet to the north, and ſix hundred and ninety to the eaſt; but pacing it, the meaſure came out on the north ſide only ſix hundred ſixty-two feet and a half, ſo that poſſibly there might be ſome miſtake; though the north ſide meaſured on the top twenty feet, and the eaſt ſide only fifteen; which inclines me to think that the meaſure I took is pretty exact, that makes the north ſide the broader. There are a hundred and fifty-ſix ſteps from three to two feet high; the lower ſteps being about three feet, the others moſtly two, and about two feet broad. By the quadrant I found it to be about three hundred forty-five feet high which would be the height at a middle computation of two feet four inches to each ſtep. The pyramid by the meaſure at top, ſeems to incline with a more acute angle to the north and ſouth, than it does to the eaſt and weſt, where the ſteps may be broader, ſo that this pyramid is probably as big as the great one at Gize; for computing the ſteps to be only two feet broad, though I ſuppoſe ſome of them muſt be more to the eaſt and weſt, the north ſide will be ſix hundred forty-four feet, according to this computation: and a traveller who ſeems to mean this pyramid, which he calls the pyramid of Rhodope, and the largeſt of the fifteen this way, probably took his meaſures by computing the ſteps, who ſays it is ſix hundred forty-two feet ſquare, and three hundred twenty-ſeven high, and mentions a hundred and forty-eight ſteps; but as theſe are French feet, it may bring the meaſures pretty near to thoſe I have given. The ſtones of the caſing are ſix feet long, and ſo project about four feet. Theſe ſtones I found to be two feet ten inches in the inclined plain, where they were two feet ſix inches thick.

It is to be obſerved, that the ſteps of the ſecond pyramid of Gize being filled up, that manner of finiſhing the work was moſt convenient, as they begun it at top; but as they might after find it more commodious to begin the caſing at bottom, this method of laying the ſtone, ſo as to project four feet beyond the ſteps, might be judged a more proper way, both as it made a larger platform to work on, and to raiſe the materials, and alſo as the ſtones laid in this manner would more effectually bind one another.

This

This pyramid is built of the ſame freeſtone as the others, but caſed with a fine hard ſtone, the outward cover remaining in ſeveral parts; the ground is raiſed much on the north ſide, and alſo on the eaſt, but leaſt of all on the weſt. At ſome diſtance to the ſouth and weſt the ground is hollow, as it is to the north and weſt of the great pyramid ſouth of it; out of theſe places, they probably dug the ſtone to build the pyramids.

On the north ſide, about a third of the way up, is an entrance three feet five inches wide, and four feet two inches deep; the ſtones within are of the height and breadth of the entrance, and about five feet long. I went into the pyramid by this paſſage, which is ſteep, and has holes cut as reſts for the feet. It was with great difficulty we made our way for the laſt twenty-five feet, the paſſage being almoſt filled up with ſand. At the end I came into a room twenty-two feet and a half long, and eleven feet ten inches broad; at the height of ten feet ſix inches, a tier of ſtones ſet in on each ſide five inches, and in the ſame manner twelve tiers one over another; ſo as that the top either ends in a point, or as I rather conjecture, it may be about a foot broad. To the weſt of this room is ſuch another; and in both at the further end, in the middle of the fifth and ſixth tiers of ſtone from the top, is a door, each of which leads to a ſmall room, as I was informed by a gentleman, who contrived a ladder in order to get up to them. Theſe rooms are of a ſmooth white ſtone, and nothing can be imagined finer than the workmanſhip of them, being all of large ſtone. There are only ſeven in length, and three or four in width. At the joining of the ſtones, there is a little channel half an inch broad, making an angle like the members of a trigliph in the Doric order. About a mile to the ſouth-eaſt is another great pyramid, called, the great pyramid to the ſouth, (Il-Herem-El-Kieber-El-Koubli), which is leſs than the other: meaſuring it as I did the other, I found it was on the north ſide five hundred and ninety feet wide, on the eaſt ſix hundred; and pacing it, the meaſure on this ſide came out exactly the ſame, and on the north ſix hundred and five feet; ſo that it is probable this pyramid is ſix hundred feet ſquare, and the height of it is three hundred and thirty-five feet. What is very particular, it ſeems to incline with a greater angle from the height of two hundred and eighty feet than it does below; for this pyramid ſeems to have been caſed all the way up, and is built of very good hewn ſtone even within, as I obſerved in ſome places where it is broke away; for it is ruined in many parts, but not ſo as that any one can go up to the top. The lower parts are much deſtroyed on all ſides, and yet it would be very difficult and dangerous to go up to a hole that ſeems to lead to a paſſage that is not open, which is at the height of twelve tier from the ground; and I obſerved that under this hole the ſtones do not lie horizontally. The outer ſtones are moſtly three feet ſix inches long, two feet four inches thick, and two feet ſix in the inclined plain; the ſteps are two feet broad, and the ſtones laid on them, which are two feet wide, project beyond the ſteps four feet ſix inches, and conſequently make the pyramid every way nine feet wider than it was before it was caſed. Where I obſerved the pyramid appeared as built with a different inclination above, the ſtones ſeem to have ſcaled, to be much ruined and looſe; and I do not think that I could be ſo far deceived, as not to perceive that the difference was cauſed only by that upper part not being caſed with ſtone as the reſt.' The lower part is very entire, except towards the bottom, where it ſeems to have been purpoſely broke, and the ſtones carried away. The north ſide is the moſt entire, and the ground is not ſo much raiſed as on the other ſides. To the eaſt-north-eaſt of this is a ruined pyramid, about one hundred ſeventy feet one way, and two hundred and ten another.

About

About two miles to the eaſt of the laſt great pyramid, on lower ground, and near the eaſt edge of the mountain, is the pyramid built of unburnt brick, called Ktoube-el-Menſhieh (the bricks of Menſhieh) from a village near called Menſhieh Daſhour. It was doubtleſs built near the plain, on account of the brick, which ſeems to be made of the earth brought by the Nile, being of a ſandy black earth, with ſome pebbles and ſhells in it; it is mixed up with chopped ſtraw, in order to bind the clay together, as they now make unburnt bricks in Egypt, and many other eaſtern parts, which they uſe very much in their buildings. I found ſome of theſe bricks thirteen inches and a half long, ſix inches and a half broad, and four inches thick, and others fifteen inches long, ſeven broad, and four inches and three quarters thick. I obſerved on the north ſide the bricks were laid lengthways from north to ſouth, but not every where in that direction; however, I particularly took notice that they were not laid ſo as to bind one another. It is much crumbled and ruined; but as it is, I meaſured it, and found it to be one hundred fifty-ſeven feet on the north ſide, and two hundred and ten on the weſt ſide, it being much broke away on the eaſt and weſt ſides, for at top it meaſured forty-three feet by thirty-five; it is a hundred and fifty feet high. By what I could judge from the preſent ſhape of it, I concluded that it was built with five degrees, like the pyramid at Saccara, each being about ten feet broad, and thirty deep; ſo that the aſcent to it is eaſy, as the bricks are crumbled away. As there is gravel and ſhells in the bricks, it is not improbable that this is the pyramid built by that extravagant King Aſychis, with the mud that ſtuck to the plummets, which were often thrown into a lake for that purpoſe *.

Another day I went to ſee the catacombs, and was firſt conducted to thoſe of the mummies, to one a little ſouth of the pyramid of ſteps. The entrance to it is by a well about four feet ſquare, and twenty feet deep, cut through the ſlaty rock, which has a mixture of talc in it; the upper part is ſand, which is often moved by the wind, and fills up the holes. I obſerved ſome of theſe wells were caſed with unburnt brick at the top, as far as the depth of the ſand, which by the ſize of them I imagined to be ancient. The uſual method of letting people down by ropes is very painful; but I brought with me a ladder made of ropes, by which I deſcended more conveniently, though not without being much incommoded by the ſand which falls down from the top. I obſerved that there were holes on each ſide to deſcend by, as in the wells of the pyramid, and thoſe of the ciſterns of Alexandria; but they ſeem here to be moſtly wore away ſo as to be of no uſe. The way is then by a paſſage five feet wide, and about fifty feet long, which is almoſt filled up with ſand. I then came to a paſſage of the ſame ſize, and about ſix feet high; on one ſide were apartments with benches, about two feet above the paſſages. On theſe I ſuppoſe they laid the mummies; and if they ſet them upright, they muſt have had ſome way of ſupporting them. On the other ſide are the narrow cells, juſt big enough to receive a large coffin. About two feet from the ground, in the middle of them, the rock ſets out for about half a foot diameter, as repreſented in the plan. This I imagined might be to lay a coffin on, and there might be another placed on the ground. From this alley we went to another narrower, on each ſide of which were niches, which ſeemed to be deſigned to ſet coffins

* Υπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον τὴν βασιλέα τὸν πρότερον ἑωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτιον, μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα· ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντά ἐστι· ΜΗ ΜΕ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΘΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΘΙΝΑΣ ΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΑΣ ΠΡΟΕΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΕΩΝ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΝ, ΟΣΟΝ Ο ΖΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ· ΚΟΝΤΩ ΓΑΡ ΥΠΟΤΥΠΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΣ ΛΙΜΝΗΝ, Ο, ΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΧΟΙΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΗΛΟΥ ΤΩ ΚΟΝΤΩ, ΤΟΥΤΟ, ΣΥΛΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ, ΠΛΙΝΘΟΥΣ ΕΙΡΥΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΡΟΠΩ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩ ΕΞΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 136.

in

in upright. From theſe paſſages there are cut oblong ſquare apartments, which are full of the remains of mummies; and probably here the inferior perſons of a family were depoſited, piled up one on another; as we may ſuppoſe the heads of the family were ſet upright in the niches, which appear to have been walled up, as well as all the other apartments, and ſometimes walls were built acroſs the paſſages. It is probable each family originally had its burial place, and as the family increaſed, they branched out theſe ſepulchral grotts, ſo as that every deſcendant might have a place apart for his family. I ſaw ſeveral of the ſwathes lying about, and ſome remaining almoſt entire, only the bodies taken out from the middle for the ſake of the mummy, and to ſearch if they could find any thing in them. I obſerved ſome of the bodies had been done up in palm boughs, which were tied together at each end; ſome of theſe appeared like ruſhes, probably being rotten; others I ſaw, had been tied up in theſe fine reeds with which the Eaſterns write. Theſe probably were people of better condition than the others, as coffins was an expence that all could not be at, and thoſe who could afford coffins made of plank, might not be able to riſe to the price of ſuch as were hollowed out of one piece of timber, in the ſhape of a mummy, and finely painted according to the expence they would be at. I ſaw alſo many ſculls here, as well as on the plain beyond; many of which probably had been rifled of the bitumen or balſam that was in them, when that ſort of medicine was formerly much more in uſe than it is at preſent. I ſaw alſo ſeveral large earthen vaſes; in them was a black fat earth, which made me imagine that the bowels might be preſerved in them.'

I went half a mile north of the pyramid with ſteps, to the catacomb of the birds, called the well or pit of the birds, to which the entrance is the ſame as of the other, excepting that it is about thirty feet deep; the paſſage from it is almoſt full of ſand, and about eight feet wide, as all the other paſſages are. Theſe catacombs are much more magnificent than the others, being the ſepulchres of thoſe birds and other animals they worſhipped; for when they happened to find them dead, they embalmed them, and wrapped them up with the ſame care as they did human bodies, and depoſited them in earthen vaſes covered over and ſtopped cloſe with mortar, as deſcribed in the laſt book.

In one of the irregular apartments I ſaw ſeveral larger jars, which might be for dogs and other animals; of which ſome have been found, but are now very rare. Concerning the manner of embalming theſe animals, as well as human bodies, I ſhall give a more particular account in the laſt book.

Returning from viſiting the catacombs ſooner than was expected, when I unlocked the door of the room the ſheik had put me into at his houſe, a little girl about eight years old ran out of the room againſt me; laying hold of her, ſhe cried out, but I had preſence of mind enough to let her go, it being a great affront in theſe countries for any one to lay hands on the fair ſex; and diſcovering any roguery (which I immediately apprehended) would have cauſed an embroil in the family, had the ſheik taken my part or not. As ſoon as I came into the room, I ſaw a hole had been broke through the ceiling, though the room was ten feet high, and as I ſuppoſed, the mother had let the child down by a rope to rifle my baggage, and convey what they thought proper up the ſame way ſhe came down. As it happened I caught them at the beginning, and little was loſt; though doubtleſs they thought they ſhould find treaſures, as they imagine the Franks, as they call all Europeans, abound in money. I was a little chagrined at this treatment, but thought it the moſt prudent way to take no notice of it, and to remain under the protection of the ſheik, though I could have gone away with the governor of Gize, who happened to be there, which might have cauſed a

jealouſy between them; ſo I ſtaid till the next morning, when the ſheik ſent a man to conduct me to Grand Cairo.

CHAP. VII. — *Of Faiume the old Arſinoe, the Labyrinth, and the Lake Mœris.*

THE caravans go once a week from Cairo to Faiume, but as the caſhif or governor of that province was to ſet out for this place, it was thought I ſhould go more conveniently in his company; ſo being recommended to him, I joined him ſome time before our departure at old Cairo, at the houſe of Oſman Bey, whoſe creature and ſlave he had been. I had a room aſſigned me there, and the caſhif invited me to ſup with him; I had brought ſome ſpirituous liquors with me to preſent to him, with which I took care he ſhould be ſupplied at ſupper, and he proved to be a cheerful merry man, ſeeming to be about five and thirty years old. In the morning I ſet out with him, and we went to the ſouth of old Cairo, and paſſed by the moſque called Saranebi, becauſe they ſay a print of Mahomet's foot is there; as they pretend likewiſe at a moſque near Damaſcus. Beyond it we paſſed by a village called Dertin, and came to St. George's convent, about five miles from old Cairo; it is uninhabited, but the prieſts go out there to officiate on Sundays and holydays. Here we croſſed the river, and going on, we came to the large village of Mocanan, with fine plantations of palm trees about it, and heaps of rubbiſh to the north of it. About two miles further to the ſouth-weſt, we arrived at Metrahenny; about this place alſo I obſerved ſeveral heaps, and a mound extending a mile north and ſouth, and then north-weſt towards the pyramids that are near Saccara. This, I conjecture, might be a rampart thrown up to defend the ancient city of Memphis; and this I ſuppoſe was the bank on which I came from Saccara. South of Metrahenny we paſſed over a canal called Calig-El-Eheram, or the canal of the pyramids, which communicates with ſeveral ſmall canals that were dry in the month of February. We ſtopped a while, and I had my carpet laid at a diſtance; but the caſhif invited me to him, and I partook of their collation of bread, raw onions, and a ſort of ſalt pickled cheeſe. We went on and came to the canal of Daſhour, which we paſſed on a large bridge of ſtone with four arches. This I take to be the weſtern canal mentioned in the way to Saccara. We purſued our journey moſtly by the canal, and came near to the hills to the ſouth at Baderiſhihe, to the eaſt of the canal. Though the greater part of theſe hills may be natural, yet I ſuppoſe that the Nile formerly running more to the weſt, a mound was thrown up where it uſually flowed to turn its courſe, according to the account of Herodotus; but that a canal was brought in lower, and joined the ancient bed of the Nile further to the north-weſt, in order to water the country. We paſſed the night there in a grove of palm-trees; the caſhif ſent to me to come to him, and I preſented him with the liquor I brought for him, and ſat with him for ſome time; but a great ſheik coming to him, I retired to my own place, and the caſhif ſent me of his ſupper, which was prepared for him by the village on the other ſide. The next day we went on, and aſcended the low ſandy hills to the ſouth-weſt, which abound in the Egyptian pebble; the road was after thought an uneven ſandy deſert, and we came to a vale bounded to the north by low hills that are made up entirely of oyſter ſhells, with a very little red clay or earth between. I ſaw alſo much of that talc which is called Trichites. The oyſter ſhells are large, and thoſe at the top are dry and not changed in their quality, but many of thoſe below and on the plain are petrified. We aſcended another ſmall height, and croſſing a large ſandy plain, we came to a ſheik's tomb, and a watering place on a riſing ground, and by a long deſcent arrived at Tamiea, at the end of the deſert, where a canal

canal comes from the Nile, and runs into the Lake Mæris. This canal was very low and had little water in it; the mouth of it at the Nile, as I was informed, being almoſt filled up with a bank of ſand; ſo that at Tamiea they have made a reſervoir with ſtrong brick walls above the canal, being a ſort of a pond about half a mile round, to which the water is brought by a ſmaller canal that higher up branches out from a great one. Here the water is kept up for the uſe of the village, and to be conveyed to the high lands by two canals; but when the baſin is full, and they have no need to draw it off, the water runs over in three ſheets at the weſt end, and ſo falls into the great canal *. Having well conſidered this great work, we went on through a large ſandy plain, having improved land to the weſt that is very poor, and producing bad crops, the corn being only ſown, or coming up along by the furrows, where it has the benefit of the little water they can bring to it. The Arabs who came out to meet the caſhif, exerciſed themſelves all the way on horſeback, by running after one another with the pike, in the uſual way: when one has an advantage over another he engages, he turns ſhort and rides away, the other purſuing him till he finds an opportunity to ſtrike, and then he runs off in the ſame manner.

We came to the large village of Sennours, and went to the houſe of the governor of the place, where a great ſupper was prepared for the caſhif; a coarſe brown woollen cloth being ſpread near the whole length of the room, a heap of bread in cakes was laid all round it; and about ten diſhes repeated ſix or ſeven times over were placed along the whole length of the room; as pilaw, a ſmall ſheep boiled whole, a lamb roaſted in the ſame manner, roaſt fowls, many diſhes of ſtewed meat in ſoup, ſweet flummery, cabobs, or meat roaſted in ſmall pieces, that may be eat without dividing, and the like. The caſhif ſat at the head of the table, and all the great people ſat down with him: I might have put myſelf in amongſt them, but being determined not to do any thing without direction, I kept my ſeat on the ſopha, and when the perſon got up at the right hand of the caſhif, the caſhif called to me to take his place, and ſhewed me great civility; which was more honourable than if I had placed myſelf lower at the table. The cuſtom is for every one to get up as ſoon as he has done, waſh his hands, and take a draught of water; and ſo there is a continual ſucceſſion, till at laſt the poor come in and eat up all; for it is a cuſtom with the Arabs never to ſet by any thing that comes to the table, ſo that when they kill a ſheep, they dreſs it all, call in their neighbours and the poor to finiſh every thing, and afterwards live on bread, and their other mean fare. In the morning we had a very grand collation laid in the ſame manner, conſiſting of the beſt ſort of bread, made with butter, fried eggs, honey, green ſalt cheeſe, olives, and ſeveral other ſmall things.

We were here in the fruitful province of Arſinoe, which is ſaid to have been the moſt beautiful ſpot in all Egypt †, being the only part of it that produced naturally the olive, which was cultivated by art in the gardens of Alexandria. Here with care they could make excellent oil; but neglecting the buſineſs, they made only an ill-favoured oil, probably by letting the olives hang too long, in order to make a greater quantity; it alſo produced wine, great plenty of corn and pulſe, and whatever they pleaſed to ſow. We purſued our journey, and came to Baiamout, where there cer-

* Strabo has an expreſſion for continuing the water in this manner; ταμιευῶσι, and it is probable they called the head of water itſelf Ταμιά, that is, the place where they kept up the water, and diſtributed it out all over the country; and it is not unlikely that the village of Tamiea has its name from this.

† Ἔστι δ' ὁ νομὸς οὗτος ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν ἀπάντων κατά τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ τὴν καλασκευήν· ἐλαιόφυτός τε γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ μεγάλοις καὶ τελείοις δένδρεσι καὶ καλλικάρποις· ——— οἶνον δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκφέρει· σιτόν τε καὶ ὄσπρια καί τ' ἄλλα σπέρματα πάμπολλα. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 809.

tainly has been ſome conſiderable ancient city or buildings, it may be, ſome place dependent on Arſinoe, which was near. There are particularly to the north of the village, ruins on each ſide of the road, which I found to be of two pyramids. I ſhould not have conjectured that they were pyramids, if I had not ſeen the corner of one remain; and they are called by the people the pyramids of Baiamout (Al-Harem Baiamout). They were built in a very particular manner, of large freeſtone, being ſolid buildings, at the corners and in the middle; and I ſuppoſe likewiſe in the middle of each ſide, there being ſome remains of one of the walls in one pyramid. It ſeems as if the two firſt tiers of ſtone were built on the foundation, and that the others between the ſolid buildings were laid from the wall to thoſe buildings; there remain at preſent ten tiers of ſtone of the middle piles, of the other parts there is only one tier above ground: the ſtone was brought from a great diſtance, ſo this manner of building ſeems to have been contrived to ſave the expence of bringing the materials. I ſaw about this place, as well as on the ſpot of the ancient Arſinoe, near Faiume, the people ſifting the ſand in order to find ſeals and medals, there being no place in all the eaſt where the former are found in ſuch great abundance. We went on and paſſed a deep bed of a canal, with broken banks on each ſide eight or nine feet high, a very ſmall ſtream running in it. I here obſerved that the ſoil for about three feet from the top was black, under it was a layer of two feet of a yellow ſandy ſoil, which I took notice of in a pit at Sennours; and moreover here the earth below is black, ſo that the lower black ſoil being the ſediment of the Nile; at ſome time or other a hurricane of wind may have brought ſuch a quantity of ſand as to cover the country for two feet deep; which afterwards might be rendered fruitful again by the overflow of the river. We came to Faiume through the heaps of ruins of the ancient Arſinoe, croſſing on a bridge the large canal, which runs along the north ſide of the new town.

Faiume is about two miles in compaſs, but very ill built, chiefly of unburnt brick. It is the place of reſidence of the caſhif or governor of this province: ſeveral rich people live here, who have villages near belonging to them; there are alſo ſixty Arabs of intereſt who live in the town, and have the title of ſheiks, one of them being the head who has the greateſt intereſt; and theſe all go to the divan of the cadi, which is held twice a year. The cadi is ſent once a year from Conſtantinople, and has a ſubſtitute that conſtantly reſides here, and is generally the ſame perſon; the caſhif calls a divan whenever there is occaſion. They have here a great manufacture of thoſe mattings they lay on the floors of their rooms; they are alſo famous for making roſe water, which is uſed by them in many things they eat, as well as to throw on the gueſts before the incence; and it is ſaid alſo that they make coarſe cloths, and cheap woollen ſtuffs, prepare leather, and thoſe leathern bags in which they carry the water on the camels backs.

The Franciſcans of the convent of Jeruſalem have a ſmall place here, coming under the notion of phyſicians, though they wear their habit. A tumult being raiſed againſt the Chriſtians a year or two before, on account of one of them that killed a renegado, they broke open this convent and plundered it of every thing. The Copti church is four miles off, though there are many Chriſtians in the town. They have vineyards in this country, moſtly about two leagus to the weſt, and the Chriſtians make very good white wine; they have alſo fine raiſins, and the Mahometans make a ſyrup of the juice of the grape by boiling it, which they call becmes; it is uſed inſtead of ſugar, and they bring it alſo to the table and dip their bread in it, which is a very agreeable food. The water of the canals in the month of February is a little ſalt and not good, and muſt be worſe till the Nile riſes. Whilſt I was at Faiume it hailed and rained almoſt all

all one morning, and rained very hard the night following, which is not looked on as an advantage, and often does harm; and as they told me cauſes a ſcarcity, the overflowing of the Nile being ſufficient to water the country.

When I came to Faiume, I had an apartment given me in the caſhif's houſe, and hoped to have ſeen things to great advantage; his people perſuaded me to ſend back my horſes, and promiſed I ſhould be well furniſhed, but I found myſelf obliged to hire very bad horſes at an extravagant price. They ſerved for me a table every day in my own room, and ſometimes the caſhif ſent for me to dine with him; when the drams went round very plentifully whilſt we were eating, and the great man diverted himſelf by jeſting with two or three that ſeemed to be with him as dependants, expecting ſome little government; for on ſuch occaſions, when they are in private, the Turks lay aſide their gravity, and run into levity as much as the Europeans.

I went and examined the ſite of the ancient Arſinoe, to the north of the the town, twelve miles and a half from the lake; it was firſt called the city of the crocodiles *, becauſe they worſhipped the crocodile there, which they bred up tame in the lake, of which Strabo who ſaw it gives a very extraordinary account. Diodorus gives two reaſons for the riſe of the worſhip of the crocodile; one that Menas, or Menes, one of the ancient Kings, the ſame who built the labyrinth, being purſued by his own dogs to this lake, was carried by a crocodile to the other ſide, and in gratitude built this city, and inſtituted divine honours to this animal, ſet apart the lake for its nouriſhment, where he built himſelf a ſepulchre, a pyramid, and the labyrinth. I conjectured this city might have been about four miles in compaſs, and probably had a canal on every ſide of it. There are little remains of the city, except the great heaps of rubbiſh that are ſeen on all ſides, and ruins of a wall of a round building, which ſeems to have been built of brick, but the eaſt ſide of it was encruſted with ſuch a ſort of petrification as is ſeen on ancient aqueducts; the people ſay it was a bagnio, and poſſibly it might be ſome old building converted to that uſe. The country round is watered by a great number of canals, over which there are many bridges made of brick. They reckon their diſtances here by malakas, a meaſure of about half a league, or what one may travel eaſily in half an hour.

I went about three miles to the ſouth-weſt, to a very particular obeliſk of a red granite, called Akmud Bijige (the pillar of Bijige) from the village of Bijige near it; meaſuring four feet two inches on the north ſide, and ſix feet ſix inches on the eaſt; it is forty-three feet high, each ſide of it divided by lines into three columns, that in the middle being a foot wide. I obſerved the manner in which the hieroglyphics are diſpoſed; above theſe are four ſtories of men, ſix on each line, eighteen inches high, moſt of them having hawks heads, and the high cap; below, it is divided into fourteen columns of hieroglyphics, and the top is cut down in the middle about three inches from north to ſouth. The obeliſk is much decayed all round for ten feet high, but moſtly on the ſouth ſide; the weſt ſide is almoſt entirely defaced, and at the ſouth-weſt and ſouth-eaſt corners, it is much broken for about twenty feet high, and the whole is very foul, on account of the birds that ſit on the top of it; ſo that it would have been difficult to have taken off the hieroglyphics. We went on and came to a village called Gerod, where we viſited the ſheik of the village, who entertained us very civilly. We went on moſtly through groves of young palm-trees, and came to Topar, where I ſaw a young woman ſit by the road unveiled, which was a certain ſign of the profeſſion ſhe

* Παραπλεύσαντι δὲ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἑκατὸν σταδίους, πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀρσινόη. Κροκοδείλων δὲ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον, σφόδρα γὰρ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ τιμῶσι τον κροκόδειλον. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 811.

lived by. About the country are ſeveral vineyards, with the vines diſpoſed in a very particular manner, which I ſhall deſcribe in another place. Having paſſed the groves, we paſſed by corn fields, and afterwards over uncultivated land, and croſſing the dry bed of a canal, we came to the large bed of Bahr-Joſeph, which runs into the lake Mæris; it is about one hundred yards broad, with clifts on the eaſt ſide not leſs than forty feet high, and on the weſt about thirty; on the eaſt ſide the black earth is about ſix or ſeven feet deep, and on the weſt it is from eight to twenty feet deep in different places, ſo that it is probable the canal did formerly overflow on that ſide; and after having continued to water the land by art, as they do at preſent, the ground may have riſen more on this ſide than on the eaſt: below this it is a ſandy clay of a light yellow colour, and rock towards the bottom; the ſtream that run at this time was very ſhallow, and about fifty feet broad. This they told me was the only place to paſs the canal, and that thoſe who would go to the great pyramids to the ſouth muſt come this way; though I have reaſon to believe that the canal is paſſable near the lake. The country to the weſt is called Neſle, and is improved for a league or two: and here I ſuppoſe the harveſt is forwarder than in any part of Egypt, for on the 16th of February I ſaw barley of that year cut and threſhed; the reaſon I ſuppoſe is, that they ſow very early, before the Nile is at higheſt, that they may raiſe the water with leſs labour when it is ſo high; for at the cataract, ſo many degrees more to the ſouth, the corn was but juſt in ear at the latter end of January.

The large village of Neſle is cloſe by the river; and I went to the ſheik's houſe, which is built about a court, and has a round turret at the north-weſt corner with cannon in it for their defence, as they are often in a ſtate of war with the neighbouring Arabs. I had a letter to the ſheik from the caſhif, who was not at home; ſo we applied ourſelves to the caimacam, who has little power here, and lives in fear; he agreed with one of the chief Arabs to ſend with me four Arabs on horſeback, and a camel to carry water and proviſions, for about the price of three guineas, and about four the next morning we ſet forward, and going about two hours to the north-weſt, we took a ſupply of water, and ſtayed to give the cattle graſs. From this place the ſandy plain begins; and travelling on, we ſaw a ruined caſtle at ſome diſtance to the eaſt, called Caſr-Cophou; and further on ſuch another, called Caſr-Cobal. It is remarkable that Ptolemy mentions the Cobii in the province Mareotis; a colony from which place might be ſettled here: to the weſt is a high ſingle hill, appearing ſomething like a pyramid, half built; it is called El-Herem-Medaiah-El-Hebgad. This I was told ſignifies the pyramid of the horſe, though I cannot be informed of the true ſignification of the words. The firſt part of the deſert is ſandy, and afterwards in many parts it is a plain rocky ground, moſtly covered over with ſand.

We ſaw at a great diſtance the temple of the Labyrinth; and being about a league from it, I obſerved ſeveral heaps as of ruins covered with ſand, and many ſtones all round, as if there had been ſome great building there; they call it the town of Caroon, (Bellet Caroon) it ſeemed to have been of a conſiderable breadth from eaſt to weſt, and the buildings extended on each ſide towards the north, to the Lake Mæris and the temple: This without doubt is the ſpot of the famous Labyrinth, which Herodotus ſays was built by the twelve Kings of Egypt, when the government was divided into twelve parts, as ſo many palaces for them to meet in, to tranſact affairs of ſtate and religion. Diodorus * mentions that it was built as a ſepulchre for Mendes, and Strabo † that it was

* Τάφον δὲ αὐτῷ κατεσκευάσαι τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον λαβύρινθον. Diodorus, l. 1 p. 55.

† Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἡ τῶ Λαβυρίνθῳ κατασκευὴ, παράδοξον ταῖς συγκρίσιν ἐστὶν ἔργον, καὶ ὁ παρακείμενος τάφος τῶ κατασκευάσαντι βασιλέως τῶν Λαβυρίνθων. Strabo, xvii. p. 811.

near the ſepulchre of the King that built it; which was probably Imandes, perhaps the ſame as Mendes, whoſe ſepulchre he after ſays * was here, and he is ſaid to be the King that built the Labyrinth. Pomponius Mela ſpeaks of it as built by Pſammiticus; but as Menes, or Imandes is mentioned by ſeveral, poſſibly he might be one of the twelve Kings of greateſt influence and authority who might have the chief ordering and direction of this great building, and as a peculiar honour, might have a ſepulchre apart from the others. But whoever was the founder of this extraordinary fabrick, they all agree that the twelve palaces contained in them three thouſand rooms, half of them under ground, without doubt cut out of the rock, as thoſe at Thebes. There was no wood throughout the whole building, and the entrances and rooms were contrived in ſuch a manner as that it would be impoſſible for a ſtranger to find his way out; and ſuch an extraordinary building it was, that it is ſaid Dædalus came to Egypt on purpoſe to ſee it, and built the Labyrinth in Crete for King Minos on the model of this. Herodotus with great admiration ſaw the upper ſtory of the labyrinth, it not being permitted to go into the underground apartments, where were the tombs both of the Kings who built the labyrinth, and of the ſacred crocodiles. The whole building was covered with ſtone, doubtleſs laid on the many pillars that were in it; and it was adorned throughout with the fineſt ſculptures.

Going over the ſpot of this famous building, the firſt thing I ſaw was a vaſe of a reddiſh ſtone or marble, with a ſolid handle on each ſide. Afterwards I came to the foundation of an oblong ſquare building of the ſame kind of ſtone, about a quarter of a mile ſouth of the great fabrick I ſhall give an account of. It is built on a kind of ſolid baſe and pedeſtal of ſtone, the ſemicircular pilaſters have only one hewn ſtone at the bottom of the column, all above in the whole building being brick plaiſtered over; there are no pilaſters in the front, but the baſe is continued on before the door-place, as if it was deſigned as a foundation of a portico; at the north end within there is a ſemicircular niche as to receive a ſtatue: Whatever this building was, it ſeems to have been deſtroyed and repaired in this rough manner: and does not ſtand in a line with the temple, but rather a little to the weſt. I obſerved ſome unburnt bricks that were of yellow clay, and mixed with ſtraw; all the others I had ſeen in Egypt being of a black earth. A little further, but more to the eaſt, is an oblong ſquare building of white hewn ſtone plaiſtered over, a ſort of baſe and plinth ranges round, there being eight tiers of ſtone above this baſe, each eleven inches deep. Near this, a little to the north-weſt, is a very particular ſort of ruſtic building that ſeems to have been a gateway: of this kind there is another to the north-weſt of the great building, where there ſeemed to be ſome remains of an arch, which would have made me doubt of its antiquity, if there had been evident ſigns of that kind of architecture. At length we came to the grand building itſelf, now called Caſr-Caroon (the caſtle of Caroon). Herodotus mentions a pyramid at the corner of the labyrinth, and Strabo ſpeaks of a ſepulchre at the end of it, which was a ſquare pyramid, in which he ſays Imandes was buried, which I conjecture to be this building, and that ſome ſacred crocodiles were alſo depoſited in it. Strabo † ſays it was four hundred feet ſquare and high; Herodotus ‡, who mentions only a pyramid in general, ſpeaks of it as two hundred and forty feet ſquare. The preſent building is about one hundred ſixty-five feet long, and eighty

* Ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς λαβυρινθοδομίας τούτης πλέον ἢ χιλίων ἀπεχούσης, ὁ τάφος ἐστὶ πυραμὶς τετράγωνος, ἑκάστην τετράπλευρόν πως ἔχουσα τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσον. Ἰμανδὴς δ' ὄνομα ὁ ταφείς. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 811.

† See the laſt note.

‡ Τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσαρακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλα ἐγγεγλυμμένα, ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποίηται. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 149.

broad.

broad. If theſe authors ſpeak of the ſame building, it will be difficult to account for this difference in their meaſures, unleſs we ſuppoſe that Strabo might ſpeak of a large encloſure of this ſepulchre, though it will be difficult to conceive how it could be four hundred feet high, and gives reaſon to ſuſpect that he confounded this building with the pyramid in the iſland. The portico is a very ruſtic work, almoſt all deſtroyed, being no where above ſix feet high; it is probable there were ſome apartments under it, from the remains of a flight of ſtairs on the eaſt ſide of it. I ſhould not have thought that it had been covered, if I had not ſeen the remains of pillars in the middle. The front is more ruined than any other part. The upper ſtory in the middle is fallen down, and is entirely gone almoſt all the way from this break. As the building now remains, there are forty-four tiers of ſtone, each nine inches deep, and conſequently it is thirty-three feet high. There are ſigns of a corniſh ranging round, notwithſtanding which the building might have been carried up higher. Small openings in the ſeveral parts of this building are not windows, but ſeem to be the places from which thoſe pieces of brown marble or fine ſtone have been taken, which I ſaw to the north of the temple, adorned with a corniſh at top that have ſome ornaments of ſculpture, and in the middle a niche is cut, which ſeemed to be of ſuch a ſize as would contain a marble head, and poſſibly they might have ſuch an object of worſhip placed in theſe niches, repreſenting every ſacred crocodile that might be depoſited in this place, as I ſhall ſhew I have reaſon to think they were.

The four rooms in the length of this building have door places crowned with double corniſhes, together with ornaments of the winged globe. Theſe rooms I ſuppoſe, before they were filled up with earth, were near twenty feet high, and are covered with large ſtones of ſuch a length as to be laid from wall to wall; the narrow apartments at the further end might be to depoſit ſome tombs in. Over each of them is a work like a falſe door adorned with corniſhes; one of them being charged with ſculptures of hawks. The paſſage from the cell to the weſt, leads up to the apartments by a hole that ſeems to be broke in. There I ſuppoſe were the places to depoſit the ſacred crocodiles in; one of which long cells is thirty feet by three feet, and the other ſeven feet by two feet; a way is broke up from the end of the long room to the apartments above. In the falſe door on each ſide of the entrance to the inner room below, is a niche cut in a ſhell at top; on each ſide of the four middle rooms are the apartments in the plan, and others between them and the upper floor. Thoſe marked I aſcended to by a hole on the right ſide of the firſt room, the paſſage from the ſtairs on the ſouth end being ſtopped up. In theſe apartments there are ſeveral ſmall niches in the ſides of the walls, as there are in the rooms above; from them there is a broken paſſage to the upper floor, which is of a ſtrong gravelly cement. The moſt extraordinary part of this building is a ſort of a well deſcending from the upper ſtory on the eaſt ſide, that leads into the ſquare well which one deſcends by holes on each ſide, as before deſcribed in other wells. There is ſuch another oppoſite to the ſtairs at bottom. For what purpoſe theſe cells ſhould ſerve, unleſs to depoſit the crocodiles in, cannot well be conceived; for which end it is poſſible they might in building the wall, place ſome ſtones to be taken out in order to convey them in, which could not otherwiſe be done by this narrow well, and poſſibly they might be the ſtones at the niches mentioned on the outſide.

There are many ſtones ſcattered about the plain near this building, eſpecially ſeveral round ones with holes in the middle, which ſeem to have compoſed the pillars that might be about this building as well as others, and probably were faſtened together in ſome manner by means of thoſe holes.

The

The Lake Mæris * is about two miles from this building: Herodotus and Diodorus ſay it was four hundred and fifty miles round; Pomponius Mela five hundred. The two former add that it was three hundred feet deep in ſome parts; Strabo does not mention the ſize of it, but by paſſing over in ſilence this ſtory, that it was made by a certain King, it is probable he did not give credit to it; for the two other authors ſay it was made by King Mæris or Myris; and Diodorus † affirms that he made alſo the canal to it ten miles long and three hundred feet broad, which ſeems to be meant of the canal to the eaſt end by Tamiea, though that is longer; and the great river of Joſeph I paſſed over, which cannot run leſs than forty or fifty miles from the Nile, is about the breadth mentioned by theſe authors, and ſeems to have been originally not leſs than twenty feet deep. Herodotus, when he viewed this lake, might well be ſurpriſed at the account they gave him that it was made by art, and had reaſon to aſk them what they did with the earth they dug out; but ſeems to have too much credulity to be ſatisfied, when they told him that they carried the earth to the Nile, and ſo it was waſhed away by the river; for it was very extraordinary to carry ſuch a vaſt quantity of earth above ten miles from the neareſt part of the lake, and fifty or ſixty from the further parts, even though they might contrive water carriage for a great part of the way. This I ſhould imagine a thing beyond belief, even if the lake were no larger than it is at preſent; that is, it may be fifty miles long, and ten broad. Another thing is mentioned alſo, which at firſt view ſeems very improbable; and that is, that the water run into the lake from the Nile for ſix months of the year, and for the other ſix months run back again into the Nile ‡, which I think can only be accounted for by ſuppoſing that the water entered the lake ſix months both by the canal of Joſeph, and alſo by the canal at the eaſt end of the lake; and that it continued to run in by the canal of Joſeph for the greater part of the other ſix months, but at the ſame time emptied itſelf by the canal to the eaſt, the bed of which during that time might be higher than the water of the Nile in that part, when it was ſo low; as it muſt be ſuppoſed to be much lower there than at the mouth of the canal of Joſeph; ſo that I ſuppoſe the water began to come in at both canals, after it had begun to riſe for about a month, and for about four months after the waters began to abate. And I myſelf ſaw a ſmall ſtream running into the lake by the great canal in the month of February, when the Nile is very low. It is mentioned that the deſign of the lake was to hinder the Nile from overflowing the country too much, which was effected by drawing off ſuch a quantity of water, when it was apprehended that there might be an inundation ſufficient to hurt the land; till which time the gates were doubtleſs kept ſhut, and when the flow was moderate, they might not be opened until ſuch time as the country was ſufficiently overflowed. I ſuppoſe therefore that originally there was a great outlet of the Nile this way, it may be into the ſea by the valley called Baher-Bellomah, or the ſea without water, which extends from the weſt end of this lake near as far as the ſea; that finding the country was not ſufficiently overflowed, they ſtopped the mouth of it to the ſea, which cauſed this great lake; that afterwards the mouth of the canal or river by which the water flowed being accidentally ſtopped up, all the lake became dry, giving occaſion for the tradition

* See the quotations in the geographical diſſertation, in the laſt chapter of the laſt book.

† Διώρυγα μὲν ἐκ τῆ ποταμῆ καλεσκεύασεν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἐγδοήκοντα μὲν σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, τριπλεθρον δε τὸ πλάτος. Diodorus, l. i. p. 48.

‡ Ἐξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥέει ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἐξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὖτις. Καὶ ἐπειὰν μὲν ἐκρέῃ ἔξω ἤδε, τότε τεὺς ἐξ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλήϊον καλαβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἑκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρέϊε ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων· ἐπειὰν δὲ ἐσίῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν, ἅκοσι μνέας. Herodotus l. ii. c. 100.

that the ſpot of the lake was formerly all a plain or fields * ; that the country afterwards being much incommoded by innundations, Mæris opened this mouth, cleanſed this canal, put floodgates, and it may be in ſome parts towards the entrance, ſunk the lake lower, and that this might give riſe to the tradition that he made the lake. At this time the lake was very much retired within its banks. We went along on the ſouth ſide to the eaſt at ſome diſtance from it, and I could not perſuade the Arabs to go to the lake; ſo I left them and went alone; but ſeeing I was determined to go, after ſome time they ſent one of their company to attend me, and came themſelves towards the lake to meet me. There is a gentle deſcent to the banks of the lake, which are broken, and of a black ſoil; it was then half a mile from the bank to the water, firſt on a flaty ground, and then on a deep ſlimy mud incruſted at top with a thin cake of ſalt. I waded along through it with much difficulty, and came to the water, which is almoſt as ſalt as the ſea, and of a diſagreeable muddy taſte; it contracts theſe qualities from the nitre that is in the earth, and from the ſalt that is every year left on the mud; it is obſerved that the water is not ſo ſalt towards the parts where it enters from the Nile. I ſaw no ſort of ſhells on the banks of the lake; and it is ſaid it has no fiſh in it, but ſuch as are found in the Nile. They catch the fiſh in great quantities, eſpecially when the lake is low, and bring them to Faiume market, where they are ſold very cheap. As I think this lake is never entirely dry, ſo it is probable they always throw in what ſmall fiſh they find, and great quantities coming in with the Nile water, may be the reaſons why the lake ſo much abounds in fiſh as it did formerly, which brought in a great revenue to the Kings of Egypt. On the other ſide of the lake, what they told me was the iſland, appears like a head of land ſetting out into the lake in a ſemicircular figure with white clifts, and a height above, which poſſibly might be the lower part of thoſe two pyramids, which are ſaid† to have been built in it by Mæris for himſelf and his Queen, and were ſix hundred feet high, three hundred feet being under the water. A colloſſal ſtatue ſitting was placed on each of them. It is difficult to go to this iſland, as their boats are very bad, and there would be great danger if the wind ſhould riſe. I ſaw ſome large buildings north of the lake; they ſaid there was a convent at that place, called Der-El-Harakatelmy; but the buildings ſeemed to me to be ſome remains of antiquity, which might be converted into a monaſtery. They mentioned alſo a place called Ryan, to the ſouth-weſt of the lake, and ſaid there were ſome pyramids near it; though I gave more credit to what they ſaid of a lake called Birk-Al-Garieh, near a day's journey to the weſt, becauſe other travellers have had the ſame account. I obſerved about this lake ſeveral roots in the ground, that ſeemed to me to be the remains of vines, for which the country about the lake was formerly famous. Where there is little moiſture in the air, and it rains ſo ſeldom, wood may remain ſound a great while, though it is not known how long theſe vineyards have been deſtroyed.

The common people here have ſtrong traditions about Caroon; they ſay he was a King, and had keys to his treaſures that loaded two hundred camels. One would imagine from this that the fable of Charon might have its riſe here, and that this name might be the title of the chief perſon who had the care of the Labyrinth, and of the ſepulchres in and about it, and kept the keys of theſe numerous apartments; that no one could be buried in theſe places unleſs orders were ſent to him, who might have the care and inſpection of the public funerals; and their Kings might ſome of them be carried over to the iſland, or be brought by water to this place, under the direction of this great

* See quotation in geographical diſſertation, in the laſt chapter of the laſt book.

† Ἐν μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστά κη ἐστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες τῇ ὕδατι· ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυιὰς ἑκατέρη· καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατι οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσοῦτον. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 149.

officer, who when princes had behaved ill, might be forbid to inter them, as judges were appointed to determine whether the perſon were worthy of burial. It is poſſible they might give ſome token, the obolus, to ſignify to the proper officer that they might have ſepulchral honours done to them; and this lake might be called Acheruſia, and the name be afterwards given to other places paſſed over for the ſame purpoſe; as Diodorus obſerves the lake at Memphis was ſo called, who gives a particular account of the whole ceremony *. Poſſibly this at firſt might be the practice only with regard to their princes carried acroſs this lake to the iſland, and in time might come to be extended farther to all people in general, who were not to be admitted to have the honour of interment, unleſs they brought with them a clear reputation, the token, the teſſera or obolus that was to waft them to the Elyſian fields.

Turning to the ſouth, when we were above a league from Caſr-Caroon, we went about two leagues up a gentle aſcent, and came to the high ground where there is a ruined convent of unburnt brick, many ruins of the ſame materials, and ſeveral heaps of potſherds and rubbiſh, as if there had been a large town in that place. About two leagues further we came to the cultivated land, and ſtopping a while to refreſh our cattle, went a league and a half further to the Neſle, where the caimacam invited us to his houſe; and I went to repoſe, very much fatigued with this expedition of eighteen hours in perpetual motion. The caimacam was very ſolicitous about a preſent of coffee I was to ſend him from Faiume, and attended me the next day within a few miles of that town with his Arabs and ſlaves, who diverted themſelves in the road in riding after one another in their manner. When we had paſſed Topar, we left the road to the ſouth that we came in, and the great man ſitting down to repoſe, we left him, and ſoon came to Sambour, and from that place to Faiume. When I was at Neſle, I treated with the Arabs to conduct me to the two great pyramids of Davara, which I ſaw, as I ſuppoſe, ten or twelve miles ſouth of Faiume; but being to the ſouth of the great canal, they informed me that this was the only way to them. They demanded ſo extravagant a price, that I concluded they did not care to go, and they aſſured me there would be much danger in the voyage, as they might chance to fall in with their enemies, in which caſe they told us they muſt fly and leave us to be plundered. At the diſtance I was at, I could not well diſcern what ſort of pyramids they were; they appeared like two hills, being probably much decayed. They aſſured me that the materials they are built of is of unburnt brick. A perſon who viewed them near, if he may be credited, deſcribes one of them as built with three ſtories of arched niches all round.

I ſet out for Cairo with the caravan, and went the firſt day to Tamiea, where we lay in the yard of a cane under my tent; there being no rooms, except a few huts inhabited by public harlots. We went the next day a long journey without ſtopping to Daſhour; from which place I went the day after to Saccara, as mentioned before, and ſo arrived at Grand Cairo.

* Diodorus, l. i. p. 82, 86.

BOOK II.

FROM GRAND CAIRO TO THE ANCIENT ETHIOPIA, ABOVE THE CATARACT OF THE NILE, AND BACK TO CAIRO AND DAMIATA.

CHAP. I. — *Of Archomounain, Gaua, and other Places in the way to Akmim.*

HAVING determined to make the voyage of Upper Egypt, the conſul procured me letters from the great Sheik Oſman Bey (who was Sheik-Bellet, or head and protector of the Arab race) to the Bey of Girge, to the Prince of Akmim, and to the great ſheik at Furſhout. I provided every thing as for a long voyage; ſtores of coffee, rice, tobacco, ſoap, red ſhoes of the Arabs, and ſeveral other things for preſents, and took care to have ſufficient arms for our defence. I had the good fortune to meet with a boat of the Prince of Akmim, and to be recommended to Malim Soliman who was going in it, a very worthy Catholic Copti, for whom I ſhall always have the utmoſt regard. He was the chief perſon in managing the affairs of that prince, although he would never accept of any office under him, thereby prudently avoiding the danger of having his family ruined, it having been the cuſtom of theſe princes, as it is much all over Turkey, to ſeize on what is got in their ſervice, when any of their officers die, being only (as they ſay) taking their own again: and though he might have been ſecure by the goodneſs of the preſent prince, yet his family might have a harder fate under another, from whom he might not hereafter be able to withdraw himſelf. It was thought proper I ſhould take on me a name that the people are uſed to, ſo it was agreed that I ſhould be called Joſeph, with the uſual title of Chriſtians in this country, malim or maſter. I had alſo let my beard grow, and put myſelf exactly in the habit of a Copti, with the black ferijee or gown of ceremony, and had a large blue and white towel or handkerchief looſe about my neck, hanging down before, and on other occaſions a large ſheet of the ſame kind, which is brought round the body and over the head; not without the blue garment or ſhirt, which is put on over all, to go out with at any time in diſguiſe with the boatmen. In this manner I ſet out with my ſervant and dragoman, or interpreter. On the 6th of December 1737, about noon, we embarked in a ſmall hired boat, the veſſel we were to go in to Akmim having left the port, and gone half a day's journey up the river, for fear of being preſſed to carry the ſoldiers to Roſetto, which the Grand Signior had ſent for to Conſtantinople, to go to the war againſt the Emperor and the Muſcovites. Setting out, I was ſhewn on the height which is to the ſouth of the narrow eaſtern plain, a ruined tower which they call the tower of King Antar. They have alſo a tradition of ſome buildings of this King on the ſide of Babylon; but who he was I could not be informed, being probably ſome King of Egypt, who goes by another name in hiſtory*. Before we came to this place, we had Oſman to the weſt. About this place poſſibly might be Acanthus, where Strabo † ſeems to ſay there was a temple of Oſiris, and a wood of Thebaick acantha, which produced gums. This probably was acacia, the Thebaick acantha or buſh; and it is not improbable that the city itſelf had its name from this wood. This tree is very

* Diodorus, l. i. p. 82. 86.

† Μετὰ δὲ Μέμφιν Ἄκανθος πόλις ὁμοίως ὡς ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἱερὸν, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀκάνθης ἄλσος τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς, ἐξ ἧς τὸ κόμμι. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 809.

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common in Egypt, under the name of ſount, and is much the ſame as the acacia called cyale, in Arabia Petræa, which I am informed produces the gum Egyptian, or Arabic. At night we came up to the great boat at Turphaier, which is on the iſle that I ſuppoſe to be the great iſle of Heracleopolis *, made by a canal croſſing from this great river to the old bed of the Nile under the hills. This weſtern channel the people call the Old Channel at this time, which confirms what I have ſaid in another place on this ſubject.

The large boats, called marſhes, ſuch as we embarked on, have a maſt about the middle, and another towards the prow; they cover part of the boat with matting, by means of poles ſet up an end, with others tied acroſs at the top of them, under which ſhelter the people ſit and repoſe all night. On the 7th we went on with a gentle wind, having had a view of the pyramids of Saccara and Daſhour, to the north-weſt from Turphaier. We paſſed by many villages, and coming to Stalhiteh on the eaſt, I ſaw on the weſt ſide oppoſite to it, at ſome diſtance, what appeared to me at firſt like a ſmall high hill with a ruin on it, ſomething in the ſhape of a pyramid. They aſſured me that not only the upper part, but the whole which appears like a hill, is built; the Chriſtians call it the great pyramid (Al-Herem-Kiebir), but the Mahometans call it the falſe pyramid (Al-Herem Elkadab). To go it, they ſay, one may land at Eſououd, but the moſt convenient place is Righah, from which it is half a day's journey; that is, I ſuppoſe, about ten miles. To go to this pyramid, it is neceſſary to have a man from the ſheik of this country, called Elkebery, who lives at Mocanan. I imagine that this is a ſmall hill, probably artificial, and that it may have been caſed with ſtone, or unburnt brick; I think they ſaid the latter, and that what appears at top is a pyramid of an extraordinary figure built on it. We arrived at Righah that night, where we ſtaid; it being the cuſtom going up always to lie by at night, as there are many ſhoals in the Nile, and travellers always lie in the boat, and keep a watch to defend themſelves againſt any attack, or to hinder people from coming privately to the ſide of the boat, as they ſometimes do, and ſteal any thing they can conveniently find. It is ſaid, with what truth I know not, that ſometimes the rogues have come to plunder boats with their naked bodies beſmeared all over with oil or greaſe, that if the boatmen ſhould attempt to lay hold of them, they might the more eaſily ſlip out of their hands. On the 8th, there being very little wind, we went aſhore on the eaſt, at the convent of St. Anthony: here, as in moſt of the convents of Egypt, the prieſts are ſeculars, ſo that they live in the convent with their wives and children. Several of them were employed in bringing ſtones to repair their convent, and thinking we were officers come to demand the poll tax, when we aſked how many there were in the convent, they acknowledged no more than thoſe we ſaw; but when they were undeceived, they ſhewed us their convent with much humility, and it was proper that we ſhould leave ſome charity, as they are very poor. The convent is encompaſſed with a wall to defend them againſt robbers; they have a tolerable church, and they ſhew ſeveral things relating to St. Anthony, who they ſay went from this place into the deſert by the Red Sea, and was there the firſt founder of the monaſtic life. They told us they expected their biſhop that day to officiate in their church; for the biſhops here ſpend moſt of their time going round their diſtrict officiating in their churches, and collecting the dues that belong to themſelves and the patriarch. There are no churches about the country but what are called monaſteries, becauſe probably few except thoſe of the

* Ἐνθ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ μεγάλῃ. Ibid. Heracleopolites eſt inſula Nili, longa paſſuum quinquaginta mille, in qua eſt oppidum Herculis appellatum. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. xxxvii. c. 5.

monaſteries were ſuffered to remain. As crocodiles are hardly ever ſeen ſo low as this, they are very fond of ſtories that they can go no lower, and that if they come ſo far they turn on their backs. They relate the ſame of St. George's convent much lower, ſome pretending to attribute this to their faith, others to taliſmans.

We came up with the iſle and large village or town of Sment, and ſoon after to a ſmall ſandy iſland oppoſite to Benadi, where I ſaw a little crocodile, being the firſt we had met with. We came to a town called Bouche, on the canal which goes to Faiume; it is probable that this was Ptolemais, the port of Arſinoe mentioned by Ptolemy *. We came after to Beneſuief, which is a town about a mile round, very ill built, of unburnt brick; it is the capital of a province of that name, and here a ſangiak or bey reſides. They have great manufactures of a ſtriped narrow carpet ſtuff without napp, made of wool and coarſe thread. They are uſed by inferior people to cover the cuſhions of ſophas; they make alſo coats for their children of this ſtuff without ſleeves, being wove ſo as to ſerve for that purpoſe without being cut.

We paſſed by Berangieh, where there is a ſmall hill to the ſouth, called Coum-el-Arab, and to the north of it are ſeveral ſmall hillocks, ſo that probably this was an ancient place, and for that reaſon as well as the ſituation, I ſuppoſe it to be Cynopolis †, the capital of a province of that name, in which Anubis was worſhipped, and dogs were had in great honour, and a certain ſacred food was allotted to them. It is ſaid the riſe of this was owing to Anubis, a companion of Oſiris, his wearing as an emblem of his courage, the dog's ſkin for armour, as Macedon his other companion wore the ſkin of a wolf; on which account ſome ſay theſe animals came to be worſhipped: and this ſeems the more probable, as theſe deities are repreſented with human bodies, with the heads of theſe beaſts, which might have its riſe from their bringing the upper part of the ſkins over their heads; as Hercules is repreſented with the ſkin of a lion as well as thoſe who deſired to be thought like him ‡. We paſſed by Bibeh, a little town where there is a convent of St. George; we after came up with the large iſle of Fetne, which is a very fruitful ſpot; it was planted with melons and cucumbers, in rows about ſix feet apart, with the canes of Turkey wheat ſtuck in obliquely over them to defend them from the weather, and in ſome parts a ſort of ruſh or graſs called lefe is ſet along in a trench over the young plants; which ſort of graſs they likewiſe uſe to make ropes in this country. Here we lay by at night, and another boat having faſtened to the eaſt ſide, they ſhot at a man that was coming towards it, as they ſuppoſed, to ſteal ſomething, who as they told me, went off crying out as if he had been wounded, and the boat moved over to the weſt, which is always the ſafer ſide. To this place the hills on the eaſt ſide coming near the river, the country is very little inhabited above the convent of St. Anthony; and thoſe that are on the eaſt ſide are moſtly Arabs, who ſubmit to no government, inſomuch that when I returned, the boatmen made an expreſs agreement that they ſhould not be obliged to go to any place on the eaſt, but where they pleaſed.

On the ninth we had little wind, and lay by about noon at the port of Fetne; we proceeded on our voyage and went by Sharony on the eaſt. I obſerved ſtones along

* Ἀρσινόη καὶ ἔρμ. Πτολεμαΐς. Ptol. l. iv. c. 5.

† Ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Κυνοπολίτης νομὸς καὶ Κυνῶν πόλις ἐν ᾗ ὁ Ἄνουβις τιμᾶται, καὶ τοῖς κυσὶ τιμὴ καὶ σίτησις τέτακται τὶς ἱερά. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 812.

‡ Τῷ δ' ὧν Ὀσίριδι συνεστρατεῦσθαι υἱὸς Ἄνουβίν τε καὶ Μακεδόνα, διαφέροντες ἀνδρείᾳ· ἀμφοτέρους δὲ χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις ὅπλοις ἀπό τινων ζώων ἐκ ἀνοικείων τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς εὐτολμίᾳ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἄνουβιν περιδέσθαι κυνῆν, τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνα λύκου προτομήν· ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα τιμηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις. Diodorus, l. i. p. 16. See alſo p. 77. for other reaſons given for this worſhip.

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the ſhore, which ſeemed to be the ruins of a very thick wall of a port or quay; I likewiſe ſaw two little hills, one above a mile ſouth of the other, and to the eaſt of the ſouthern hill is another, which ſeemed to have had ſome buildings on it. Theſe hills and the ruins I ſaw, made me conjecture that ſome ancient town might be here; and it agrees beſt with the ſituation of Muſæ of the itinerary. We ſtopped all night a little above a ſmall town called Abou-girge, which is a biſhop's ſee: this I ſuppoſe to be Oxyrinchus, capital of the province of that name, ſo called from a fiſh * they worſhipped all over Egypt, but principally in this place, where they had a temple built to this deity; for there were ſeveral animals, which though they were particularly honoured in ſome places, yet were worſhipped throughout all Egypt; as the lepidotus or ſcaly fiſh, the hawk, and the ibis, the bull, the dog, and the cat †. Here they ſaid we were a third part of the way to Akmim, which is about three degrees and a half from Cairo. On the tenth I ſaw many Arabs at a diſtance on horſeback on the weſt ſide, and going a little way from the boat, one of them made towards me, and another after him; I retired to the boat, and they came pretty near and took a view of us. We paſſed by Abouſagat-Beniſama on the eaſt; there is a large houſe near, which belonged to Sara Caſhif, who as they told me, fled to this place out of Cairo, when they aſſaſſinated eight of their beys at once in a viſit they were making in 1730; he returned after to Cairo, and lay hid in the houſe of a Chriſtian; but a ſtrict ſearch being made after him, he fled towards the Red Sea, where as they told me, he married a ſheik's daughter, and was at that time in arms. It was now the time of the Turkiſh Ramaſan, or faſt, ſo called from the month in which it is kept; and it was very hard on the boatmen to tow up the bark, as they were obliged to do when we had no wind; for during this month they are not allowed to eat, drink, ſmoke, or take any pleaſure from ſun riſing to ſun ſet; and as a Turkiſh month happens at all times of the year in the term of two or three and thirty years, it is a great hardſhip on the poor, who are obliged to work in the ſummer, and are only allowed to waſh their mouths with water; but they paſs the night in feaſting and pleaſure, if they can afford it. The firſt thing they take after this faſt is a draught of water, then they ſmoke, drink their coffee, and make their great meal; after midnight they take another plentiful repaſt and go to ſleep; but thoſe who have nothing to do, ſit up all night and ſleep the greater part of the day, ſo that this faſt does not prove in the leaſt inconvenient to them. When we paſſed by this place, the Arabs called to the maſter of the boat to come aſhore and give them ſome tobacco, who anſwered, in order to frighten them, that the janizaries in the boat would give them tobacco; but as we had a dinner preparing, and they ſaw the ſmoke, they replied in their cool manner, that the janizaries were dreſſing dinner, intimating that by this they knew we were Chriſtians. On this we all ſhewed ourſelves in the habits of Mahometans, and ſo they went away; however it was a caution to us for the future, not to diſcover by this means that there were Chriſtians on board, which might have encouraged the Arabs to make an attempt upon us. On the eleventh we made very little way. I obſerved on the weſt ſide, the bank within the bed of the river was ſowed all the way to the water. In the night they ſaw a man ſwimming towards the boat, but calling out he returned to the ſhore; for they frequently come in the night, and hanging on the ſide of the boat, ſteal any thing they can moſt conveniently lay their hands on, whilſt the people are aſleep. On the twelfth we came to the hills on the eaſt, that end at the river, part of them having

* Ὀξύρυγχος· πόλις, καὶ νομὸς ὁμώνυμος· τιμῶσι δὲ τὸν Ὀξύρυγχον, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν Ὀξυρύγχου. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 812.

† Strabo, ibid.

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the name of Codrickſhan. The men being obliged to tow, I went aſhore there, and obſerved that ſeveral grottos were cut all over the mountains, which were without doubt the ſepulchres of the people on the weſt ſide of the river. I ſaw alſo what I took to be the bed of a canal cut in between the hills, which poſſibly might be to convey water to the eaſt: all theſe hills are rocks of petrified ſhells, moſtly the cockle, and ſome flat ſhell, and alſo ſeveral large oyſter ſhells. To the ſouth of theſe hills is a fine ſpot of ground belonging to a village of the Arabs in the middle of it, called Cereſia; it is finely improved, and they have tobacco there, which I was informed is not good. We came to a town called Samalout, where there is a moſque with a minaret, the only one I had ſeen ſince I had left Cairo. That night our boat ſtopped about eight o'clock, and then went on a little further about nine, which I ſuppoſed was to avoid any danger by ſtaying in a place where people might obſerve we had halted in the evening. On the thirteenth we came to the hills on the eaſt, which are cloſe to the river, and are called Jebel Ockſeir, becauſe it is a great harbour for all ſorts of birds: there are many grottos in it, and on the top of it is a convent which has lands; but they are obliged to receive and entertain every body that comes.

On the fourteenth we had a good wind, and paſſed by Minio on the weſt, a neat town in compariſon of the others, and the reſidence of the caſhif of the province of that name; higher we paſſed Souadi, a ſmall town to the eaſt.

We came up with the ruined city of Antinoopolis, now called Enſineh: ſome ſay there was anciently a city here called Beſa; but Antinous, who accompanied Hadrian into Egypt, being drowned there, that Emperor built this city, and called it after the name of his favourite, to whom he inſtituted games and divine honours: it was made alſo the capital * of a new province of that name, taken out of the laſt of the ſeven provinces, called Heptanomis. It is ſaid the city was three or four miles round. I ſaw a large pillar with a Corinthian capital, and a ſquare ſtone or plinth on the top, which was probably to ſet ſome ſtatue on; it is ſaid there were four of theſe. I had alſo a view of a very fine gate of the Corinthian order, of exquiſite workmanſhip. Near this place is a village of Chriſtians, called Ebadie, whoſe greateſt ſecurity, among ſuch very bad people, ſeems to be a notion that has prevailed, that no Mahometan can live in that place. Higher is the convent of St. John (Der-Abou-Ennis) where there are ſeveral prieſts; and a little further on is Meloui, near a mile to the weſt of the river. This town is about a mile round, and makes a tolerable appearance within, the ſhops being well built; it is at the head of nine villages, which are altogether a ſmall principality belonging to Mecca; ſo that the Emir-Hadge, who is commonly one of the greateſt beys, and has the care of conducting the caravan to Mecca, is maſter of it, and ſends a ſardar to govern the country, who lives in as much ſtate as the caſhifs and other great governors. As this is a place of great honour and profit, ſo it is commonly given to one of the greateſt people of thoſe that have been ſlaves to the Emir-Hadge. This place ſupplies Mecca with three hundred and ninety thouſand adeps or ſacks of corn every year, which is ſent by way of Cairo, Suez, and the Red Sea, it being a very rich corn country. The Chriſtians have no church, but are obliged to go to the convent on the other ſide.

About three miles north of Meloui, is the village of Archemounain: there is a large country here which alſo goes by that name. This village is on the ruins of an old city, which I ſuppoſe to be the ancient Hermopolis †; or, which is all the ſame, as Pliny calls it,

* Ἀπὸ δὲ ἀναβολῶν τῇ πολαμῇ Νομὸς Ἀντινοίτης ἡ καὶ μελιτόπολις ἐπ' αὐτῇ Ἀντινόε πόλις. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

† Εἶτα Ἑρμοπολίτης Νομὸς καὶ μελιτόπολις, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῇ πολαμῇ μεσόγηι Ἑρμόπολις μεγάλη. Καὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῇ πολαμῇ παρακειμεναι φυλακαί. Ptol. ibid.

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the city of Mercury. It ſeemed to have been of an irregular form, extending above a mile from eaſt to weſt, and more than half a mile from north to ſouth, and is near two miles from the river. Little appears but heaps of rubbiſh all over the ſite of the old city, except a grand portico of an ancient temple, conſiſting of twelve pillars, ſix in a row, nine feet diameter; there are hieroglyphics on every part both of the pillars and of the ſtones laid on them. I ſaw on the pillars ſome remains of paint, and the ceiling is adorned with ſtars; on ſeveral parts there are figures of pyramids, as with a door to them, which Kircher interprets to be (ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων) the good principle; a perſon ſitting, and one offering to him, is cut in ſeveral parts of the frieze. It appears that the pillars have been built up for about half way between, as in many Egyptian temples. About two hundred paces to the ſouth, I ſaw ſome large ſtones, and a piece of a pillar ſtanding upright, which may be the remains of ſome building belonging to this temple. I ſaw alſo ſome pieces of granite pillars among the heaps of ruins. I was informed that about a league to the ſouth-weſt of theſe ruins, there is a place called Hoar, which from the name one may conjecture to be about the ſite of the ancient caſtle of Hermopolis *, on the ſouth ſide of the great canal, where they took cuſtom of every thing that came out of the Thebaid; it being the firſt place without that country; as the Theban † caſtle on the other ſide was the firſt place on the Thebaid; which muſt have been at Taroutoſcherif; the provinces of Hermopolis and Antinoopolis being the laſt before the entrance into the Thebaid. I was alſo informed that when the waters of the Nile begin to be low, there is no current in this great canal called Baher-Joſeph, but that there is always ſome ſtanding water in it. They told me alſo that Mount Bibian is about two hours weſt of this canal; that it was a high hill, I ſuppoſe between the mountains, and that there are ſome ruins there. It was in my return I ſaw theſe antiquities. Going up, we ſtopped only about an hour near Meloui, whilſt the maſter of the boat went to ſee one of his families who lived here.

We ſailed on, and obſerved a great number of grottos cut in the mountains all the way from Souadi to Manfalouth. Near oppoſite to this laſt place where the hills retire to the eaſt, I ſaw a building on them covered with a dome, which I thought might have been a convent; but they told me it was ſome old ruined building. I obſerved that there are ſeveral narrow openings into the mountains. About this place I ſaw great ruins of walls built with unburnt brick, from the river up the ſide of the hills; they told me they were made by the Kings of Egypt, when the Turks invaded this country, though I ſhould rather have thought they had been built by the Arabs, when they might have had wars with one another. A little further is a convent cut out of the rock; the church of it is ſerved by a prieſt that comes from Manfalouth. We paſſed by that town, which I ſuppoſe to be Lycopolis, the chief city of a province of that name, in which they paid an extraordinary devotion to the wolf. Some authors mention a fabulous foundation for it, becauſe when the Ethiopians invaded Egypt, they ſay they were driven back to Elphantine, on the borders of Ethiopia by wolves: Other reaſons alſo are given for this extravagant worſhip ‡.

Manfalouth is a mile from the river, and above a mile round; it is tolerably well built; a caſhif reſides here who governs this province: it is alſo a biſhop's ſee, and

* Ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ φυλακὴ, τελώνιόν τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καταφερομένων· ἐνθεῦθεν ἀρχὴ τῶν ἑξηκονταχοινίων χοίνων. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 813. Here it is to be obſerved that the Greek meaſure by ſchœni conſiſted of ſixty ſtadia each, from this place up to Siene, and from Memphis to this place, they were ſchœni of one hundred and twenty ſtadia, as lower they were only of thirty ſtadia. See Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804.

† Εἶτα ἡ Θηβαϊκὴ φυλακή. Strabo, xvii. p. 813. ‡ Diodorus, i. p. 79.

there are about two hundred Chriſtians in the place; but their church is at ſome diſtance at Narach, where the common people have a notion the holy family ſtaid till the death of Herod. The Nile here is ſo deep, and there are ſo few ſhallows, that we ſailed all night, and on the fifteenth we paſſed by Sciout, about two miles from the river, which I went to in my return; it is finely ſituated on a height that may have been made by art, divided into three parts, being higheſt at each end; it is in the middle of a very fine country. There is a large lake by the town, which is filled from the Nile by a canal, over which there is a bridge of three high Gothic arches. There are alſo ſeveral pleaſant gardens without the town, which ſtretches about two miles from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, and is well built; and it may be reckoned among the beſt cities in Egypt: a caſhif reſides here, who governs this province of Sciout; there are about five hundred Chriſtians in the town, and a biſhop; but their church is a league off, the hills to the eaſt being about that diſtance, and are cut into a great number of grottos. This I ſuppoſe to have been Antæopolis, capital of the province of that name, ſo called from Antæus, who was overcome by Hercules *; and Diodorus ſays that Oſiris committed to his care the countries of Ethiopia and Lybia. This place anſwers alſo to the account of Ptolemy †, who places it at ſome diſtance from the river.

We ſaw Aboutig near a mile to the weſt of the river; it is a pretty large town, and a biſhop's ſee; I ſuppoſe it to be Hypſele of the ancients. Near the town we ſaw the encampment of an Arabian ſheik, who commands this country. Theſe governors often go round their territories, encamping near towns and villages, in many of which they have houſes. This method they take in order to collect the tributes that are paid to them, which are moſtly in cattle. Above Aboutig is the port that belongs to the city called Nackele, and almoſt oppoſite to it is the country of Seling, conſiſting of ſeveral villages. To the north-eaſt of the moſt ſouthern village, are two ſmall hills, where I imagined there might have been ſome ancient town; and from the name one would conclude it was Selinon, ſuppoſing the diſtance of ſixteen miles in the itinerary from Panopolis or Akmim, to be a miſtake for ſix and thirty. In the evening we came to Gaua-Kiebre, which may be the Paſſalon of Ptolemy, the laſt place in the province of Antæopolis, though the diſtances do not well agree. There is here a very beautiful portico of a temple of eighteen pillars, in three rows, (ſee a print in the original work); they have a particular capital, and the columns are enriched with hieroglyphics beyond any that I have ſeen in Egypt. The manner alſo in which a wall is built up againſt the pillars in the front, as for ſo many door places, is altogether ſingular. There is an imperfect Greek inſcription in the frieze, the middle ſtone of the inſcription being fallen down, and lies on the ground. It appears to have been a very magnificent building, not only from the portico, but from the vaſt ſtones that are ſeen about it; one I found to be twenty-one feet long, eight broad, and four deep, another thirty feet long, and five broad. Behind the portico, at ſome diſtance is a ſtone ſhaped like the top of an obeliſk. There is a niche on one ſide of it, which might be for a ſtatue, and hieroglyphics are cut on it. On the ſixteenth we came to the territories of the Prince of Akmim, which begin at Raigny. Near this place is the grotto of the famous ſerpent called Heredy, mentioned by travellers. On the ſeventeenth we arrived at Akmim.

* Diodorus, i. p. 18. † Μητρόπολις Ἀνταίου μισόγειος. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. II. — *Of Akmim, and the Places near it.*

AKMIM is about a mile to the eaſt of the river, on a little height that ſeemed to have been raiſed by art, a canal of water from the river going round moſt part of the town when the Nile is high. I ſuppoſe it to have been Panopolis, famous of old for workers in ſtone, and for the linen manfactures *, and at preſent they make coarſe cottons here. It appears plainly from Diodorus, that this is the city which is called Chemmis by Herodotus †, who mentions that Pan accompanying Oſiris, on that account was deified, and particularly worſhipped in this city. Herodotus ſays Chemmis was near Neapolis, as it was the next city to it of any conſequence on the eaſt ſide, and ſpeaks of a temple and games inſtituted to Perſeus here, whoſe anceſtors they pretend went from this city into Greece. It is now the place of reſidence of the Prince of Akmim, who has the title of emir or prince, and is as a ſheik of the country. The family came two or three generations paſt from Barbary, and managed ſo as to become governors of a large territory, by renting the land of the Grand Signior, according to cuſtom. It is like the other Arab towns, except that the ſtreets are wider; the quoins of their houſes are built of burnt brick, but all the reſt of bricks that are only dried in the ſun. I went to the convent of the Franciſcan miſſionaries, being recommended to them by their prefect. I dined and ſupped with them in their hall, and the firſt day many of the Catholic Coptis came to ſee me, there being about two thouſand Chriſtians in and about the town, two hundred of which they told me were converts to the church of Rome. They have a large room in the convent, where as many of their people as pleaſe may come every night, and one of the fathers is obliged to attend to diſcourſe with them, and to anſwer any queſtions they aſk.

I went with my friend Malim Soliman to wait on the prince, with a letter from Oſman Bey, and a preſent of ſeveral vaſes of glaſs; he was dreſſed in the Turkiſh habit, not after the Arab faſhion, and received me with great civility. This prince is much beloved by his ſubjects, eſpecially the Chriſtians, who are on a very good footing in this place, as they were likewiſe in the time of his father, which is thought to be owing to the mother of this prince, who had been a Chriſtian ſlave, and it is conjectured that in her heart ſhe always retained her religion, for as long as ſhe lived, ſhe ſent a preſent to the convent every week; and this prince was thought to be much inclined that way, having, as they ſay, ſhewn ſome marks of devotion when he was come to ſee their chapel. The miſſionaries came here at firſt under the character of phyſicians, and were received by the father, as well as by this prince, into their palaces: the latter ſome years ago was accuſed to the government above, as if he was become a Chriſtian; five hundred ſoldiers were ſent to bring him to Cairo, but eſcaping to the mountains, he took with him the three miſſionaries that were there; and having friends at Cairo, after ſome time the ſoldiers were recalled, and he returned to his capital. This prince died ſuddenly about a year after, greatly lamented by his people. I went to ſee the ſmall remains of antiquity that are about the town, and found to the north ſome ruins

* Πανῶν πόλις, λινυφῶν, καὶ λιθουργῶν καλοικία τ κλαιά. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 813.

† Τούτῳ γὰρ τῶς ἐγχωρίους δ μόνον ἀγάλμ ῖλα πεποιηκέναι κατὰ πᾶν ἱερὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα, καλεμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων Χέμμιν ἢ Χεμμώ, μεθερμηνευομένην δὲ Πανὸς πόλιν. Diodorus, i. p. 16.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ Χέμμις πόλις μεγάλη νομῷ τῷ Θηβαϊκῷ ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Ακτάης ἱρὸν τετράγωνον. Herodotus, ii. c. 91.

Herodotus ſays that this city was the Nomos of Thebes, which probably in his time extended ſo far, and the provinces of Coptos and Panopolis might be afterwards taken out of it.

of an ancient temple, of which there is little to be ſeen, except four very large ſtones that lie near a hollow ground, out of which it is probable they dug the other ſtones of the temple. One of them, more remarkable than the reſt, is about eighteen feet long out of the ground, one end of it being under a modern building; it is eight feet wide, and three deep, and has a Greek inſcription on it, in which the name of Tiberius Claudius and Nerva Traianus is mentioned, and ſome remains, as I take it, of the name of the city. On another ſide of the ſtone is a very extraordinary ſculpture which has been painted, and from which I concluded that it was a temple dedicated to the ſun. Within ſome ornaments, there are four circles; in the inner circle is a figure probably repreſenting the ſun, the ſpaces between the two next are divided into twelve parts; in the firſt, twelve birds are cut in like ſeals; in the next twelve figures defaced, that I conjectured might be the ſigns of the zodiac. The outer one, not divided, has in it figures of men, if I miſtake not, in the ſame number. In each angle, between the outer circle and the ſquare ornaments that are round it, is a figure which may poſſibly repreſent the four ſeaſons. A wing extends along one ſide of it, from a ſort of globe marked out in lines, which probably had another wing extending in the ſame manner, it may be over ſuch another ſculpture. Theſe ſtones, and ſome others of a temple near, are ſo large that they cannot move them; nor do they uſe ſtones in building, but they break in pieces theſe fine morſels of antiquity, adorned with hieroglyphics, and make lime of them. About a hundred yards higher to the north-eaſt, is another great ruin, the ſtones of which are ſtill larger. The entrance of this temple ſeems to have been to the ſouth, as that of the other was probably to the north; moſt of it is a white ſtone mixed with pebbles, and adorned with hieroglyphics, one of them has ſtars cut on it, which without doubt covered part of the building. Theſe ſtones lie all in a hole ſome feet deep, which has been dug to get out the ſmall ſtones, and to break the large ones to pieces. One of theſe temples might have been dedicated to Pan, and the other to the ſun, and poſſibly there might have been a third dedicated to Perſeus. Several red granite pillars ſtand in a ſquare of the town, where there might be ſome other ancient building; and in a moſque I ſaw many pillars of granite and other marble. In the portico of another moſque, there is a piece of grey granite five feet long, and near two broad, on which there was a Greek inſcription, that has been almoſt entirely eraſed; it was in ſmall letters not an inch long, and probably ſome law or decree was cut on this ſtone.

I ſpent a day in going to ſee ſome places without the town, and went three miles eaſt to the uninhabited convent of the martyrs, on a low hill near the foot of the mountain; from thence we went into a very narrow valley, between the high ſteep mountains, and in two miles came to the convent called Dermadoud, which is one of the moſt diſmal retirements I ever ſaw; it conſiſts of nothing but grottos cut in the rock, except the ſmall church, which is of brick, that has ſeveral Copti inſcriptions on the plaiſter within. Some of the little cells in the rock have a wall with a door-place before them; one very large one ſeems to have been the refectory. From the convent there is a very narrow dangerous way cut out of the perpendicular rock, to a ſmall building half way up the mountain, which might be ſome hermit's cell. Beyond this monaſtery there is a very ſteep aſcent up the valley; and the way for half a mile before we came to the convent is ſo obſtructed with the great ſtones that have fallen down from the hills, that the way is impracticable for horſes. This might be a retreat in times of perſecution, and afterwards be frequented on account of the fine water that is here, moſt of which diſtils in drops from the rocks, there being a ſort of well they call Bir-Elaham, which is the only water I met with in Egypt, that does not certainly

come from the Nile. Near it are ſeveral grottos and little cottages, probably built by the Chriſtians, who ſometimes come and ſpend a day here, and have ſervice in the church. I obſerved the rocks of freeſtone towards the bottom, have every half foot a layer of black flint about an inch thick, which has a white coat on each ſide; and the rock in ſome places having fallen away, it appears like an artificial ceiling. Coming out of this valley, we went on to the weſt to a village called El-Gourney, over which the hills are cut into ſepulchral grottos in ſeveral ſtories about three quarters of the way up; ſome of theſe are ſingle rooms, others have two or three one within another; they have moſtly three niches in them about three feet deep, and three feet from the ground, being cut up to the ceiling, in which without doubt they depoſited their dead. I obſerved a deſcent down from ſome of them that has been filled up, and ſaw many ſwaths and bones lying about; ſeveral of the rooms were painted, but without figures, except one, in which I ſaw an ibis repreſented in the ceiling, and ſome very odd figures on the ſides, particularly a man tied to the body of a four-footed beaſt.

I went alſo to the weſt ſide of the Nile, to two ancient magnificent convents. We paſſed through Souadgy, where a Copti invited us to take coffee, and a collation of dates, treacle, and bread, and would not be refuſed; ſo laying a carpet before his door, we ſat down and accepted of his favour, and at our departure he invited us to return and take a lodging at his houſe, or to dine with him the next day. Going out of town, we ſaw a young woman unveiled, with braſs ornaments about her neck, ſitting by the way-ſide. We paſſed by ſeveral little lakes of water, made by the overflowings of the Nile, and I never ſaw ſo great a quantity of wild fowl together as there was on them. We went on, and came to the convent called Embeſhnuda, on the edge of the ſandy deſert: there are ſeveral remains of ancient pillars, and ſtones of red granite, in and about both the convents; ſo that I conjectured the city called Crocodilopolis was here, mentioned in this part by Ptolemy as diſtant from the river *; and they have a tradition that there was a large city here that extended from one monaſtery to another. This convent is built of hewn ſtone, and there are great marks of magnificence in both the churches; and without doubt it was on the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in Egypt, that theſe convents were built, as the work is executed according to the Greek architecture, though after it had begun to decline: and as I ſaw a ſculpture of an eagle with a croſs before it, and another eagle on a crown, it made me conjecture that this great convent was founded by the Empreſs Helena. The churches of both the convents are built on the ſame model, with pillars of the Corinthian order, not executed in the beſt manner; ſeveral of them have croſſes on them inſtead of the roſe in the capital. It appears that there was a building adjoining to the ſouth ſide of each of theſe churches, which ſeems to have conſiſted of two ſtories of cells for the monks, there being in the great convent two ſtories of oblong ſquare windows. The church is paved with red granite, and on many of the ſtones are ſome remains of hieroglyphics; a plan of the church of the large convent, with the ſuppoſed apartments to the ſouth of it, may be ſeen in the laſt book, with the diſcourſe of the Copti church. The gates of this convent ſeem to have been of the Doric order, and probably ſome other parts, for I ſaw in ſeveral places the frieze of that order.

Above a mile to the north is the other convent called Der-Embabſhai; there is a foſſee round the convent about half a mile in compaſs; the quoins and doors of the building are of ſtone, moſt of the reſt is of brick, the gate to the north is adorned with Corinthian pilaſters, and an entablature over, with a relief of St. George on each

* Εἶτα μεσόγαιος πόλις κροκοδείλων. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

ſide.

ſide. The architecture of this convent is rather richer than that of the other; the greater part of this church is fallen down, and they now only make uſe of the eaſt end which is encloſed. Near the weſt end of this church there is a large vaſe, ſaid to have been uſed for a font; it is near the weſt end of the church, without the preſent encloſure, which takes up only the ſite of the church, and the ſuppoſed apartments to the ſouth.

I went firſt to this convent, and as they have no place fit to carry a ſtranger into, they prepared a collation for us in the weſt end of the church; which is what they uſually do, when any one comes they would ſhew a particular honour to. We walked two miles on the ſand, to the mountains on the weſt, going by a large burial place of the Chriſtians, to which they are brought from all the neighbouring parts to be buried. We after paſſed by a ſmall hillock, on which they were ſome ſmall ruins of a building that ſeemed to have been round, and it is ſaid was a church. We ſaw the tract of wolves in the ſand, and they pretended to ſhew the trace of ſerpents, which they ſay are here fourteen or fifteen feet long. There are ſeveral holes in the ſides of the rocky mountains, which do not extend far in; I went up to ſome of them, and could ſee that they were places of ſhelter for eagles and other large birds. I obſerved towards the bottom of the mountains, the ſame regularity as on the other ſide, a layer of yellow flint about an inch thick, at the diſtance of every eight inches. We returned to the convent, and being a fine evening, we took the refreſhment that was prepared for us, ſitting on matts abroad at the door of a chapel; they ſtuck the wax lights of the church into their cakes, inſtead of candleſticks, and we went to repoſe in the chapel itſelf. The next morning we viewed the great convent, where the prieſts entertained us with coffee, and offered to kill a ſheep if we would ſtay and dine; but we went on through clouds of duſt to Akmim, for the wind being high, it raiſed the ſands to ſuch a degree that we could not ſee before us any further than in a very thick fog; and the duſt was ſo exceedingly troubleſome to the eyes, that it would have been a pleaſure to have had it ſucceeded by the moſt ſtormy weather, attended with rain. Theſe two convents have their lands of the prince at an eaſy price; but they are obliged to entertain the Arabs, and even the Bey of Girge when he paſſes by, which is a great burthen. About this place and Akmim I ſaw many of the dome trees, the leaf of which reſembles that which is called by the botaniſts the palm of Braſil, with the folding or fan leaf. On enquiry I find this tree as it grows here is not any where deſcribed, but may be ſeen engraved in the laſt book (ſee the original), with ſome other plants I collected in Egypt.

I happened to be at Akmim at Chriſtmas, and ſat up almoſt all the night of Chriſtmas eve to ſee the Copti ceremonies in the Roman church; for though they become converts to the church of Rome, they retain their own ceremonies, only making ſome few alterations in part of their prayers, where heretics are mentioned with honour; and this is the method of the Greek, Armenian, and all the other eaſtern churches. As ſoon as the ſervice was ended, which is not before day, I had a meſſage from Malim Soliman, that I muſt come to his houſe and paſs the whole day with him, he having invited me before to dine with him on Chriſtmas day. Accordingly I went to his houſe; and coffee being ſerved, we all found it neceſſary to repoſe on account of the fatigue of the night before. At noon a great dinner was ſerved in an open ſummer-houſe, of twenty-five diſhes, eight or nine in a row, ſeveral of them being repeated three or four times over; they conſiſted moſtly of rich ſoups, and a ſort of ragoos, roaſt lamb, pigeons, and fowls ſtuffed with rice, and I was the only perſon at the table that was ſerved with a plate, or had a knife and fork; his ſons-in-law, and ſome of his relations waited at table; for ſons and inferior relations in this country will at no time ſit

down before their parents, unleſs they are deſired three or four times; a great ſubordination being preſerved throughout all the eaſt, with regard to different degrees and ſtations. Firſt a very rich dram was ſerved, and at dinner wine was given round, that I had preſented him with, which was a very extraordinary thing. After we had drank coffee, we walked out of the town to his garden, where we had coffee again, and returning to his houſe, after ſupper he aſked me if I would lie there or at the convent? In this manner the day was paſſed in a Turkiſh viſit; for ſuch it really was, every thing being far beyond whatever the Arabs pretend to, and after the Turkiſh manner. I went a ſecond time to ſee the prince, who ſaid he wondered he had ſeen me but once; he deſired me to make his houſe my own, and command what I pleaſed, and promiſed to ſend a man to remove the earth from an inſcription I deſired to copy.

I agreed here for a boat and four men to go up with me to the cataract, and to bring me back to this place, paying them about the value of half a crown a day, together with a certain quantity of corn and lentils by the month, and to find them in coffee; and in ſhort as I found afterwards, they expected I ſhould let them have a ſhare of every thing I had; for it is the nature of the Arabs to deſire whatever they ſee. When we had made the agreement, the Coptis who were preſent ſaid a prayer according to their cuſtom. Malim Soliman and ſome other friends came with me to the boat, and his ſervants brought me a preſent of a large baſket of bread, ſome fine cakes, and a live ſheep: at parting the Coptis ſaid a prayer, and wiſhed a ſafe return, that we might ſay another prayer together.

CHAP. III.—*From Akmim to Menſheeh, Girge, Furſhout, Dendyra, Kena, Kept, Cous, and Thebes.*

ON the twenty-eighth of December about noon I left Akmim, to go on towards the cataracts. In ſome time we came to a ruined convent of red unburnt brick, called Der-El-Hadid; and oppoſite to Menſheeh to another, which has four prieſts in it, and is called Der-Embabſag, to which the Chriſtians of Menſheeh come to church; it is in a very ruinous condition, but about it there are pieces of entablatures and capitals, which are proofs that there had been ſome other ſort of buildings there. After we had viewed the church, the prieſt told us there was nothing more to ſee; but as ſoon as he had a piece of money put into his hands, he ſhewed us the way up ſome ſtairs, and brought us to a draw bridge that led to a ſmall chapel, to which they retire in difficult times, or when the Arabs break in upon them.

We croſſed over to Menſheeh on the weſt, a poor ill built town, about a mile in compaſs; but there are marks here of a great city to the ſouth of the town, which part is called Embabſag, as they ſay from St. Sag, a biſhop of this place; and it is at preſent a biſhop's ſee. I went round part of the foſſee of the town, which is about three quarters of a mile long to the ſouth, and half a mile broad from eaſt to weſt; probably the ancient town extended alſo as far north as the preſent. All along by the river are conſiderable ruins of a quay, built with ſeveral ſhort piers to receive the boats into docks, where they might be ſheltered from the weather; and in one part it is built in a ſemicircle, with flights of ſteps in different parts. I ſaw ſeveral pedeſtals, cornices, and pieces of granite among the ruins. This ſeems to have been Ptolemais, mentioned by Strabo as the greateſt city in the Thebaid, and had a government eſtabliſhed after the Greek manner; ſo that it is probable that the town was rebuilt under the Ptolemies, and had its name from them. Some think it might be built on the ſpot of the ancient city,

city, this being mentioned as the capital of this province Thinites; Ptolemy calls it Ptolemais of Hermius, ſo that it is probable Mercury was worſhipped here in a particular manner. Within the compaſs of the old town is a ſmall lake that is filled with water when the Nile riſes, and when the water evaporates, it leaves a cake of ſalt on the top, as in many other parts of Egypt. The Prince of Akmim having written to an officer of the town to give me ſome letters for Aſſouàn, I waited on him with a preſent of rice and ſoap, which are acceptable here, and he gave me letters to his friends at Aſſouan, and entertained me very civilly at his houſe. I went afterwards to ſee the maſter of the veſſel that brought us from Cairo, who had another family here, and he had invited me to his houſe in the evening, it being ſtill the faſt of Rameſan; he entertained me likewiſe with coffee, and a hot ſharab as they called it, made with ſugar and ginger; inſtead of which, people of better condition uſe cinnamon, and drink it like tea, it being an extraordinary entertainment. We ſat round a pan of coals, and three Mahometans ſung Arab ſongs, beating time with their hands, and playing on a tambour.

On the twenty-ninth we purſued our voyage, and ſtopped at a proper place on the eaſt to take in a ſtore of wood: an Arab came down from the mountain on horſeback after my ſervant, and approached the boat; but he came in to us and avoided being ſtripped, as probably he would have been, if the Arab had come to him. After ſome time we had to the eaſt the high rocky hills almoſt perpendicular, in which there are many curious grottos. We came to the poor little convent of Girge, on the eaſt ſide, under the rocks. To this place the Coptis of Girge come to church, not being allowed a church in the city. We went about two miles further to Girge on the weſt, which is the capital of Said or Upper Egypt; it is not above a quarter of a mile from the river, and may be near two miles in compaſs, is pretty well built, and if I miſtake not, moſtly of burnt brick. The ſangiack, or governor of Upper Egypt, who is one of the beys, reſides here, and continues in this office three or four years, according to the pleaſure of the divan at Cairo, or as he is agreeable to the people here. I went to the convent of the Franciſcan miſſionaries, who paſs for phyſicians, but privately have a church, and as they told me, about one hundred and fifty converts; but they are often in great danger, for the ſoldiers are very inſolent, all the moſt unruly janizaries being ſent to this place from Cairo; ſo that the miſſionaries have been forced to fly two or three times, and their houſe has been plundered. I went with one of the fathers to wait on the caimacam of the town, who is chief governor in the abſence of the bey. This father was detained here to viſit this great man, who was in a dropſy. I ſhewed him the letter I had from Oſman Bey to the ſangiack of Girge, made him a preſent of two boxes of French prunellas, and he gave me a letter to Aſſouan, near the cataract. I then went to the aga of the janizaries, who was ſitting according to their cuſtom, under the gateway to his houſe; he received us with much civility, having been a patient of the father, and gave me four letters to the people above, and I ſent him the ſame preſent I had carried to the caimacam. We afterwards went to a Turk, who I was told had ſome ſuperior command over the janizaries of the caſtle of Aſſouan; I gave him a letter from the Prince of Akmim, and to the preſent I made the others I added a large baſket of rice: he did not receive us very politely, but ſaid he wondered for what end the Franks went up to the cataracts, and aſked if I had a watch to ſell; which is a way they have of intimating that they want ſuch a preſent; however, as ſoon as he ſaw what I had brought for him, he ordered me a letter, that he ſaid would protect me as far as the three caſtles; that is, as far as the Grand Signior's dominions extend.

I went

I went about three miles to the weſt, to a village called El-Berbi (the temple). It is built on part of a raiſed uneven ground, which ſeems to have been the ſite of an ancient city: aſking them where the temple was, from which it had its name, they ſhewed me a hollow ground from which probably all the ſtones had been carried away to Girge. This I ſuppoſe to be the ancient Abydus, which is the more probable, as it is mentioned * as a city diſtant from the river, on the weſt ſide. It was once the ſecond city in the Thebaid, where there was a famous palace of Memnon †; but in Strabo's time it was only a village. He ſays ſome were of opinion that Iſmandus was the ſame as Memnon, and conſequently that the labyrinth was the work of Memnon. He mentions alſo a fountain here, to which there was an extraordinary deſcent by ſteps, and likewiſe a canal from the great river, which ſeems to be that which comes from Badjoura to the ſouth. He ſays alſo that there was a wood about the canal of the Egyptian Acanthos, which was ſacred to Apollo; and poſſibly the wood about Furſhout may be ſome remains of it ‡.

From this place they went to the upper or great Oaſis §, ſeven days journey, probably about a hundred and forty miles from Abydus, by a way almoſt inacceſſible by reaſon of the ſands; but the place itſelf was well watered, and abounded in vines: this doubtleſs is what is called Elouah, in ſome modern accounts of Egypt, that mention it as a place where they have plenty of water and palm-trees. There the caravans of Nubia firſt come into Egypt, after thirteen days journey; and the country is governed by a caſhif. It is ſaid the army of Cambyſes came to this place when he ſent them from Thebes, on the expedition to plunder the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was three degrees further north; in which journey, it is ſaid, the whole army was buried in the ſands. To this place the Chriſtians were often baniſhed in times of perſecution; and there is an epiſtle of St. Athanaſius directed to them here. The ſecond Oaſis was to the weſt of the Lake Mæris, by ſome called little Oaſis, about one hundred miles from the other: the lake mentioned as ſix hours weſt of the Lake Mæris muſt be too near to be that place. The third Oaſis was called alſo the little Oaſis; with regard to which ſome diſtinguiſh both the others by the title of great. This is mentioned as at a great diſtance from the others, and was near the temple of Jupiter Ammon. This laſt and the middle Oaſis muſt be meant by Pliny, who ſpeaks of two as being bounded by the provinces of Memphis, Heracleopolis, and Arſinoe.

On the thirty-firſt I ſet forward in the boat from Girge, in company with an Aleppine of the Roman Greek church, who lived in the convent of Furſhout, and I ſuppoſe was a lay brother. We paſſed by the large iſle of Domes, called ſo from that tree; a great number of which grow on it. I firſt ſaw in this voyage the large floats of earthenware; they are about thirty feet wide, and ſixty long, being a frame of palm-boughs tied together about four feet deep, on which they put a layer of large jars with the mouths uppermoſt; on theſe they make another floor, and then put on another layer of

* Εἶτα μεσόγειος ὁμοίως ἀπὸ δύσεως Ἄβυδος. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

† Ἡ Ἄβυδος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ Μεμνόνειον βασίλειον θαυμασῶς κατεσκευασμένον, ὁλόλιθον τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀσκευῇ ἥπερ τὰ γαβύρινθον ἔφαμεν. Strabo, xvii. p. 813.

‡ Abydus Memnonis regia et Oſiris templo inclyta, vii. M. cccc. paſſ. in Libyam a flumine remota. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. v. c. 9.

For what relates to Oaſis, ſee Herodotus, iii. c. 26. Strabo calls theſe places that are in the midſt of the deſerts Ἀνάσσας, or rather Ἀνάσσης.

§ Κατάσκιος γάρ ἐστι ταῖς οἰκήσεσι περιεχομέναις ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ γῇ· καλοῦσι δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας οἰκήσεις Ἀνάσσας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι. Strabo, ii. p. 130.

Stephanus takes notice of this difference of the names, which confirms the opinion that the reading of Strabo ought to be corrected to Ἄνασσις. Ἀνάσσις πόλις Αἰγύπτου· ταύτην δὲ καὶ Ὄασιν καλοῦσιν. Stephanus de urbibus.

jars, and ſo a third, which laſt are ſo diſpoſed as to trim the float, and leave room for the men to go between. The float lies acroſs the river, one end being lower down than the other; towards the lower end, on each ſide they have four long poles, with which they row and direct the boat, as well as forward the motion down: it is ſaid crocodiles have ſometimes taken men from theſe floats; a view of one of them is repreſented in the eighth plate. A few miles to the ſouth of Girge is Bardis, where a great ſheik reſides, who has but a ſmall territory here on the eaſt and weſt, but has a large tract of land under him up higher on the eaſt, extending from Kena near as high as Eſne, and reſides ſometimes at Cous. We ſtopped at a place about three miles from Furſhout on the 3d of January, the wind not having favoured us. We mounted on aſſes without bridles, and only a piece of coarſe cloth tied on the back for a ſaddle; but we were ſoon met by the preſident of the convent, who had brought horſes for us on notice of our arrival, and we came to Furſhout, which is a poor, ill-built, ruinous town, that may be about a mile in compaſs. The great ſheik reſides here, who is governor of almoſt all the country on the weſt, near as far as Aſſouan; though in the upper parts they make themſelves almoſt independent of him, and it is with great difficulty that he collects his rents. The country round is very pleaſant, moſt of the roads leading to the town being planted with acacia trees. The Franciſcan miſſionaries have a convent here under the name of phyſicians, and have a large ſaloon where they receive their company, which in private ſerves them for a chapel. I waited on the ſecretary of the ſheik, and preſented him with five or ſix pounds of coffee, and he ſent a preſent of a ſheep alive to the convent to entertain me with, and after introducing me to the ſheik himſelf, who was ſitting in the corner of his room by a pan of coals: he roſe both when I came and when I left him; his dreſs was after the Arab manner. I gave him three letters, and the ſervant brought in the preſent I made him of two boxes of prunellas, two of ſome other ſweetmeats, and ſeveral vaſes of glaſs. He aſked me where I intended to go? I told him to the cataract. He ſaid a boat of Franks went up lately, and that the people ſaid they came to find the way into the country, in order to return afterwards and take it. He then aſked me what I wanted to ſee? I told him the ruined cities. He ſaid we had not ſuch ruins in England; and aſked whether if they ſhould go into our country, we would permit them to ſee every thing. All theſe queſtions, though a little ſhocking, he aſked me with a good-natured ſmile, and told me he would give me letters, and a man to go with me; ſo that I might be aſſured I ſhould travel ſecurely. I went to ſee the ſheik's garden, planted in the middle with vines, the other parts being like an orchard full of the acacia, palm, oranges, lemons, and other trees. The interpreter of the Arab language I had taken with me, who was an Armenian, falling ill, I was obliged to ſend for another to Girge, where they engaged a merchant of Aleppo, who came up to ſell goods, to go with me; and on the 8th of January in the morning, the ſecretary came and had his carpet laid in the convent, and ſent to his houſe for coffee and other refreſhments, and we took collation together, and about ten I dined with the fathers; the ſecretary eating the dinner he had ordered for himſelf in another part of the convent, ſending us a part of it, not being accuſtomed to ſit at a table; and we all ſet out together and went through Badjoura to the boat. The ſecretary ſent me a preſent of a large ſheep alive, bread, and ſugar canes, and about two in the afternoon we ſet ſail, and paſſed by Hou to the weſt, a long town on a height that ſeems to be made by art, and extending a conſiderable way to the weſt; this I conjecture might be little Dioſpolis of Ptolemy: we lay all night near Reifere. On the ninth about midnight we arrived at Dendera, about half a mile from the river: there is a great quantity of wood all round it. I went out to the ſkirts of the town;

but we did not care to go much about, becauſe it was the firſt day of the great Turkiſh feaſt Biram, after the concluſion of their month of faſting. Some of our men went to the moſque in a habit of ceremony uſed in theſe parts, a gown of white cotton ſowed up before, ſo that it looked like a ſhirt; and poſſibly from this the uſe of the ſurplice might take its riſe, as a veſt of ceremony uſed when they went any where in high dreſs.

I had letters to two Mahometans here, to whom I carried ſome ſmall preſents, and they recommended me to the governor, who ſent his brother with me about a league to the ſouth to Amara, where are the ruins of the ancient Tentyra, about a mile from the river, and from the mountains to the ſouth; from which the name of the preſent town ſeems to be derived. The people of Tentyra were famous for their enmity to the crocodile, ſo as to endeavour to deſtroy that animal by all means, inſomuch that they often engaged in wars with the worſhippers of the crocodile, and particularly with the people of Ombos. Some imagined, though it is ſaid falſely, that they had a greater natural power over theſe animals than other people, having encountered them with wonderful ſucceſs at the public games at Rome. In this city they were great worſhippers of Iſis and Venus; to each of which deities they had a temple. From the many heaps of ruins that are ſeen, the city appears to have been large; they extend about a mile from eaſt to weſt, and half a mile from north to ſouth. The town has been much frequented ſince the time of its ancient ſplendour, for the buildings are almoſt filled up with aſhes and rubbiſh; they ſeem to have lived much in and about the temples, and to have built their little houſes of unburnt brick near them; particularly there are ſeveral on the top of the great temple, probably erected there for coolneſs by night during the ſummer ſeaſon; but as this temple is but two hundred feet long, and a hundred and forty-five broad, any one may judge with what reaſon it has been ſaid, that the temple is ſo large that a city was built on it. The chief remains of buildings are very near to one another. There are two gates and four temples which ſeem to have relation to one another; the ſmall temple being without the gate might not belong to the others, and is too ſmall for the temple of Venus: in it is the ſecond capital deſcribed in the plate of that architecture. This gate is like the grand kind of gate at Thebes, which may be ſeen in the drawings of the temple of Carrack: a ſort of double frieze is marked out in lines within it, in which one may ſee ſomething of the metopes and triglyphs of the Doric order, as repreſented in the plate of cornices and entablatures. The temple has over the capitals two ſquare ſtones; on the lower ſtone a figure is repreſented as on the laſt pillar in the ſecond plate of columns. This temple is ſo near the great one, that I ſhould imagine it was a building that belonged to it. Over the door of one temple a hawk is cut, with the uſual cap or ornament on his head: in one room there are two friezes, and two ſtories of hieroglyphics range round it, and a cornice on the outſide, with hawks and wings, and a frieze, under which two deities are cut. At the end of the middle room is a niche, Oſiris is cut in it in relief, with a high cap, as repreſented in the ſmall braſs ſtatues, but much defaced. Poſſibly this temple might be the habitation of a ſacred hawk. The grand temple itſelf is intire, except that ſome apartments which ſeem to have been at top are deſtroyed, and ſix or ſeven of the rooms below are intirely filled up. There are ten flights of ſtairs to the top, and near the top are the rooms from which there are ſix ſteps to the top of the temple. The particular large capital of the pillars has over it a ſquare ſtone, with a compartment of reliefs on each ſide, in the beſt taſte and workmanſhip of any I have ſeen in Egypt, and are exquiſitely fine, inſomuch that I conclude they muſt have been executed by one of the beſt Greek ſculptors. At the ends of the grand room are four ſtories of

hieroglyphics, in ſeven compartments, each having two or three figures of men in it, ſome of which are defaced. There are alſo four ſtories of hieroglyphics on the outſide; and probably there were five both within and without, before the ground was raiſed. Coloſſal figures are cut on the outſide of the ſouth end, five of them together, and two more beautiful than the others at each corner. Round the top of this building there are ſeveral ſpouts, with an ornament over them of the head and ſhoulders of the ſphynx: this, no doubt, was the temple of Iſis, as may be concluded from the capitals which are ſhaped like the head of that deity: on the ſtones that cover it are cut five of the birds Ibis. A third gate in the ſame ſtyle is far to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt of the temple. It is all over adorned with hieroglyphics, as well as the others, and poſſibly might lead to the temple of Venus, which we may ſuppoſe has been deſtroyed; and coming to it from the river, the temple of Iſis might be ſaid to be behind it *, as deſcribed by Strabo.

Having viewed all theſe fine remains of antiquity with the greateſt ſatisfaction, I returned to the town; and at parting, my friends ſent me a preſent of a lamb; and the governor's brother came to the boat for his preſent, which was a baſket of rice, ſome coffee, and ſoap. As there is plenty of wood here, this place ſupplies moſt part of Egypt with charcoal. We purſued our voyage with a favourable wind, and came up with Kena, a ſmall town on a raiſed ground about a mile from the river, which I ſuppoſe to be the ancient Cæne or Neapolis, mentioned both by Herodotus and Ptolemy †. After Tentyra, Strabo mentions Typhonia ‡, which I do not find in any other author: it is probable it had its name from ſome ceremonies performed to ſhew their deteſtation of Typhon; but whether it were here or on the weſt ſide of the river, there are no grounds to determine, only that he mentions the canal that goes to Coptos immediately after it, which is near this place; and I took notice of the canal which comes in and makes the iſle of Kena. This city at preſent is only remarkable for making the beſt black earthen-ware in Egypt, which is very light and much eſteemed: they could never be prevailed on to make the vaſes with broad bottoms, to ſtand without danger of falling; ſo that the people are obliged to have wooden frames to ſet them on. A little higher on the weſt, we paſſed by Etouerat, where thoſe large jars are made which are carried down on floats, on which we ſaw the people placing them for the voyage. We went on and came up with Kept, a village at ſome diſtance from the river: it is the ancient Coptos, ſaid to be ſo called in the Greek, becauſe Iſis was here when ſhe heard of the death of Oſiris, and for grief cut off one of the locks of her hair. This city was inhabited both by Egyptians and Arabians. The Nile below the city running to the weſt, this was the firſt convenient place for carrying on the trade by the Red Sea, the river being nearer to it here than at other places below; and the difficult navigation of the Red Sea to the north cauſed the trade for the merchandiſes of India and Arabia to take this channel. The ancients ſpeak of the Red Sea as ſix or ſeven days journey diſtant, though the people at preſent ſay it is only four days journey: the former ſeem to be nearer the truth, though Pliny ſeems to make the diſtance much too great from Coptos to Beronice, in ſaying it is two hundred fifty-eight miles. The Itinerary alſo makes it near the ſame diſtance, which by ſuppoſing a miſtake in every diſtance, I have reduced to about one hundred. As Strabo makes Beronice the neareſt port on the Red Sea, and the Itinerary gives an account of the road between theſe two places; it muſt be ſuppoſed that Ptolemy is miſtaken in his latitudes, in making Beronice

* Ὀπισθεν δὲ τῦ νεω τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, Ἰσιδός ἐστιν ἱερόν. Strabo, xvii. p. 815.

† Καινὴ πόλις. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

‡ Εἶτα Τυφώνια καλούμενα, καὶ ἡ τῆς Κοπτὸν διώρυξ· πόλιν καινὴν Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ἀράβων. Strabo, ibid.

ſo much further ſouth, and Myos ſo much more to the north. Strabo * alſo, who was in theſe parts, was informed that Coptos was near to Beronice; in which it is the more unlikely he ſhould be miſtaken, becauſe he ſays the port of Myos was then the more frequented; Beronice being a bad port, as Coſſir is at preſent, which is the port that was uſed in the middle ages, and probably is Beronice; there being another bad port north of it called old Coſſir, which from the ſituation, one may conjecture to be Myos. Pliny † mentions Juliopolis as two miles from Alexandria, probably the port on the lake where this trade was carried on, and ſays that from Juliopolis to Coptos, the voyage of three hundred and three miles was performed in twelve days, when the northerly winds blew. Ptolemy Philadelphus ‡ firſt made a good road from Coptos to Beronice, and fixed inns at proper diſtances: wells alſo were dug, and ciſterns made to preſerve the little rain water that fell; ſo that the ſtations where they ſtopped had the general name of Hydrea, or watering places. The journey before was uſually performed by night, carrying water on their camels, and directing their courſe by the ſtars. The trade continued on this way in the middle ages to Coſſir, till it was interrupted by the depredations of the Arabs: they have notwithſtanding ſometimes ſent corn this way, but very little of the eaſtern goods have lately come by this road. In the early times of Chriſtianity, this city became famous for the great reſort of Chriſtians to it in times of perſecution; and it is ſaid that they retired to the grottos of the neighbouring mountains, though I could not be informed that there were any near. This was the firſt riſe of the name of Coptis, which it is ſaid the Mahometans gave in deriſion to the Chriſtians in Egypt. This town having revolted againſt Diocleſian, probably on account of his perſecutions, he cauſed it to be utterly deſtroyed. I went with letters I had to two Mahometans from the Prince of Akmim. Going through the ruins of the old town, half a mile to the left to the village called Kalalikeman, they ſhewed me all the ruins of this great city, the ground of which is much raiſed. About the middle of the city I ſaw ſome ſquare pillars, and the remains of a fine entablature, all of red granite. At a village to the north are the remains of a ſmall temple much deſtroyed. To the eaſt of the high ground of the old city is a large baſin, as of a lake or pond, about three hundred paces long, and two hundred broad; to the north of it there is a deeper hole, in which there was foul water, but I could not perceive that it was ſalt. Both theſe were doubtleſs reſervoirs of water for the uſe of the city, which was conveyed by the canal, and poſſibly they might bring their veſſels into the large baſin. The canal runs to the ſouth of theſe, and to the ſouth and weſt of the old town: over it are the remains of two bridges; one at the ſouth-weſt corner of the town is almoſt intire, and has five piers; it is not built with arches, but large ſtones are laid from one pier to another. The piers are built in ſuch manner as if floodgates had been fixed between them to keep in the water when the Nile abated. The other bridge is at the ſouth-eaſt corner: near it I ſaw ſeveral Sarcophagus's, on the lids of which is a mezzo-relievo of a man like a mummy: there are many of them likewiſe about a riſing ground on the canal a mile further, where probably there was a church or convent; for I imagined they were Chriſtian tombs, the ancient Pagan Egyptians not depoſiting their dead ſo near their cities. The people find here a great number of medals, and ſmall ſtatues of earthen ware, though but few intire, and alſo ſome pieces of rock, cryſtal, and ſometimes precious ſtones, and particularly the root or refuſe of emerald in great abundance; it is of a pale green, and they have an emerald at Cairo which they call the emerald of Said, which is not very tranſparent,

* See Strabo, ibid. † Lib. vi. c. 23. ‡ See Strabo, ibid.

nor

nor of a bright green. Strabo ſays there were mines of emeralds and other precious ſtones here, in which the Arabs worked. Ptolemy alſo ſpeaks of the mountain of emeralds in theſe parts, and the mines of emerald are mentioned in the map of the patriarch, and they ſay the Arabs have dug for them; but as they belong to the Grand Signior, they are very well ſatisfied that they ſhould not be known, becauſe he would have the profit, and the inhabitants might be obliged to work in the mines for a very ſmall conſideration.

We went on and paſſed by Nequade to the weſt, in which town there are many Chriſtians, and it is a biſhop's ſee, the Dioceſe extending to the confines of Egypt; for above this place there are very few Chriſtians in any parts except at Eſne and the convent beyond it. I was informed that there were two or three monaſteries near this town.

We came to the port of Cous, and rid two miles through a flat country full of dome-trees, to the miſerable town built of unburnt brick, which was the ancient little Apollinopolis, called by Antonine a village; it is on an artificial height, but there are no remains except of one ſmall temple.

As I was viewing the temple, one of the ſheik's officers, dreſſed as a Turk, came and aſked me with great civility to drink coffee, but it being late I declined it. Theſe great ſheiks have often many Turks in their ſervice, who having been on the vanquiſhed ſide, have been obliged to fly from Cairo in time of public inſurrections, which frequently happen. I was told this ſheik had ſeveral of theſe people with him, and I concluded this perſon was one of them. This is the only antiquity to be ſeen at Cous. I went to the Chriſtian ſecretary of the great ſheik to be introduced by him, and made him a ſmall preſent. We ſat down on a mat in the open court, where the horſes were tied, and had very indifferent fare ſerved to us; a ſort of ill-taſted ſeed mixed with oil, onions, bread, and water; and finiſhing with coffee, he went with me to the great ſheik, who is the ſame that commonly reſides at Bardis. He is a young man of a Mulatto complexion, and a large black eye: being laid down to repoſe, he was in a ſmall room on his bed on the ſopha, having a blue ſhirt over ſome other garments, one of his officers ſitting by him. I went up on the ſopha, and delivered my letters from the Prince of Akmim, and an officer of the janizaries at Girge, and then my preſent, as uſual, was laid before him; a bag of rice, tobacco in the leaf, Joppa ſoap, and a pair of ſuch red ſhoes as they wear. I told him I deſired a letter to ſee the antiquities of Carnack and Luxerein, which he ordered to be prepared, and deſired us to go and drink coffee with his ſecretary. I went to my boat, the ſecretary ſending me a preſent of a ſheep. I left my interpreter to bring the letters, who came the next morning and ſaid he was at the river in the evening, but could not find the boat; for the men hearing ſome people at the water ſide, had put off into the middle of the river. The ſheik adviſed me by him to ſee Carnack and Luxerein now, and not in my return as I propoſed, for that he was going to encamp there, and I ſhould ſee every thing with greater ſafety. There is one little church in this town, and towards the mountains there is a mean convent called Aboukter, that has only three prieſts in it. On the twelfth we went on with a man the ſheik had ſent to go with me, and ſtopping oppoſite to Zenieh, where the ſheik of Carnack lives, the man went to the camp of the great ſheik, who ſent us two men to guard the boat by night.

R. Sands sculp.t

View of a Temple at Thebes, from Kournou

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CHAP. III.—*Of Thebes.*

I WENT on the thirteenth to the ſheik at Zenieh, with a letter I had from his ſuperior, and the ſheik of Furſhout; and making him a preſent, he was very civil, and took care to make a return by a preſent of a ſheep. I went to Carnack, which is part of the ancient Thebes, where there are the ruins of a moſt magnificent temple. I began to meaſure the firſt gate I came to on the north, and to take an account of it in my book. The man the ſheik of Furſhout had ſent with me, who had no authority here, pretended to tell me I ſhould not venture to do ſo, before I had been with the great ſheik, who had encamped near the river to the north. I ordered him to ſhew me the way to him, and they conducted me to the village of Carnack, where I found the ſheik I had been with in the morning, who ſent a man with me to ſee the ruins; and the ſecretary came whom the great man had ſent to go along with me. I aſked him if I might meaſure and write down my obſervations. He told me I might do what I pleaſed, and ſtaid with me two or three hours; and the people of the village came round me, when they obſerved I was meaſuring the temple. This firſt day I had not taken care to have any proviſions brought, and deſiring the man that was ſent with me to bring me ſome bread, he went and brought me of ſuch fare as they have, and I dined in the temple; and having ordered my boat to lie under the encampment of the ſheik, I waited on him in his tent. He aſked if we would not ſup with his ſecretary; which we excuſed, being fatigued, and went to our boat. Theſe encampments are in the regular manner of an army: in the middle was the large green tent of the ſheik, who ſat in a corner of it, with three or four of his officers ſitting by him; they go and encamp about in this manner all over their territories, to get in their tributes or rents, which are paid in kind. The ſecretary came with me to the boat, and came into it, and took ſome little refreſhments. I continued here viewing the temple as long as I pleaſed, and ordered the men to provide a dinner for me in the boat and bring it to the temple, which they did every day. The cavalcade of the ſheik paſſing by, a great number of them rid into the temple and talked to me; and one day a ſingle man on horſeback came and told me that there was a large cavern under the tempel, where often a great number of rogues lay hid, and bid me take care, ſeeming to deſign to intimidate me. The ſheik's ſon of the place came to me, and conducted me to a part of the temple inhabited by the women, and giving them notice to keep out of the way, I went in, and viewed it, with all manner of liberty. One day the caia or firſt officer of the ſheik came and dined with me, and I made him a preſent; which he returned, by making me a preſent of a lamb.

The great and famous city of Thebes was on both ſides of the river; ſome ſay it was built by Oſiris, others by Buſiris the ſecond of that name, and that it was about eighteen miles round *, others ſay it extended ten miles in length †. On the weſt ſide was the part called Memnonium, from the temple and ſtatue of Memnon there. In the time of Strabo, the city ſeems to have been chiefly on the eaſt ſide, and was called the great Dioſpolis, on account of the famous temple built there to the deity they chiefly worſhipped, which probably was the temple of Carnack. About a league ſouth of it is Luxerein, where are remains of another grand building, which was

* Τὸν μὲν οὖν περίβολον αὐτὸν ὑποστήσασθαι σταδίων ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. Diodorus, i. p. 42.

† Δείκνυται δ' ἴχνη τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῆς ἐπὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους τὸ μῆκος· ἔστι δ' ἱερὰ πλείω. Καὶ τούτων δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἠκρωτηρίασε Καμβύσης· νυνὶ δὲ κωμηδὸν συνοικεῖται· μέρος δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, ἐν ἧπερ ἡ πόλις. Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

Καὶ μετρόπολις Διὸς πόλις μεγάλη. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

probably

probably the temple or monument of Oſymanduas; and the ancient Dioſpolis ſeems to have been between theſe two temples, as the grand entrances to both are that way. The hundred gates of Thebes are mentioned by many authors, and are commonly thought to have been gates of the city; but there are no ſigns of walls round it, nor were walled towns common in Egypt. And as there are remains of ſuch fine gates about their temples, it might be thought that theſe might give occaſion, as Diodorus * obſerves, for this obſervation of the poet; but as he mentions that two hundred chariots could be ſent out of them with armed men, this may be thought not to agree ſo well with the gates of the temples, unleſs we ſuppoſe that they joined in ſome ſolemn acts of religion before they went out to war: others† however think they might be rather ſo many palaces of princes or great men of the city, who could each of them on any exigency ſend out ſo many chariots to the war; and this interpretation ſeems to be countenanced by the poet, who immediately after he has mentioned the great wealth of their houſes, ſpeaks of their hundred gates, and of the chariots and men that could be ſent out of them. Carnack is a very poor village, in which the people have moſtly built their cottages among the ruins to the ſouth of the temple. There were four remarkable temples at Thebes; and this is, without doubt, the temple mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, as of a moſt extraordinary ſize, though in no part incredible to any one, who has examined the great remains of this ſtupendous building, the ruins of which extend near half a mile in length, and he computes it to have been above a mile and a half in circumference; he ſays alſo, that the height of the temple was forty-five cubits, and that the walls of it were twenty-four feet thick, in both which reſpects it will appear, that this temple, in ſome parts of it, exceeds the account Diodorus gave, though it has been looked on as an extravagant relation ‡.

In order to underſtand the nature of this temple, and of Egyptian temples in general, I have below given Strabo's § deſcription of them. There are no leſs than eight grand entrances to the temple, to three of which there were avenues of ſphynxes of a great length, two of them having ſixty ſtatues on each ſide, according to the manner of building with the Egyptians, who commonly had before their temples what the Greeks called the Dromos, about a hundred feet wide, and three or four times as long, adorned in this manner. After this, to one of the entrances are four grand gateways, that lead to the temple; they are about thirty-five feet deep, one hundred and fifty in length,

* Ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐ πύλας ἑκατὸν ἐχκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα προπύλαια τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκαλόμπυλον ὠνομᾶσθαι, καθαπερεὶ πολύπυλον. Diodorus, i. p. 43.

† Thebæ, ut Homero dictum eſt, centum portas, five, ut alii aiunt, centum aulas habent, totidem olim principum domos: ſolitaſque ſingulas, ubi negotium exegerat, dena armatorum millia effundere. *Pomponius Mela*, l. xi. c. 9.

‡ Τετλάρων γὰρ ἱερῶν καλλασκευασθέντων τὸ, τε κάλλει καὶ τὸ μέγεθει θαυμαστῶν, ἓν εἶναι τὸ παλαιόταλον τρισκαίδεκα μὲν σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, πέντε δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος, εἴκοσι δὲ καὶ τετλάρων πουδῶν τὸ πλάτος τῶν τάιχων. Diodorus, i. p. 43.

§ Strabo gives this deſcription of the Egyptian temples.

Their temples are built in this manner:

At the firſt entrance is a court or avenue, paved with ſtone, about one hundred feet wide, and three or four hundred feet long, and ſometimes more; this is called the Dromos, ὁ Δρόμος. On each ſide are ſphynxes, in two rows, about thirty feet apart. After this, is one or more large veſtibles, τὸ πρόπυλον. After that is the temple, ὁ νεώς, which conſiſts of a large court or anti-temple, ὁ πρόναος, and the innermoſt temple, ὁ σηκός, which is not very large and in which there is no ſculpture, or at leaſt, if there is, it is of ſome beaſt, but never of the human figure. At the further end of the anti-temple are ſort of wings, of the height of the temple, the walls being as far diſtant from one another, as the breadth of the foundation of the walls of the temple; and are ſo built, as to incline towards one another for about ſeventy-five or ninety feet in height; on theſe walls very large figures are cut, much like the Hetruſcan and Greek works. Strabo, xvii. p. 805.

and

and muſt, before the ground was raiſed, be from fifty to ſixty feet high; there is an entrance to them at one end, and a flight of ſtairs that leads up to the opening, over the door in the middle; for theſe buildings are open in the middle, as may be ſeen in the view of them: from this part there is another flight of ſteps, up the middle of the other ſide of the building that lands at the top: theſe buildings leſſen very much every way from the bottom to the top, like a pyramid; for which reaſon I call them the pyramidal gateways. It appears from three medals that have been found, that they put ſtatues over the door-place; in one of them I met with in Egypt, ſeems to be an eagle; in another I have ſeen two canopuſes, with the lote flower on the heads of them; and in the drawing of a fourth, a ſtatue with a pike in the left hand, and ſomething in the right. The firſt of theſe four gates is of red granite, finely poliſhed, and beautifully adorned with hieroglyphics, in four compartments in the height of it on each ſide of the gate without, and three in the inſide, in each of which are the figures of two men bigger than the life, and of exquiſite workmanſhip; further on each ſide are coloſſal figures, with hieroglyphics under them, which are in height about fifteen feet above ground, and in this latter manner the others are adorned, without ſuch compartments as are in the granite gateway. On each ſide of theſe gates there ſeem to have been coloſſal ſtatues; on the outſide of the firſt, is a red granite ſtatue on one ſide, and on the other, a ſtatue of a ſort of granite compoſed of ſmall pebbles; one alſo remains within, of white marble, the head being off; it has round the middle a belt, with a ſhort dagger ſtuck into it. Theſe ſtatues have each of them in one hand, the croſs with a handle, which is ſaid to repreſent the four elements; I took ſome meaſures from one, and found the hand to be ſixteen inches broad, and the head five feet ſix inches long; on the back of the ſtone, behind their heads, is a tortoiſe, cut in an oval, and ſome other hieroglyphics about it; on the other ſide are fragments of ſuch another ſtatue. I ſaw likewiſe on the outſide of the gate, many pieces of a rough ſort of red marble, like porphyry, and of that yellow ſpangling marble which is imitated at Venice. The next gate is very much ruined, but has only two ſtories of coloſſal figures to the ſouth, and one to the north. The third gate has hieroglyphics all round, and coloſſal figures of men; here likewiſe are remains of a ſtatue of white marble, the head of which has a ſerpent worked on its caſque; it is five feet diameter, and meaſured four feet and a half from the lower part of the neck to the top of the head. The fourth gateway is now a heap of ruins; before it are ſome pieces of a red granite ſtatue, the trunk of which I found to be ſeven feet and an half broad. To the eaſt of theſe gates is a building, and alſo a large pond, which probably was a reſervoir of the Nile water for the uſe of the temple: theſe gateways were called by the Greeks anti-gates or veſtibules, (τὰ πρόπυλα). From them walls were built, that extended not only to the other gates, to make the entire encloſure of the temple, but alſo to encloſe the particular courts between the gates and the temple. At the entrance within the encloſure of the temple, towards the obeliſks, are ruins of a coloſſal ſtatue, of red granite. And though this entrance from the ſouth was ſo grand, yet it was the way only to the ſide of the temple, the ſituation of the ground not permitting ſuch an entrance to the front, where every thing elſe is executed in the grandeſt manner; which I ſhall deſcribe in its place.

About a hundred and fifty paces to the weſt is another ſuperb entrance, with the ſame kind of avenue of ſphynxes leading to a gateway, adorned likewiſe with hieroglyphics. A hundred and eighty-three paces from this, is a grand pyramidal gateway, and adjoining to it is a large building, divided into ſeveral parts, and ſeems to have

continued on to the temple. I got admiſſion into it by the particular favour of the ſheik, though it is the habitation of the women. To the eaſt of this is another entrance, to what I call the anti-temple, which is to the weſt of the grand building; as there is likewiſe on the north ſide of that court. A fifth entrance is the temple itſelf on the north ſide, where there ſeemed to be conſiderable buildings, now almoſt entirely buried by the rubbiſh, which was probably thrown there from ſome village that formerly was near. A ſixth entrance is alſo from the north, where every thing likewiſe is buried, and is oppoſite to the firſt grand entrance mentioned to the ſouth. A ſeventh is further to the eaſt on the ſame ſide; and another oppoſite to it. It is probable there was an entrance alſo further on, for near it is a grand gate; and between that and the temple, ruins of great buildings, which I ſuppoſe led to the temple, though by reaſon of the ruinous ſtate of that part of it, I could not fix the entrance. It is probable there was another oppoſite to it, and that the twelfth entrance was at the eaſt end, at ſome diſtance from the great eaſtern building. This grand gateway appears not to have been finiſhed, and it is from this to the great pyramidal entrance in the weſt front I am going to deſcribe, that I ſuppoſe the temple muſt be near half a mile in length. The grand entrance to the weſt, which may be called, at pleaſure, either a gateway or a front to the great court before the temple, is the moſt magnificent of the kind that probably was ever built in Egypt; and it may be a mark of its antiquity that it is built in the moſt ſimple and plain manner, without any hieroglyphics or other ornaments; very much reſembling what we call the ruſtic; it is forty feet broad, the bottom part being a ſolid wall of that thickneſs. There ſeem to have been ſtairs up to the lower windows, from the north end, where at preſent it is much ruined, ſo as that one may eaſily go up; and probably there was a paſſage to the other ſide over the gateway, now a heap of ruins, from whence the ſtairs might be continued up to the top, as they are in other buildings of the like nature; for in the front there are two ſtories of eight ſmall windows; the upper ſtory is near the top, which is ſo ruined in moſt parts, that at a diſtance they appear ſomething like battlements. Within this is a large open court, having on each ſide, at the firſt entrance, a terrace eighty feet broad, and ſix feet above the ground, as it is now raiſed, to which I ſuppoſe there were ſteps up from the colonnade which is on each ſide of this anti-temple. Theſe pillars have ſquare capitals; and on each ſide of the middle walk, to the inner part of the temple, there was a very grand colonnade of pillars, above forty feet high, and eight feet diameter, with large capitals like a vaſe, only worked with ſome figures in lines: on the top of theſe capitals is a ſquare ſtone, as for a pedeſtal to place ſtatues on: at the further end of theſe pillars, are two coloſſal ſtatues of red granite, on pedeſtals four feet wide, and ſix feet long; the heads are broke off, and the ſtatues much diſfigured: the pilaſters behind the ſtatues are adorned with hieroglyphics, and ſo alſo is an oval below the navel of the ſtatue. Strabo ſays, that within the gateways, was the temple, which conſiſted of the anti-temple, and the temple properly ſo called, or the inner temple, which ſeems to be the moſt ſacred part of it: what I have deſcribed muſt be the anti-temple; what follows in the deſcription of the Egyptian temples, is ſomewhat difficult; for it is ſaid, that at the further end* of the anti-temple are a ſort of

* So the word πρόκεινται, ſeems to mean, at the further end, or advanced before it, that is, between the anti-temple and the inner temple; ſo theſe words, though very obſcure, ſeem to be underſtood: Ἐπειτ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν πρόπυλα, καλλιπινευόσας γραμμὰς μέχρι πηχῶν πενθήκοντα ἢ ἑξήκοντα. This may be in the manner of the pyramidal gates deſcribed, in which the walls incline inwards, ſo as to be much narrower at top than at bottom: poſſibly the meaning may be, that each wall was built in ſuch a manner on the outſide, with a plain, inclining the one towards the other.

wings,

wings, of the height of the temple, the walls being as far diſtant from one another, as the foundation of the walls of the temple, and ſo built, as to incline towards one another for ſeventy-five or ninety feet in height *. In this manner the walls, almoſt entirely ruined, ſeem to be built between this anti-temple and the inner temple, on each ſide of that grand entrance, and has more of the beautiful magnificence in it, than any other building I ever ſaw, the door itſelf being very high, and yet in a juſt proportion; and the walls on each ſide of the paſſage, as well as the doors, are adorned with moſt beautiful hieroglyphics, and figures of men, in ſix compartments, above nine feet high and twelve wide, every compartment having the figures of three men in it; theſe buildings in the temple being deſcribed to have been adorned with ſculptures of men, after the Greek and Hetruſcan manner. Beyond this, is the inner temple itſelf, in which there are ſixteen rows of pillars one way, and eighteen the other, the two middle rows are eleven feet diameter, the others eight, with capitals of a ſquare ſtone only on them; over the two middle rows, the temple was higher than in the other parts, having over the ſpace between the two pillars, a ſort of windows with twelve lattices of ſtone in each of them, made ſomething like the holes in the walls of cities, to ſpy out at, and to annoy the enemy with their arms; theſe ſeem to be deſigned to convey light into the temple, which is ſomething extraordinary, there being rarely any windows in the Egyptian buildings. Every part of this temple is covered, inſide and out, with hieroglyphics and other repreſentations, in a very extraordinary manner; and it is of this part of the temple that our author ſeems to ſpeak, when he ſays, that they put no ſtatues in it, nor any human figure, but ſculptures of animals; and in ſome other temples I have obſerved, that the human body has always on it the head of ſome bird or beaſt: this muſt be underſtood of the inſide of the temple; for the outſide of this building is beautified in a very grand manner, chiefly on the north ſide, where there are repreſentations of battles with horſes and chariots, one of which I obſerved was drawn by ſtags. At the other end of this inner temple there was an entrance, now in ruins, and without it, what I took to be a raiſed terrace, about thirty feet wide, the front of which has carved on it two barks with covers on them, like the Venetian gondolas; at one end of it is a ſculpture, reſembling a ray of the ſun; in the boat, men are repreſented working it along with their poles, and one ſtands towards the head of the bark, and receives the homage of the others. Here is the grand entrance deſcribed from the ſouth, and on each ſide of the entrance into the temple itſelf, at the eaſt end of it, are two obeliſks, having only one column of hieroglyphics, and are ſixty-three feet four inches high, and ſix feet ſquare. Further to the eaſt, are two other obeliſks, ſeven feet ſix inches ſquare, and ſeventy-three feet high; the obeliſk to the ſouth is fallen down; they have three columns of hieroglyphics all the way down: all theſe obeliſks, are of red granite. A little further, a wall is built on each ſide to the north and ſouth; and on the weſt ſide of it are ſeveral coloſſal buſts or half ſtatues very much defaced. Continuing on along the middle to the eaſt, we came at length to the ſmall granite room, with a room on each ſide of it, which ſeems to have been a place of more than ordinary ſanctity, and the entrance to it is adorned with a very particular ſort of ſquare columns; one of them I obſerved, was a knot of three pillars. It is poſſible this granite room was the place allotted for the beautiful noble virgin, that was annually conſecrated to the deity in a

* I meaſured the pyramidal top of the great obeliſk, which was fallen, and found it to be ten feet nine inches long, and that it was five feet nine inches ſquare, at the bottom of the pyramid.

very ſtrange manner *. All along on each ſide are ſeveral apartments much ruined, which might ſerve both for the prieſts and for the beaſts they kept for ſacrifice. And about a hundred and ſixty feet to the eaſt is another large building conſiſting of ſeveral ſmall apartments, on each ſide of a ſpacious colonnade, as if for the officers of the temple. To the north, without this encloſure, are ruins of buildings, with the grand gate, before them, which ſeem to have led to the temple. Further to the eaſt of the other building, are ſigns of a colonnade, almoſt buried in the ground; to the eaſt of this is the moſt eaſtern grand gate, mentioned as unfiniſhed, where the encloſure of this vaſt temple ends †.

The ſheik's ſon offered to go with me to a temple four miles to the eaſt of Carnack, and he came early in the morning to the boat with horſes, and laying a carpet on the bank of the river, I entertained him with coffee, and we ſet forward towards the temple; the ſon alſo of the Caia, or ſteward of the great governor went along with us. The plain to the eaſt naturally runs into a coarſe graſs, much like a ruſh, great part of it lying waſte; and where it is ſown, the ground is laid in broad low hillocks, round which there are ſmall irregular channels, the corn not being ſown at top of theſe hillocks, but only near the channels, in order, I ſuppoſe, that it may be the more eaſily watered; for men raiſe the water out of the Nile into a ſmall canal, which conveys it to all parts. I omitted to enquire how they cultivated the land, which is probably only by harrowing in the corn. About four miles eaſt of Carnack, are the remains of a temple fronting to the north weſt. It is about two hundred feet north of the temple, and is adorned with four compartments of hieroglyphics. The walls in the front of the temple between the pillars, are about ſeven feet high, covered alſo with hieroglyphics. Among thoſe on the gate, a perſon is repreſented who offers ſomething that is round, it may be ſome fruit, to a perſon ſitting in a chair; another offering beaſts. The heads, legs, and arms of the figures are defaced. At the further end, where I conjecture there was a door on each ſide, I ſaw the remains of a ſquare pillar of red granite, which might be the ruins of a door-caſe. All this temple is very much deſtroyed, except the front, which is not perfect. The grand gate is intire; and I ſaw a ſphynx near it about four feet long. It is probable the ancient Thebes extended formerly to this place. The patriarch's map has Maximianopolis, a biſhop's ſee, in this ſituation, called in Arabic, Medmut, which may be one of the villages of old Thebes, mentioned by Strabo, that might after increaſe to a ſmall town.

Returning I viewed the ruins of what I ſuppoſed to be a round temple, and appeared to have been a hundred and ſeventy-five feet diameter. I ſaw alſo ſome remains of a grand gate to the weſt of it. Having viewed theſe things, we returned, and I entertained my conductors with coffee at the boat, and made the ſheik's ſon a preſent that I thought would be agreeable to him. This young man had ſhewn me great civility,

* Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

† About the gates of the temple I took particular notice of the following hieroglyphics. On one a man offers to the deity, in each hand a vaſe like a chocolate diſh, having on each arm ſomething reſembling a folded napkin. In another, one ſeems to offer himſelf to two deities, which by ſome emblems, I conjectured to be the ſun and moon. A man offers ſomething like apples to one on a throne; four deities being on thrones above, as on another floor. A bird like a hawk, on a pillar ſomewhat reſembling the Corinthian order. A peacock on another, with the bell capital. A man ſtanding before four monkies, which are on two floors, as I think two on each floor. Three trees on a pedeſtal. It is to be obſerved, that the heads, hands, and legs of many of the figures are defaced; but thoſe cut on granite remain entire, as they could not be ſo eaſily diſfigured, by reaſon of the hardneſs of the ſtone.

imagining

imagining that I might be a phyſician, and deſired my advice in a certain caſe. The next day I ſpent in reviewing the great temple of Carnack, and taking ſeveral heights. I had thoughts of going to Luxerein, and ſo coming from that place to take leave of the great man; but his Caia, who came to me very kindly, told me it was beſt to take leave of the ſheik before I departed, ſo I waited on him. He was very civil, and told me I might ſee Luxerein without any trouble; and when I was returned, the ſecretary ſent me proviſions from the ſheik's kitchen. Part of Thebes, which was weſt of the river, is now called Gournou; but the Memnonium, which was the moſt weſtern part, I take to be now called Medinet Habou. When I went on that ſide, I ſent to the ſheik, to whom I had a letter from the great ſheik of Furſhout; he came to the boat, and conducted me to his houſe at the village of Gournou. The ſheik furniſhed me with horſes, and we ſet out to go to Biban-el-Meluke, and went about a mile to the north, in a ſort of a ſtreet, on each ſide of which the rocky ground about ten feet high has rooms cut into it, ſome of them being ſupported with pillars; and, as there is not the leaſt ſign in the plain of private buildings, I thought that theſe in the very earlieſt times might ſerve as houſes, and be the firſt invention after tents, and contrived as a better ſhelter from wind, and the cold of the nights. It is a ſort of gravelly ſtone, and the doors are cut regularly to the ſtreet. We then turned to the north-weſt, entered in between the high rocky hills, and went in a very narrow valley. We after turned towards the ſouth, and then to the north-weſt, going in all between the mountains about a mile or a mile and a half. We came to a part that is wider, being a round opening, like an amphitheatre, and aſcended by a narrow ſteep paſſage about ten feet high, which ſeems to have been broke down through the rock, the ancient paſſage being probably from the Memnonium under the hills, and it may be from the grottos I entered on the other ſide. By this paſſage we came to Biban-el-Meluke, or Bab-il-Meluke, that is, the gate or court of the Kings, being the ſepulchres of the Kings of Thebes. Diodorus Siculus * makes mention of them as the very wonderful ſepulchres of the Kings of Thebes, ſuch as never could be exceeded by any thing that was afterwards executed in this kind. He ſays forty-ſeven of them were mentioned in their hiſtories, that ſeventeen only remained to the time of Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, as the hiſtorians of that time, and particularly Hecatæus relates; and adds that moſt of them were deſtroyed in his time; though probably many of the forty-ſeven he mentions were built, and not cut into the hills like theſe that remain, as it is not eaſy to deſtroy ſuch ſort of monuments. Strabo ſays that above the Memnonium were the ſepulchres of the Kings of Thebes, in grottos cut out of the rock, being about forty in number, wonderfully executed, and worthy to be ſeen. In them he ſays were obeliſks with inſcriptions on them, ſetting forth the riches, power and empire of thoſe Kings, as far as Scythia, Bactria, India, and Jonia, their great revenues and their armies, conſiſting of a million of men. The inſcriptions on theſe obeliſks were probably hieroglyphical; and they muſt have been ſmall, it may be of the ſize of the obeliſk mentioned in a window in the caſtle of Cairo. The vale where theſe grottos are, may be about one hundred yards

* Εἶναι δέ, φασὶ, καὶ τάφους ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων θαυμαστούς, καὶ τῶν μεγαγενεστέρων τοῖς ἐς τὰ παραπλήσια φιλοτιμημένοις ὑπερβολὴν ἐκ ἀπολείποντας. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱερεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν ἔφασαν εὑρίσκειν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς τετρακοσίοις πάππους βασιλικούς· ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου διαμεῖναι, φασὶν, ἑπταικαίδεκα μόνον, ὧν τὰ πολλὰ κατέφθαρται καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνους παρεβάλομεν ἡμεῖς εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους. Diodorus, l. i. p. 43.

Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Μεμνονείου, θῆκαι βασιλέων ἐν σπηλαίοις λαξευταὶ περὶ τετταράκοντα, θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμέναι, θέας ἄξιαι. Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

It is very probable that what Strabo calls τὰ σπήλαια, are the ſame as Pauſanias calls αἱ σύριγγες, which ſignifies not only pipes or tubes, but any paſſages or grottos under ground; and near theſe, our author ſays, the famous coloſſal ſtatue ſtood.

wide,

wide. There are ſigns of about eighteen of them. However, it is to be remarked that Diodorus ſays ſeventeen of them only remained till the time of the Ptolemies; and I found the entrances to about that number, moſt of which he ſays were deſtroyed in his time, and now there are only nine that can be entered into. The hills on each ſide are high ſteep rocks, and the whole place is covered with rough ſtones that ſeem to have rolled from them; the grottos are cut into the rock in a moſt beautiful manner in long rooms or galleries under the mountains, which are of a cloſe white freeſtone that cuts like chalk, and is as ſmooth as the fineſt ſtucco work. The galleries are moſtly about ten feet wide and high; four or five of theſe galleries, one within another, from thirty to fifty feet long, and from ten to fifteen feet high, generally lead to a ſpacious room, in which is ſeen the tomb of the King, with his figure cut in relief on the lid, as I ſaw it on one. In the furthermoſt room of another, the picture of the King is painted on the ſtone at full length; both the ſides and ceilings of the rooms are cut with hieroglyphics of birds and beaſts, and ſome of them painted, being as freſh as if they were but juſt finiſhed, though they muſt be above two thouſand years old. One ſepulchre particularly is moſt beautifully adorned with hieroglyphics cut into the ſtone and painted. The entrance, which is a deſcent, is cut through the rock, being open at top for thirteen feet; then for eight feet more to the door, the ceiling is an inclined plain, as the deſcent under it; over the door the beetle is cut in a circle, and a man ſitting on each ſide; the galleries within have hieroglyphics cut on each ſide; firſt in a ſort of a compartment next to the ceiling in manner of a frieze; lower, figures are cut out repreſenting mummies; below theſe, for ſeven feet from the ground, are hieroglyphics all down the ſides, divided by lines into different columns; in the middle of the ceiling there are figures of men for about three feet in breadth, with ſtars on each ſide. Among the hieroglyphics I obſerved many goats heads. The tomb of a King is of one ſtone of red granite, ſeven feet nine inches high, eleven feet eight inches long, and above ſix feet broad, the cover being made to ſhut into it; on it is cut the figure of the King in mezzo-relievo, and a hieroglyphical inſcription is placed over the tomb, which probably is ſome account of the monarch. This room is adorned with hieroglyphics in different columns, with figures of men, hawks, and bulls. In the laſt room are two inſcriptions, made probably by ſome perſons who came to ſee the place *.

In the ſeveral ſepulchres, the parts that are ſhaded are niches, commonly about four feet above the ground; the large ones might be to depoſit bodies in, and the ſmaller for little ſtatues. The grotto towards the middle part is a deſcent, and the ſeveral ſtories of hieroglyphics are cut parallel with the ground; the ceiling of the room where the tomb was is cut archwiſe; round the pedeſtal of the tomb which ſeems to have been there, the room is cut down three feet ſix inches lower than in the other parts, in a rough manner; the tomb is taken away, but the red granite top remains eleven feet long, and ſix feet and a half broad. In the furthermoſt room is a figure, I think in relief, with the arms acroſs on the breaſt; over it is a globe, and a man kneels on each ſide of the apartment. In the great room there is a ſtatue of a man with a ſceptre in his hand, and on the ceiling is a large figure of a man painted at top, with a particular ſort of ſceptre alſo in his hand, and wings hanging down lower than the feet, and covering the whole body, being a very extraordinary figure, and the painting exceeding freſh. At the entrance on each ſide are four men cut into the ſtone above the natural ſize, having heads of hawks and other animals;

* This is the other inſcription; Januarius PP VI. DIEI miravi locum filium Eliani Varina valete omnes.

OR

on the inſide a tortoiſe, and a man with a goat's head are cut within a circle on each of the pilaſters. Some of them ſeem never to have been finiſhed; and two or three have ſo much rough ſtone in them, like the chipping of the rock, that thoſe who enter, cannot walk upright in them. Having viewed theſe extraordinary ſepulchres of the Kings of Thebes with the utmoſt pleaſure, by the help of the wax-lights we brought, and being much fatigued, we thought to ſit down and take ſome refreſhments we had brought, in this retired place; but unfortunately we had forgot to bring water: the ſheik alſo was in haſte to go, being afraid, as I imagined, leſt the people ſhould have opportunity to gather together if we ſtaid out long. From Gournou to this place there is a very difficult foot-way over the mountains, by which the people might have paid us an unwelcome viſit, though we were under the protection of the ſheik, who might likewiſe be well pleaſed to protract the time, that he might prolong our ſtay, in order to have more of our money for his horſes and people, and alſo in expectation of a greater preſent. Returning from this place, I obſerved in the plain to the north, many entrances into the rocks, which probably were of the nature of the grottos I obſerved on each ſide of the way as I came.

The ſheik was ſo civil and humane as to ſtay and eat with me, which is what they rarely do. The next day I went into two very extenſive apartments cut in the rock, on the ſouth ſide of thoſe hills we went to the day before, being in between the foot of the hills. To one of them is a deſcent of ten ſteps to an area cut in the rock, which leads to a room in which are ſquare pillars cut out of the rock: beyond that there is a long room with pillars on each ſide in like manner; all the apartments are adorned with hieroglyphics; but the ſtone is ſcaled in ſuch a manner, and is ſo black in ſome of the firſt apartments, that there is great reaſon to think the place has been damaged by fire. Beyond theſe rooms, the apartments extend to the right, there being ſeveral ſteps down; one part leads to a gallery cut round the rock, which has ſome apartments on one ſide; and in this, as well as in the apartments of the other grotto are holes cut perpendicularly down to other apartments below, where I ſaw doors and openings, and where probably there are as many apartments as above. One would almoſt imagine that theſe places were habitations for the living, and poſſibly might be cut under the palaces of the Kings of Thebes, if they were not the very palaces themſelves, to retire to when they pleaſed, from their tents or other places more expoſed to the wind or heat. The other grotto is cut under a ſmall hill, which is near the appearance of a grand entrance in under the mountains. The way to that entrance is by a valley, which ſeems to have been divided into four parts by walls or mounds, of which there are ſtill remains. That which is moſt to the eaſt is deep, and looks like a quarry of black flint ſtone, being much deeper than the others. I thought it might have been a reſervoir of the Nile water, and for that reaſon formerly paved with ſtones, in order to make it hold the water. The other three parts go towards ſome remains of buildings. To the weſt is a room, over which there is a well-turned arch, with a half round at the ſpring of it; the door at the north end has likewiſe a half round on each ſide of it, and is of granite. It appears to have been uſed as a Chriſtian church, and the hieroglyphics have been covered over with plaiſter, which are in ſmall columns, exquiſitely well cut; Chriſt with a glory is painted on the plaiſter. As this was a church, it is probable the arch over this building is a Chriſtian work. In a ſmall room to the ſouth are many bones, which ſeemed to have been burnt; and if there had not been linen with them, I ſhould not have thought they had been embalmed, but burnt by accident. The rock at the mountain has been made perpendicular by art;

art; the people ſaid there was an entrance there under the hill, and it is probable it was a paſſage to which there was a deſcent, and that all has been filled up. I took a particular view of the large temple, a little way to the ſouth-eaſt, for ſuch it ſeems to have been. At all the ſquare pillars are ſtatues, with the heads broke off, which ſeem to have had on them the long cap, that is often ſeen in the hieroglyphics; for there is enough remains of thoſe caps on the pillars to ſhew what they were. Theſe ſtatues have the lituus in one hand, and the flagellum or whip in the other, as commonly ſeen with the ſtatue of Oſiris. There are ruins of a pyramidal gate to the ſouth of this building, and of a very large coloſſal ſtatue; it is broke off about the middle of the trunk, the head is ſix feet broad; from the top of the head to the bottom of the neck, it meaſures eleven feet, and ſo it does from the bottom of the neck to the navel; it is twenty-one feet broad at the ſhoulders; the ear is three feet long, and one foot four inches broad, and the foot is four feet eight inches broad. In the ſecond court are remains of two ſtatues of black granite; that to the weſt, which is ſitting, meaſured from the hand to the elbow five feet, thence to the ſhoulder four feet; the head is three feet and a half long, and the ear is one foot in length. The ſtatue to the eaſt is three feet five inches long in the foot; at a diſtance from it is the head with the cap; it is three feet ſix inches long, and behind it is the ornament of the dome leaf. Norden and ſome perſons have thought that the laſt of theſe is the ſtatue of Memnon. Many other pillars of this building are deſtroyed, but from the ruins it appears to have been a very magnificent building in this way.

From the temple I went to the ſtatues which I ſhall call the coloſſal ſtatues of Memnon; they are towards Medinet-Habou. The ſheik hurried me from this place, ſaying he was near his enemy: ſo I ſet out early the next morning, and ſpent above half a day at theſe ſtatues: they are of a very particular ſort of porous hard granite, ſuch as I never ſaw before; it moſt reſembles the eagle ſtone. That to the north is thirty feet long, and ſeventeen broad, the pedeſtal of the other is thirty-three feet long, and nineteen feet wide, and they are about thirty feet apart: that to the ſouth is of one ſtone. The ſtatue to the north has been broken off at the middle, above the arms, that lie on the hams; and it has been built up with five tier of ſtones; one to the top of the clinch of the elbow, another almoſt half way up the arm, one to the armpits, the fourth to the neck, and the fifth the head and neck, of one ſtone. The other tiers have two ſtones in front, except that the middle tier has three, and there are two ſtones in the thickneſs of the ſtatue. The feet are broken a quarter off from the toes; but as I did not take a particular draught of the parts of the ſtatue that are maimed, I thought it better to give it entire from the drawing and obſervations I did make. I found the height from the bottom of the foot to the top of the knee, to be about nineteen feet; from the bottom of the foot to the ankle, two feet ſix inches; to the top of the inſtep, four feet; the foot is five feet broad, and the leg is four feet deep; the ornament behind the head ſeemed to be the dome leaf, as I have it on a ſtatue of Harpocrates. At the ſide of the legs are two reliefs, and one between the legs, of the natural height, but much defaced. Between the former and the great ſtatue are hieroglyphics. The pedeſtal of the imperfect ſtatue is cracked acroſs, at the diſtance of about ten feet from the back part; there are alſo ſome flaws and cracks in the other ſtatue, but it is of one ſtone, which I dare poſitively affirm, and in which I could not be miſtaken, having been twice at the ſtatues. I ſpent half a day there, and took down in my notes an account of every ſtone, of which the upper part of the other is built. On the pedeſtal of the imperfect ſtatue is a Greek epigram, and on the inſteps

and legs, for about eight feet high, are ſeveral inſcriptions in Greek and Latin, ſome being epigrams in honour of Memnon, others, the greater part, teſtimonies of thoſe who heard his ſound, and ſome alſo in unknown characters; all the inſcriptions are ill cut, and in bad language, both on account of the hardneſs of the ſtone, and the ignorance of the people, who probably made money by cutting theſe inſcriptions for thoſe that came to hear the ſound. I copied them with all the exactneſs I poſſibly could, though many of them were very difficult to be underſtood, for I was not entirely undiſturbed whilſt I was doing it; but after I had been at this work ſome time, the Arabs came about me, and ſaid, they would not permit me to copy every thing in that manner, and ſome of them attempted to pull me away; but I continued on copying them out, till I had finiſhed them all. The common people have the weakneſs to imagine that inſcriptions diſcover treaſures.

Going on from theſe to the north-north-weſt, at a hundred paces diſtance in a line from the broken ſtatue, are the very imperfect ruins of another ſtatue lying on the ground, and one hundred paces farther, ſuch another, two hundred paces from that, is another ſtatue, of which there are greater remains, being broken and fallen down; the back part with hieroglyphics on it lies uppermoſt, and is thirty feet ſix inches long; it is of a mixture of white and brown marble. Further on a little to the right, among the trees, is a ſtatue almoſt entire, being a yellow granite, in very ſmall grains, with ſome little flints in it; the ſtatue is twelve feet long, from the head to the fork, and the ſhoulders were four feet broad above the ground, a ſmall part being ſunk into the earth. Going on to the hills, I obſerved an area cut out of the rock, and many ſtones lying about it, with hieroglyphics on them; this ſeems to have been a part of the grand temple to which theſe ſtatutes lead, as a ſort of avenue; and I ſuppoſe there were other ſtatues, in a line from the great ones. About half a mile from this area, are the remains of Medinet-Habou, to which probably the buildings of this temple extended; and all this together, I take to be the ancient Memnonium; the ruins of the other temple on this ſide, being a mile to the eaſt, and ſeem to have no relation to theſe. The name alſo of Medinet-Habou is a confirmation that this was the Memnonium, for in the itinerary it is called Papa, a word almoſt univerſally uſed for father, ſo that Medinet-Habou ſeems to ſignify the city of the father, and, as I obſerved elſewhere, Abydus may have the ſame derivation, where there was a famous temple or palace of Memnon.

I have already remarked, that in the temple to the eaſt there are remains of two ſtatues of black granite, one has been thought by ſome to be the famous ſtatue of Memnon, which at the firſt or ſecond hour, they pretend, uttered a ſound, occaſioned, as ſome would have it, by the rays of the ſun ſtriking on it; others are of opinion, that it was the ſtatue I have already deſcribed, with the inſcriptions on it; in order to judge of which, it may be proper to conſider what the ancient authors ſay on this ſubject, and the arguments on each ſide.

Strabo* ſpeaking of Thebes, ſays, that there were in his time ſeveral villages on the ſite of it, part of them on that ſide which was in Arabia, where the city then was, part on the other ſide, where the Memnonium was. Here were two coloſſal ſtatues of one ſtone, near one another, one being entire; the upper part of the other was fallen down from the ſeat, as it was ſaid, occaſioned by an earthquake. It was thought, that once a day

* Μίρος δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, ὅπου τὸ Μεμνόνιον· ἐνταῦθα δὲ δυοῖν κολοσσῶν ὄντων μονολίθων ἀλλήλοιν πλησίον, ὁ μὲν σώζεται, τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου τὰ ἄνω μέρη τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς καθέδρας πέπτωκε σεισμῷ γενηθέντος, ὡς φασι. Πεπίστευται δ' ὅτι ἀπαξ καθ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστην, ψόφου, ὡς ἂν πληγῆς οὐ μεγάλης, ἀποδίδωται ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσους· ἐν τῷ ῥόῳ καὶ τῇ βάσει μέσης. . . . . Διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς αἰτίας, πᾶν μᾶλλον ἐπέχειαι πιστεύειν, ἢ τὸ ἐκ τῶν λίθων ὕστερον τεθραυμένων ἐκπεμπεσθαι τὸν ἦχον. Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

a ſound was heard as of a great blow, from that part which remained on the ſeat and baſe. When he was there, with Ælius Gallus and others, he heard the ſound, and whether it came from the baſe, or the ſtatue, or the people about it, he could not ſay, the cauſe not appearing, he would rather believe any thing, than that a ſound ſhould be occaſioned by any particular manner in which the ſtone is compoſed.

Pauſanias * ſays, that Cambyſes broke it, and that then the upper part, from the middle, was ſeen lying neglected on the ground; the other part, every day at ſun-riſing, uttered a ſound like the breaking of a ſtring of a harp when it was wound up †. Philoſtratus gives this account: he ſays, the place where the temple was built, was much like an ancient forum, of which ſort of forum there are remains in the moſt ancient cities, with fragments of their columns, and the foundations of their walls: moreover, they ſay, that ſtatues of Mercury are ſeen there, partly deſtroyed by time, and partly by force; but the ſtatue of Memnon, repreſenting a youth, is turned towards the ſun; it is of black ſtone, both the feet of it are ſet even together, according to the manner of making ſtatues ‡ to the time of Dædalus; the hands reſt on the thighs, as if in a poſture to get up; the manner and look of the eyes and mouth appear like a perſon ſpeaking; but this they leſs wondered at, as they were not yet acquainted with the virtue of this ſtatue; but when the rays of the ſun came on the ſtatue, which was about ſun-riſing, they related what was very wonderful, they ſay the ſtatue ſpoke as ſoon as ever the rays of the ſun came to its mouth; and Pliny, ſpeaking of Baſaltes, (which, he ſays, was of the colour and hardneſs of iron) reckons among ſtatues of this ſtone, that which was thought to be the ſtatue of Memnon at Thebes, in the temple of Serapis, which, they ſay, made a noiſe every day about ſun-riſing, when the rays of the ſun came on it §. Tzetzes calls it the column that uttered a ſound when it was day, and ſays it was of a mixed red or ſpotted ſtone. For ſome account of the hiſtory of Memnon, and of the arguments that are uſed on both ſides, in relation to this ſtatue, ſee below ‖. We went in between the hills to the north-eaſt, and came to

* Ἔστι γὰρ ἔτι καθήμενον ἄγαλμα Ηλίου, Μέμνονα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί. . . . . ὁ Καμβύσης διέκοψε, καὶ νῦν ὁπόσον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς μέσον σῶμα ἦν ἀπερρωμένον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κάθηται τε καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἀνιχνεύει ἡλίου βολὴν, καὶ τὸν ἦχον μάλιστα ἀκούσει τις κιθάρας ἢ λύρας ῥαγείσης χορδῆς. Pauſanias, i. c. 42.

† Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἵδρυται, φασὶ μὲν προσοικέναι ἀγορᾷ ἀρχαίᾳ, οἷαι τῶν ἀγορῶν ἐν πόλεσί που εἰκηθείσαις. λείπονται γοῦν παρεχόμεναι τρύφη, καὶ τειχῶν ἴχνη, καὶ θάκους καὶ φλιάς. Ερμῶν τε ἀγάλματα τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χρόνου διεφθορότα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ χρόνου· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τετραφθαι πρὸς ἀκτῖνα, μήπω γνωρίσκον· λίθος δὲ εἶναι μέλανος. Συμβεβηκέναι δὲ τῷ τόδε ἄμφω κατὰ τὴν ἀγαλματοποιίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαιδάλου, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερείδειν ὀρθὰς ἐς τὸν θάκον· καθῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὁρμῇ τοῦ ὑπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ τὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν, καὶ ὁπόσα τοῦ στόματος ὡς φθεγξαμένου ᾄδουσι· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἧττον θαυμάσαι φασίν· ἔπω γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεσθαι· προσβαλούσης δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς ἀκτῖνος, τελεῖ δὲ γίγνεσθαι περὶ ἡλίου ἐπιτολὰς, μὴ κατασχεῖν τὸ θαῦμα· φθέγξασθαι μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στόμα. Philoſtratus De vita Apollonii Tyanei, l. vi. c. 3.

‡ So ἐπὶ here ſeems to mean, and, not as ſome have interpreted it, *after the time* of Dædalus, who may be preſumed to have brought in the manner of ſetting one foot before another in ſtatuary.

§ Invenit eadem Ægyptus in Æthiopia, quem vocant baſaltem, ferrei coloris atque duritiæ. . . . .

Non abſimilis illi narratur in Thebis delubro Serapis, ut putant, Memnonis ſtatua dicatus; quem quotidiano ſolis ortu contactum radiis crepare dicunt. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* l. xxxiv. c. 7.

‖ Memnon was, by the account of all authors, the ſon of Tithonus and Aurora, which is mentioned in the eighteenth inſcription on the right leg of the ſtatue of Memnon, as may be ſeen in the plate (original edit.), in theſe words, Παῖς Ἠοῦς τρὶς καὶ Τεθώνοιο. Tithonus was ſon of Laomedon King of Troy, and brother of Priamus; ſo that he was probably born about the year 2680 of the world. As he went into Aſia, towards the eaſt, and carried his arms as far as Ethiopia, this, according to Diodorus, gave riſe to the fable of his marriage with Aurora, and that he had Memnon by her; and it is probable he might really marry ſome eaſtern princeſs, by whom he might have Memnon born, when he was in Ethiopia. Ancient authors indeed differ about the place of Memnon's birth; Pauſanias ſays that he did not come from Ethiopia, but from Suſa in Perſia. Suidas relates that he commanded the Ethiopians, but was born near

to the temple, which had been a convent. There are no hieroglyphics on the outſide, the cornices over the doors are fluted, and adorned with the winged globe; the capitals

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near Suſa, on the river Choaſpes; and yet Pauſanias ſays that the Thebans pretended he was an Egyptian; but that others affirmed he was born in Ethiopia, and extended his conqueſts as far as Suſa. Wherever he was born, he was certainly at Suſa; and Dionyſius in his Periegeſis, calls it the city of Memnon (Μεμνόνειον ἄστυ); but it is moſt probable that he was born in Ethiopia, becauſe Philoſtratus ſpeaks of him, as having a black complexion; and Virgil has the expreſſion of "nigri Memnonis arma." Philoſtratus ſays that he reigned in Ethiopia for five generations; but how many years that was, may be difficult to determine. It is probable likewiſe, that he reigned in Egypt, as ſuch great honours were paid to him, particularly at Thebes; and his palace is mentioned at Abydus. He went to the ſiege of Troy, to aſſiſt Priamus, his uncle, where he was killed by Achilles, as mentioned by ſeveral authors, and is confirmed by theſe words of the epigram, cut on the baſe of the ſtatue of Memnon; though it may be difficult to make out the entire ſenſe of them, as it may be ſeen in the plate (original edit.):

Τὸν δὲ μαχῇ ἀπόρεσσον Ἀχιλλεία.

Which words muſt refer to his being killed by Achilles, and plainly ſhew the falſhood of what is affirmed by an author quoted by Philoſtratus, that Memnon was not at Troy, but reigned in Ethiopia. And yet Philoſtratus in another place mentions, that he was killed in the Trojan war by Achilles. Dictys Cretenſis ſays, that Himera, the ſiſter of Memnon, carried his aſhes to his country Palliochen, in Phœnicia. Simonides, quoted by Strabo, affirms, that he was buried about Paltus in Syria, on the river Bada, Paltus being between Tripoli and Laodicea. Joſephus likewiſe ſpeaks of the monument of Memnon, at the Lake Cendovia, near the river Belus; and it is certain, that the river Belus does riſe out of a ſmall lake: poſſibly, the remains of Memnon might be brought ſomewhere to theſe parts; and as to the different places that are mentioned, that might be occaſioned by honorary monuments erected to him.

Some are of opinion that this is not the ſtatue of Memnon; but that it was a ſmall ſtatue in the temple, a mile to the north, and look on it as a proof that that ſtatue is of black marble; that it is in a building they think anſwers to the account of Philoſtratus; that this temple was like the ancient forum, and they ſuppoſe the ſtatues mentioned in it, to be the Mercurial ſtatues he ſpeaks of; that they would have a greater reſpect for the ſtatue of Memnon, than to cut inſcriptions on it; and moreover, that Juvenal in his time mentions it as a ſtatue, half of which was broke off, and that it is not probable that it ſhould have been built up after his time; and that the teſtimony of Tzetzes, not a very ancient writer, is of no great weight, who ſays it is of a mixed red colour; and it weakens his authority, as he calls it a pillar, inſtead of a ſtatue.

Thoſe who are of opinion that the ſtatue with the inſcriptions on it, and an epigram in the front of the pedeſtal, was the ſtatue of Memnon, ſay, that they cannot be informed of any ſtatue of baſaltes in this place, as Pliny affirms it to be, who was often miſinformed as to the facts he relates; that the outſide of theſe ſtatues is blackiſh, as may be ſeen by pieces that have been brought away; that where it is broke, it is of a ſpotted mixed red colour, as Tzetzes mentions, which may reconcile the different accounts of authors, ſome mentioning it as a black marble ſtatue, and one of a red ſtone: that the temple where the others ſtood, ſeems to have been covered, being divided into ſeveral apartments, and probably this very part was covered, there being a row of pillars behind theſe ſtatues, and the ſquare pillars have been repreſented in a drawing, as covered; ſo that theſe two ſtatues ſeem to have been under cover; that though the walls do not remain on each ſide, yet probably there were walls, as the building is divided into different apartments, ſo that if the ſtatue ſtood towards the entrance of the temple, it faced to the ſouth, and not to the riſing ſun; that the other great ſtatues ſtand facing to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, as was found by a compaſs; that if the two great coloſſal ſtatues made a part of the avenue to the temple, and were within the diſtrict of it; they think that it may account for its being ſaid that they were in the temple, as ſome very ancient temples conſiſted only of an open encloſure, theſe ſtatues ſeeming to anſwer the ſphinxes mentioned by Strabo, in the dromos of the temple; all theſe parts being called (τὸ ἱερὸν) the temple, as may be ſeen in Strabo's Deſcription of the Egyptian temples. They add, moreover, that the temple theſe ſtatues belonged to, might be built like the ancient forum, and that there is no determinate figure or circumſtance mentioned in the forum, to prove that this temple was in that form; all that is mentioned of them is, that there were ſeen fragments of pillars, and ſome traces of the walls of them. As to the mercurial ſtatues that were in the temple, if we ſuppoſe that they were the ſtatues of Mercury, it is obſerved that it is not well known what the emblems of the ſtatues of the Egyptian Mercury were. Anubis ſeems to be their Mercury; and poſſibly thoſe figures that are repreſented with ſomething in each of their hands that hangs down, and one foot before another, as in a poſture to glide ſwiftly along, and execute the commands of the deity, may

tals of the pillars are much of the ſame ſort as thoſe of Aſſouan. After I had viewed all theſe things, I returned to the river.

The people had come rudely to the boat when I was abſent, and had ſaid that they would ſee whether this ſtranger would dare come out another day, having taken great umbrage at my copying the inſcriptions; and they had dropt ſome expreſſions as if

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be the emblems of the meſſenger of Jove; but theſe ſtatues have in their hands the lituus and whip, the common emblems of Oſiris, and it may be of Iſis alſo. But if by Mercurial ſtatues are meant ſtatues of a certain form, ſuch as were commonly placed to direct the roads and to ſhew the bounds, which originally might be ſtatues of Mercury in a certain ſhape, ſuch as we call Terms, and ſeem to have their riſe from the ſtatues repreſented as bound round like mummies; theſe are very common in Egypt, and probably few temples were without them; and ſuch ſtatues there might be in the temple, to which theſe two great ſtatues led. As to the cutting inſcriptions on the ſtatue, it is ſaid, that it is probable they thought they could not do a greater honour to the ſtatue, than to cut on it the teſtimonies of ſo many perſons that heard the ſound, ſo many epigrams in honour of the ſtatue, and one particularly in the front of the pedeſtal, all which would make any one conclude, that this ſtatue was ſomething more than ordinary. Nor is it probable that they ſhould cut theſe teſtimonies on a ſtatue near a mile from that which uttered the ſound; it is more rational to think they would have cut them on the walls or pillars near that ſtatue, if not on the ſtatue itſelf: and whoever this great ſtatue repreſented, it is probable it was a perſon or deity as much to be regarded as Memnon, to whom ſuch a vaſt figure of one ſtone was erected, the largeſt, it may be, in Egypt, to whom it would be a much greater diſhonour to cut theſe inſcriptions on his ſtatue that were in honour of another, who was a King of Egypt, though we ſuppoſe he was deified.

As to what Juvenal mentions,

Dimidio magicæ reſonant ubi Memnone chordæ. *Satyr.* xv.

no more can be implied than that the ſound came from the half of the ſtatue that remained. Though the teſtimony of a poet is of no great weight, yet it muſt be obſerved, that it was the half that remained of the ſtatue that uttered the ſound; that whenever it was repaired, the ſtones laid on it were not to be conſidered as a part of the miraculous ſtatue, as they pretended it to be, but only what was left of the ancient ſtatue that made a noiſe about ſun riſe; not but that the ſtatue might be as well repaired after Juvenal's time as before it, and if it was repaired before his time, Juvenal might be ignorant of it when he writ that Satyr: and in caſe it was then repaired, and that he knew it, yet it might ſtill be ſaid, that the half of the ſtatue uttered the ſound. It may alſo have ſome weight, that there is a tradition among the people, that this is the ſtatue that made the noiſe. They have alſo the circumſtance of the time, and if they are aſked if it ſounds now, they anſwer it does; but are ſo abſurd as to ſay, they know nobody that ever heard it.

Theſe ſtatues being alſo towards Medinet-Habou, doubtleſs the ancient Papa, as has been obſerved, may be of ſome weight.

Sicard alſo mentions theſe two ſtatues, as thoſe of which Strabo has ſaid ſo much; and yet, as if he had not well conſidered that author, ſpeaks of a third ſtatue as the ſtatue of Memnon, that made a noiſe at ſun riſing.

"Trois ſtatues coloſſales, les deux premieres, dont a tant parlè Strabon, ſont remplie d'une vingtaine d'inſcriptions, ſoit Grecques ſoit Latines; la troiſiême eſt la ſtatue du Roy Memnon, que, ſelon la tradition des anciens Egyptiens, rendoit un ſon au lever du ſoleil." Vol. vii. ch. 7.

They mention alſo one argument more, which they think has not a little weight, and this is founded on the obſervation of Pauſanias; that the Thebans denied this was the ſtatue of Memnon, though the opinion of every body elſe, (as appears by theſe inſcriptions, and ſeveral hiſtorians,) ſeems to have been, that it was his ſtatue; but the Thebans ſaid it was the ſtatue of Phamenophes, an inhabitant of that country: and what is remarkable, Vanſleb gives an account which he had from Father Portais; that at Habou are two ſtatues to be ſeen a great way off, one being of a man, the latter of a woman, the former is called Sciama, the other Fama; ſo that the remains of the ancient name ſeem to be plainly retained.

Pauſanias's words are theſe, Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ Μέμνονα ἐς Θηβαίοις λέγεσι, Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων· Pauſanias, l. i. c. 42.

And Vanſleb expreſſes himſelf in the following manner: "A une lieue deça il y a une ancienne ville appellée Habu, où l'on voit auſſi pluſieurs belles curioſitées, & entre autres des momies. On y decouvre de fort loin deux ſtatues, l'une d'un homme, & l'autre d'une femme; les gens du païs appellent celle-là Sciama & celle-ci Fama: elles paroiſſent être pour le moins auſſi grandes que l'Abulhon ou le ſphinx, qui eſt vis-à-vis du Cayre." Vanſleb, p. 410.

they would aſſault the boat by night, if I ſtaid, which, without doubt, they ſaid that they might make me go away, for they ſeemed deſirous that I ſhould leave the place; as ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a notion of a power that Europeans have of finding treaſures, and conveying them away by magic art; they might alſo be envious of the ſheik, imagining that I made him great preſents. I talked, notwithſtanding, of going abroad the next day, being deſirous, if poſſible, to ſee the temple of Medinet-Habou, which the ſheik's ſon ſeemed to promiſe me; but I found theſe two governors of the neighbouring villages were not friends, and when the ſheik came to the boat, we informed him of what had paſſed; he ſaid I had ſeen every thing very well, and wrote a letter to the ſheik of Furſhout; and then he adviſed me to depart, and to go on as faſt as we could all night. This place I ſaw in my return.

When I had ſeen Carnack, I went up the river, a ſmall league to Luxerein, or Lacſor on the ſeventeenth of January, being very early in the morning. I carried a letter and a preſent to the ſheik; and the ſheik's ſon of Carnack came to me here, and very civilly provided a dinner, and ſtaid with me all day. I viewed the remains of the large and magnificent temple there, which without doubt was a part of the ancient Thebes on the eaſt ſide of the river. That grand building anſwers very well to the particular deſcription Diodorus gives of the ſepulchre of Oſymanduas, which, he ſays, was a mile and a quarter in circumference.

Firſt he ſays there was a gateway * two hundred feet long, exactly anſwering to the meaſure of the pyramidal gate; it was ſixty-two feet and a half high. From the upper part of two ſtatues above this ground, without this gateway, it appears that the ground is very much riſen; the gateway is now about fifty-four feet above the ground, and I ſhould imagine that the gate was higher than Diodorus mentions, as the ground ſeems to have riſen more than eight feet and a half; but theſe ſtatues being thirteen feet and a half above ground, if we ſuppoſe they were ſitting, they muſt be near twenty feet at leaſt under ground; unleſs they were half ſtatues, ſuch as are mentioned in the temple of Carnack. They are of grey granite marble that has large ſpots of white in it; the ſhoulders are about three feet and a half above ground; the neck and head, to the cap, meaſure five feet, and the cap as much more. Theſe are probably the ſtatues mentioned by Diodorus, but he ſeems to ſpeak of them as in another part of the temple, and deſcribes them as twenty-ſeven cubits high, each of them made of one ſtone. The ſtatue to the weſt differs little from the other, except that on the forehead there is an ornament of a ſerpent; the pilaſter behind them, cut out of the ſame piece, in one is ſquare like an obeliſk, and comes half way up the cap behind; the pilaſter of the other not being ſo thick; the ornament on the head ſeems to be the half of two dome leaves; the head itſelf may be ſuppoſed to have been deſigned to be as high as the part of the cap that ſets out, being three feet deep, and the remainder of the cap three feet more, ſo that the head being near ſeven feet long, the whole ſtatue, if ſtanding, would be about fifty feet high, and ſitting, about thirty-four feet high, computing ſeven heads to the whole body; ſo that if they were ſitting, the ground muſt have riſen above ſeventeen feet. To the north of theſe, are two obeliſks, that probably are the fineſt in the world; they are now above the ground ſixty feet high, and might be ſeventy or eighty according as the ground has riſen. They are ſeven feet and a half ſquare, and at bottom might be eight feet: the hieroglyphics are

* Ὁ Πυλών. Diodorus, i. p. 44.

† Κατὰ δὲ τὸν τελευταῖον τοῖχον ὑπάρχειν ἀνδριάντας καθημένους δύο μονολίθους, ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πηχῶν. Diodorus, i. p. 45.

cut

cut in with a flat bottom, an inch and a half deep; and the granite has perfectly retained its poliſh, which is the fineſt I ever ſaw. The hieroglyphics are in three columns down every ſide; at top, on each ſide, a perſon ſits on a throne, and one offers ſomething on his knees: Theſe figures are likewiſe below. Lower are three hawks, then three bulls, and at about the diſtance of every four is an owl. I alſo obſerved among the hieroglyphics, ſerpents, inſects, dogs, hares, monkies, birds, and heads of camels; they are exceedingly well preſerved, except that about half of the pyramid of the weſtern obeliſk is broke off, and the ſouth-weſt corner of the eaſtern one is a little battered for about ſix feet high.

In the front of the pyramidal gate there are windows over the falſe doors which are about ten feet from the top of the building; in the front of it, among other figures, is one repreſented ſitting on a throne, holding out one hand, which has a ſtaff or ſceptre in it; the figures are in poſtures of adoration. On the other ſide, one who has on the ſame ſort of cap as the other, is repreſented on a car as galloping and ſhooting, with a bow, and many chariots after him. This may relate to the wars of this King againſt the Bactrians *, which our author deſcribes as cut on the walls in another part of the building; as the other may be the homage the captives paid to him, mentioned alſo as carved on the walls †. Next he gives an account of a court ‡ four hundred feet ſquare. This may be the colonnade, though the meaſures do not anſwer. Poſſibly it might have been near four hundred feet wide, extended a hundred feet further to the water, and as much on the other ſide. Inſtead of pillars, he ſays it was adorned with beaſts cut out of one ſtone four and twenty feet high, executed after the ancient manner, and it was covered with ſtones twelve feet long, the ceiling being adorned with ſculptures of ſtars, and painted with azure. In that manner a portico might be built on each ſide, with the colonnade as repreſented in the middle. This court is almoſt all inhabited, and filled up with little cottages, ſo that I could not go into it; but from the pillars I ſaw, I concluded the colonnade was continued as it is repreſented. I ſaw the top of the cap of a ſtatue of red granite, juſt above the ground, which might be the remains of one of the ſmaller ſtatues, and there ſeem to have been coloſſal ſtatues at the pedeſtals. Beyond this colonnade he ſays there was another entrance and gateway much the ſame as the other, except that the ſculpture was ſtill finer. This ſeems to have been the pyramidal gate as I took it to be, which is much deſtroyed. At the entrance he mentions three ſtatues, each of one ſtone, the work of Memnon Sicnites, who doubtleſs was a very famous ſculptor; one of them was ſitting, and the largeſt in Egypt, the foot of it being ten feet and a half long. He makes mention of many other particulars of the ſtatues, and eſpecially the very remarkable inſcription that was on this vaſt coloſſus §. "I am the King of Kings, Oſymanduas: if any would know how great I am, and where I lie, let him exceed the works that I have done." This ſtatue, without doubt, has been broken to pieces and carried away, as there are not the leaſt ſigns of it. Beyond this gateway was another court ‖ much finer than the laſt, containing the hiſtory of the King, cut all round the walls, and there was a very large and beautiful altar in the middle of it, in the open air. This ſeems to comprehend the courts, unleſs the one might be looked on only as the entrance to the other, which

* Ἐν ᾧ γλυφὰς ὑπάρχειν παντοίας, δηλώσας τὸν πόλεμον τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Βακτρίοις ἀποστάσας. Diodorus, ibid.

† Ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τοίχῳ τὰς αἰχμαλώτους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγομένας. Diodorus, ibid.

‡ This he calls τὸ περίστυλον, *a colonnade*.

§ Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων Ὀσυμανδύας εἰμί· εἴ δέ τις ἀΐδηλος βούλεται πηλίκος εἰμὶ, καὶ ποῦ κῆμαι, νικάτω τι τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων. Diodorus, i. p. 44.

‖ Ὁ περίβολος. Diodorus, i. p. 45.

is

is not improbable. The ſuppoſed gateway is only from conjecture, there being nothing but a rude heap of ſtones; and the area ſeems to be a very proper place for the magnificent altar that is deſcribed. And poſſibly thoſe ruins I ſuppoſe in the plan to be remains of a pyramidal gateway, might be the buildings of this altar, which might be of ſuch a deſign as that of the temple of Jeruſalem, built of large ſtones. The pillars in this court are forty feet high. The work of the capitals is not in relief, but only cut out in lines. He next mentions a place like thoſe rooms, that were built on purpoſe for muſic, which may be the apartment, though his meaſures do not agree. He after ſpeaks of ſeveral apartments to walk in, and gives a particular account of the beautiful ſculpture they were adorned with, which might be ſome porticos and rooms on each ſide, that are now deſtroyed.

He then gives an account of the ſacred library, with that remarkable inſcription on it: "The repoſitory of the remedies for the ſoul *." This might conſiſt of the two rooms. In thoſe rooms are ſeveral figures; one is a deity carried in a ſort of boat by eighteen men, preceded and followed by a perſon with a particular enſign in his hand; the upper one has no perſon appearing on it, but a ſort of cover in the middle of it, and is carried only by twelve men, there being no one before it. I obſerved one figure on the walls had a tortoiſe on the head for a cap, in another part a man leading four bulls with a ſtring, which were cut as on four floors marked with a line one over another, and in ſeveral parts inſtruments of ſacrifice. I remarked alſo in a compartment, a figure ſitting, and one kneeling before it, on whoſe caſque the ſitting figure puts his left hand, having the croſs, with a handle to it, in his right. Another with a hawk's head holds his left hand over the head of the perſon that kneels, having the ſame ſort of croſs in his right hand. Behind him is a ſhort figure, which ſeemed to have wings on the ſide of his head. Below them are three perſons kneeling, with hawks heads. It is difficult to ſay whether or no this might be the King offering gold and ſilver to the deity, that he received yearly out of the mines of Egypt, which Diodorus ſays was cut on ſome part of the walls of the temple †. I obſerved a door here with a ſtrait top within; but without it was cut in an arch, ſomething like the ſhell of a niche, which might firſt give the thought for the arch in Egypt. With the library he mentions about twenty apartments, in which were the repreſentations of Jupiter, Juno, and the King, with ſeveral rooms about them, in which were cut in the moſt curious manner, all the ſacred animals of Egypt. Theſe ſeem to be thoſe ſeveral apartments on each ſide, and many more that have been deſtroyed, which probably made the building all the way of the ſame breadth. At laſt he comes to the ſepulchre itſelf. He ſpeaks of aſcending to it, and over the grand apartment there is another low room, where the body of Oſymanduas might be depoſited; in which, it ſeems, there was a plate of gold that probably often went round the room, ſo as to be three hundred ſixty-five cubits in length and a cubit thick, or rather broad; on each of which cubits was cut the riſing and ſetting of all the ſtars for every day in the year, and the effects the Egyptian aſtrologers attributed to them, according to their different diſpoſitions. This great treaſure they ſay Cambyſes and the Perſians carried away. The entablature round this room is very rich. Our author alſo obſerves that near the library were figures of all the gods of Egypt, with the King making a proper preſent to everyone of them; and theſe I take to be the figures repreſented in the front of the building of the ſuppoſed ſepulchre, where it is probable the middle figure ſitting is Oſi-

* Ψυχῆς Ἰατρεῖον. Diodorus, ibid.

† Diodorus, ibid.

ris, with five gods on each ſide*. The ſtone below, which is repreſented with a dark ſhade, is a very particular red ſtone, which I ſaw went through to the upper room, and poſſibly on it might be cut a relief of the King offering his gifts to the ſeveral deities. This was certainly a very proper repreſentation at the ſepulchre of this great King, to ſet forth, as our author obſerves, to Oſiris and the gods that were with him, that he had finiſhed a life ſpent in acts of piety towards the gods, and of juſtice to mankind. Another thing is very remarkable in the front, that a building is marked out on it, that ſhews ſomething of a very fine taſte, and that the Egyptians had a notion of a beautiful diſpoſition of lights, and of architecture in general, where it was proper to make uſe of ſuch buildings, which we may ſuppoſe was not convenient for temples, that are generally built without windows, and with maſſive walls, that have no other variety in them, than that of hieroglyphics.

Here I finiſhed my obſervations on the ancient city of Thebes, celebrated by the firſt of poets and hiſtorians that are now extant; that venerable city, the date of whoſe ruin is older than the foundation of moſt other cities; and yet ſuch vaſt and ſurpriſing remains are ſtill to be ſeen of ſuch magnificence and ſolidity, as may convince any one that beholds them, that without ſome extraordinary accidents, they muſt have laſted for ever, which ſeems to have been the intention of the founders of them.

As the city of Thebes was ſo ancient, ſciences flouriſhed in it very early, particularly aſtronomy and philoſophy; in which the prieſts † eſpecially were very well verſed, and firſt ſet themſelves to regulate the time, and meaſured it by ſolar months and years.

I muſt not omit to obſerve that ſome are of opinion that Sheba is Thebes; and ſuppoſe the Greeks, having no way of writing the former name, altered it to Thebai.

CHAP. IV.—*From Thebes to Erment, Eſne, Etfou, Ombos, and Aſſouan the old Syene near the Cataracts.*

I LEFT Luxerein in the evening, and we came to Erment on the weſt, which is the ancient city Hermonthis, in which Apollo and Jupiter were worſhipped ‡; it was the capital of a province of that name. I ſaw the ruins of it when I returned. We went to the ſheik's houſe, who conducted us to the old city, the ground of which is very much raiſed, in the midſt of a large plain; it ſeemed to have been between three and four miles round. There are remains of a ſmall temple, which ſeems to be of great antiquity; it might be the temple in which Apollo was worſhipped, becauſe of the great number of hawks that are cut in it; the frieze is adorned with them in a very particular manner, as in the drawings of the entablatures. The anti-temple is very much deſtroyed; the encloſure round it, and the temple itſelf, are very particular, but little remains except the foundations. The inner temple is intire; there are ſtairs up to the top, through the wall, on one ſide of the building, which is about

* Theſe words of Diodorus ſeem to be a very juſt deſcription of theſe figures; in which the gods are made as ſitting below Oſiris, as a ſort of aſſeſſors to him.

Καθάπερ ἐνδεικνυμένῳ πρός τε τὸν Ὄσιριν, καὶ τοὺς κάτω παρέδρους, ὅτι τὸν βίον ἐξετέλεσεν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαιοπραγῶν πρός τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ θεούς. Diodorus, ibid.

† Λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἀστρονόμοι καὶ Φιλόσοφοι μάλιστα οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἱερεῖς. Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι φασιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀρχαιολάτρας εἶναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις πρώτοις φιλοσοφίαν τε εὑρῆσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἀκριβοῦς ἀστρολογίαν. Diodorus, i. p. 46.

‡ Μετὰ δὲ Θήβας Ἑρμωνθὶς πόλις, ἐν ᾗ ὅ, τε Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται, καὶ ὁ Ζεύς· τρέφεται δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα βᾶς. Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

twenty-

twenty-five feet high; it is adorned with hieroglyphics within and without. On the outside are four ſtories of hieroglyphics of men, but only three appear within. In the ceiling of the firſt room there are five hawks with ſpread wings; in the ſecond room ſeven, and two rams face to face; the reſt of the ceiling is adorned with ſtars, and on each ſide are ſome ſmall hieroglyphics with human bodies, and the heads of a great variety of beaſts; and on each ſide of a large hawk are two perſons holding out both their hands to the bird. It is ſaid that a ſacred bull was worſhipped here; and one would imagine that this was the place where he was kept, for at one end of the inner room two bulls are cut in the ſtone, and a great number of women with children in their laps held to their breaſts. A little nearer the river, on one ſide of the temple, is a deep baſin, as of a pond: at ſome diſtance from that are the ruins of a building that was erected on a beautiful plan. I ſhould think the deſign too fine for a Chriſtian church, built on the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in the fourth century, and ſhould rather imagine that it might have had ſome alterations made in it at that time; for it appears to have been a church, from croſſes cut on ſome of the ſtones, and Coptic paintings and inſcriptions in many parts of it that are plaiſtered; but there are very little remains, except at the weſt end, where the rooms had galleries over them, which might be for the women. I obſerved ſome of the niches, which appeared to have been hewn into a rough ſhell at top, as if they had been built at firſt with a ſtrait top; the pillars ſeem to have been of one ſtone of red granite, after the Greek architecture of the Corinthian order; it is probable the ſemicircles and rooms at each end were made by the Chriſtians. This might be the temple to Jupiter, and rebuilt in the Greek taſte under the government of the Ptolemies.

On the eighteenth we went on with very little wind, and ſhot at a crocodile, as he was on his legs going into the water from a ſandy iſle, and had reaſon to think the ball ſtruck him; for, contrary to their uſual cuſtom of walking in ſlowly, he opened his mouth after the ſhot, and jumped five or ſix feet into the water. We paſſed by two little hills on the weſt, called Jebelin (the hills); on one there is a ſheik's tomb, and there ſeemed to me to be ſome ruins on the other. This I thought might be Aphroditopolis, that is the city of Venus, rather than the city of Crocodiles that Strabo firſt ſpeaks of, for a reaſon I ſhall hereafter mention. On the nineteenth we came to Eſne on the weſt, a conſiderable town for theſe parts; we went aſhore and ſtaid about an hour, and the men wanting a large ſtone for ballaſt, the people knowing we were Europeans, would not let them take it into the boat, ſaying, that the Franks, if they took away that ſtone, would, by their magic art, draw away their hidden treaſures. The Arab intereſt here is under the ſheik of Furſhout; under him there are two ſerifs or relations of Mahomet, that have the chief influence in the town; but there is a cadi, and alſo a caſhif, who, as I apprehend, is ſent under the bey of Girge. There are about a hundred Chriſtians in the town, and two prieſts, who have a large church.

I ſaw this place, and the antiquities about it, in my return. I had letters to the caſhif, who was abſent, but I had ſeen him above, ſo his people were ready to go with me. I carried letters I had to one of the ſerifs, and likewiſe a preſent, and he went with me to ſee the temple on the north ſide of the town. I carried alſo letters and a preſent to another greenhead, who ſeemed to be a very worthy man. I had not been long in my boat before he ſent me a preſent of bread, a kid, and ſome other things I wanted, and ſent to me to draw my boat near to his bark, where he ſaid I ſhould be more ſecure by night. The next day he went with me and the caſhif's people

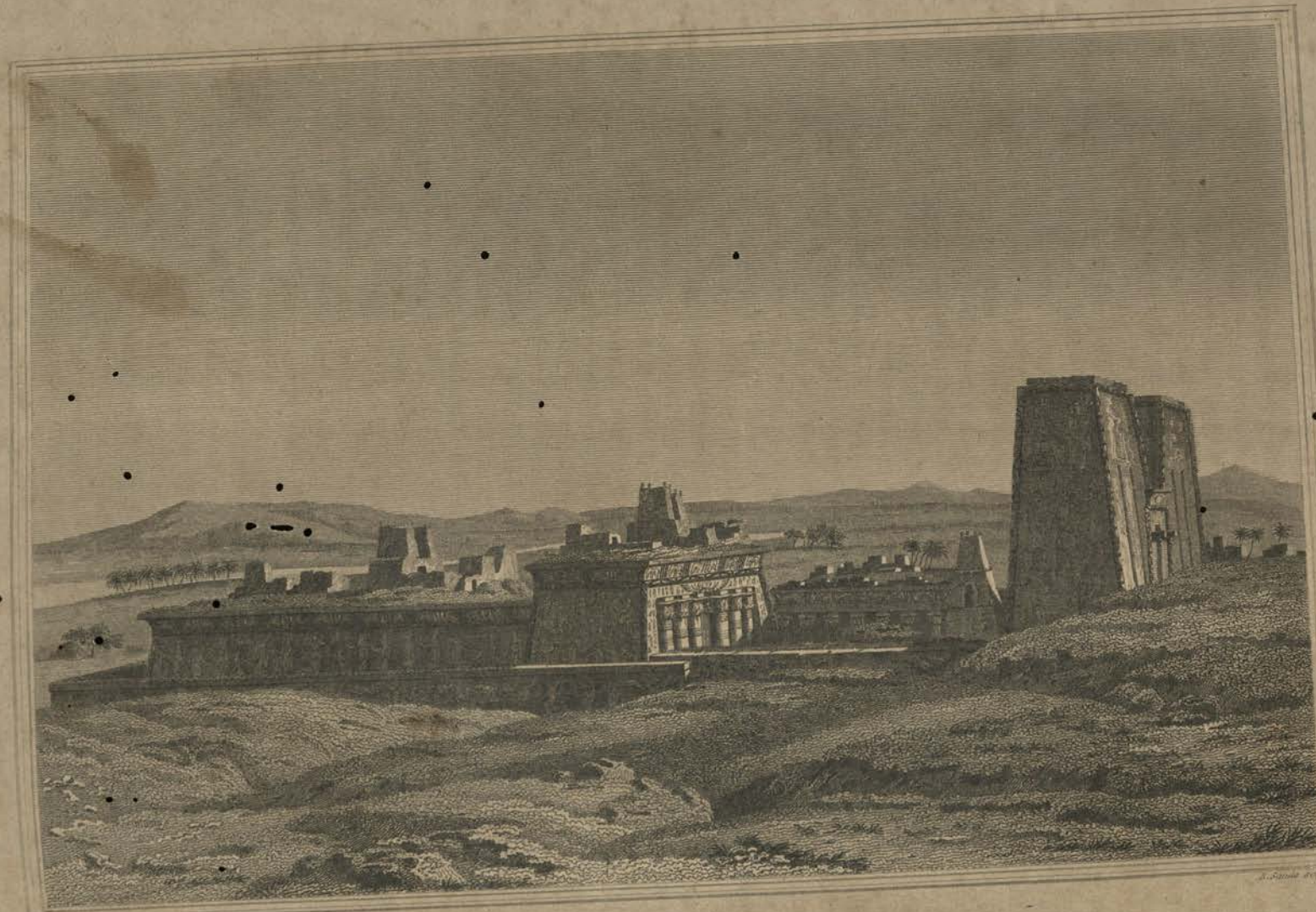
about three miles to the north-north-weſt, to an ancient temple. As I ſaw the figure of a woman ſitting, cut in ſeveral parts of the wall, I conjectured that this might be the temple of Pallas at Latopolis, where both that deity and the fiſh latus were worſhipped. The narrow paſſage on each ſide ſeems to have been for the ſame deſign as in ſome other temples, ſome way or other to impoſe on the people; and a little cell might be to keep ſome ſacred animal in: it is about three feet above the floor of the rooms, and near eight feet high. The capitals of the pillars in this temple are ſomething like the Corinthian, but with a very flat relief, ſome of them being but little higher than if marked out with lines. There are ſeveral ſorts of capitals, one of which is the fourth in the plate of capitals. Within the temple are three ſtories of hieroglyphics of men about three feet high, and at one end the loweſt figures are as big as the life; one of them I obſerved had the head of the Ibis. The ceiling is curiouſly adorned with all ſorts of animals, and painted in very beautiful colours; among them I obſerved a figure ſitting on what appeared like a boat, with a circle round him, and two inſtruments at one end. I obſerved alſo a ram with a croſs on his head, ſomewhat like the handle of a ſword, and acroſs his neck was ſomething reſembling wings. Among the animals I obſerved the beetle, and a ſort of ſcorpion; all the hieroglyphics are very well cut, but ſome of them are defaced. This temple appears to have been uſed as a church, and I ſaw ſome Coptic inſcriptions on the wall in black letters, and they told me that there had been a convent there, ſo that the temple ſeems to have been turned to that uſe. On the north ſide of the town of Eſne, there is another temple. The twenty-four pillars are almoſt all different, but ſomething approaching the Corinthian order, and ſhaped like the capital mentioned before in the other temple. This whole building is very richly carved with hieroglyphics. I ſaw one man with the goat's head, and a man with a crocodile's head is cut over the middle door that is oppoſite to the entrance. There are ſeveral others in the walls with crocodiles' heads likewiſe, and alſo ſome crocodiles, which makes me think that this was the city of Crocodiles, where that beaſt was worſhipped, as Strabo obſerves *; though he mentions the city of Crocodiles before Aphroditopolis and Latopolis, whereas if the city of Crocodiles were put laſt inſtead of firſt, it would agree with the ſituation I give theſe places. The old city ſeems to have been to the north about this temple, and at the end of the town I ſaw the remains of an ancient quay of ruſtic ſtone work, with ſtairs down to the river. A mile to the ſouth of Eſne is the monaſtery of St. Helen, by whom they ſay it was founded: it has been more commonly called the Convent of the Martyrs, and it was a place of great devotion. It appears to have been a great burial ground, the ſpot where they buried the dead not being leſs than a mile round. Many of the tombs are magnificent, being a dome on four arches, with a little cupola on the top, ſomething reſembling the holy ſepulchre, and built of brick. Some of them have a croſs, others the eagle cut on them, and a ſhort Greek inſcription †. It is a very indifferent convent, and the church is mean. There are only two monks in it, who cannot marry; but their relations, both women and children, live in the convent: this is the laſt church in Egypt. I made them a preſent of ſome incenſe, knives, and

* Ἑπεῖτα Κροκοδείλων πόλις τιμῶσα τὸ θηρίον· εἶτα Ἀφροδίτης πόλις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Λατόπολις, τιμῶσα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸν Λάτον. Strabo, xvii. p. 817. Here Crocodilopolis is put firſt, but poſſibly the order of the words may have been tranſpoſed.

† On many of them, as well as about the convent, theſe words are cut:

Εἷς Θεὸς ὁ Βοηθός.

ſciſſars;



Temple of Apollinopolis Magna at Edfou

ſciſſars; and they entertained us with what they could provide. To the north of the convent there is ſome wood, and cotton ſhrubs of the perennial kind; on the eaſt ſide alſo I ſaw the ſenna. I obſerved here at a diſtance from the river, that they dig large holes in the ground about fifteen feet deep to make bricks; and the water of the Nile comes into them, and they raiſe it by buckets to water the ground.

It has been ſaid that there are quarries of porphyry and granite about ten miles north-weſt of Eſne; but ſome writers of travels do not diſtinguiſh porphyry from granite, and it is probable that the quarries they mention may be only of the latter.

About fifteen miles above Eſne, as I conjectured, I ſaw on the weſt the remains of a wall about ten feet thick, and forty feet long, eight tiers of ſtone remaining of it. Here I thought there might be ſome ancient city, and conjectured that it might be the city of Hawks *. We ſtopped at a place where ſeveral other boats ſtaid all night: hearing us talk, they aſked if we were Franks; and the boatmen told the people that we were ſoldiers from the Grand Signior, for they cannot diſtinguiſh the Turkiſh language from any other. On the twentieth we came to Etfou, which I ſaw in my return: it was the city called Great Apollinopolis. They were here declared enemies to the crocodile †. I went to the ſheik's houſe, and carried the letter I had from the ſheik of Furſhout. When he knew who it was from, he kiſſed the letter, and put it to his forehead, which is a mark of great reſpect. I made him a handſome preſent, and he behaved very humbly, and with great civility; and when the letter was read, and I deſired to ſee the ruins, he put his hand up to his head, which was a mark of his compliance, and that he took me under his protection. He went himſelf with me, and ſhewed me the temple. In the front of it are cut coloſſal figures in two ſtories, ſome ſtanding and ſome ſitting. Among thoſe that were ſtanding, I obſerved three pair ſtanding face to face: one figure near each corner is twenty feet high, and has the hawk's head. Before I had entirely finiſhed meaſuring the temple, a great many people came about me, and giving my book to my ſervant when I meaſured, a young man caught it out of his hand and ran away with it: he was the ſheik's nephew, the brothers having been competitors for the government of this village; ſo they envied him the preſents they imagined he might get, and the notions of treaſures likewiſe poſſeſſed their minds. My ſervant ran after him, and ſo did the ſheik. I continued on meaſuring, and writing on another paper, till the ſheik returned with his pike, having thrown off his outward garment when he went in ſearch of his nephew, whom they ſay he would have gone near to have killed if he had met with him. He conducted me to his houſe, and carried the matter ſo far, that I was afraid we might have ſuffered in the tumult; for they came to high words, his brother being favoured by many of the people: they ſaid it was hard theſe ſtrangers could not leave them to be quiet in their villlages. I was very deſirous to go to my boat; but it was ſaid the ſheik would take it ill if I would not ſtay and eat with him. In the mean time I was privately informed that I might have my note book, if I would give about the value of a crown, which I conſented to, and it was accordingly brought me. We ſat down to eat out of a very large wooden bowl full of their thin cakes, broke into very ſmall pieces, and a ſyrup mixed up with it. The ſheik himſelf ſat at a diſtance, and did not eat with us; he mounted his horſe, and attended me to the boat: ſome others alſo came, particularly the chief of the contrary party, for the village had been in rebellion againſt their great head at Furſhout. The ſheik made me a preſent of a

* Ἱεράκων πόλις τὸν ἱέρακα τιμῶσα. Strabo, xvii. p. 817.

† Εἶτ' Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις, καὶ αὕτη πολεμεῖσα τοῖς κροκοδείλοις. Strabo, ibid.

ſheep, came into the boat, and ordered a letter to be written to the great ſheik. We ſet ſail, and near an hour after the ſheik's ſon came riding to the river, to let us know that his father had been informed I had given money to have my book reſtored, and had obliged them to return the money, and had ſent it to me; thus I experienced in this brave Arab ſuch an extraordinary inſtance of fidelity as is rarely to be met with.

Above Eſne the country is very thinly inhabited, and the Nile broad. We approached towards Hajar-Silcily, and ſome time before I came to it, I ſaw the rock on the weſt cut out as for a grand gate, and ſouth of it ſome ruins and pillars: a little further ſouth, I ſaw five regular entrances into grottos, cut equally diſtant in the rock; above them a cornice or half round appeared to have crowned the work, for only the half round remained, it had alſo half rounds at the angles. Going on to Hajar-Silcily, or the rock of the chain, I took particular notice of this remarkable place, where the Nile is very narrow, I ſuppoſe not above a hundred yards over; the rocks come to the river on each ſide, and the current is very ſtrong. It has its name, becauſe it is ſaid a chain was drawn acroſs to defend the paſs, and they ſhewed me a rock on the eaſt ſide, where they told me the chain was fixed. The rock on the weſt ſide is cut into four ſorts of niches, or ſmall open temples for the worſhip of ſome deities, as they ſeem to have been deſigned; they are adorned with cornices, pilaſters, and hieroglyphics. Here alſo are ſome pillars cut out of the rock, which are entire, with their pedeſtals; I meaſured them exactly, to ſee if the Egyptian architecture could be brought to any rule. On the rock over theſe works is a relief cut in an oblong ſquare compartment, after the Greek taſte, conſiſting of a tree, a man on a horſe, and another before as leading the beaſt, with a pike in his hand, and an inſcription of eight ſhort lines, exceedingly defaced. There was probably a garriſon at this place, and the people who were here might from time to time cauſe theſe things to be hewn out of the rock, in the way of their religion. In our return, when I ſtaid ſome time aſhore, the boatmen cut down a tree; ſome labourers near ſpoke to them not to do it, and I likewiſe diſcouraged it; but when the labourers were gone away, they carried it into their boat: but after we had put off, we ſoon ſaw ſome horſemen appear, who probably had notice of our landing, and if they had arrived ſooner might have had the good fortune to plunder us. The village of Pthonthis, mentioned by Ptolemy, as diſtant from the river, twenty-four miles from Elephantine, and twenty from Apollinopolis, might be at ſome diſtance to the weſt, as the ſituation agrees pretty well with this account. We lay above this paſſage, where the Nile is very wide; there is a ſandy ground on each ſide, being a gentle aſcent, and ſo has been waſhed away by the waters, that muſt be much confined above this ſtreight. We afterwards paſſed by ſeveral ſandy iſlands, on which we ſaw many crocodiles: on one there were near twenty of them, which ſeemed to be from fifteen to twenty feet long; we ſhot at them, and about half of them went into the water, and firing a ſecond time they all went off; there may be more crocodiles here than in any other parts, as well becauſe the Ombites worſhipped them, and ſuffered none of them to be killed, as alſo by reaſon that the cataracts are ſo near; for when the crocodiles meet with rocks they retire, ſo that if they come from the lower parts, and can go only a little higher, it may be natural for them to ſettle about theſe iſlands, ſo convenient for their lying out of the water in the ſun, and it may not be agreeable to them to go down the ſtrong current at the ſtreight. We came to a large iſland, and oppoſite to it on the eaſt ſide to Com-Ombo, or the hill of Ombo, which is the ancient Ombos; there are great ruins about the hill, eſpecially of an ancient temple. The capitals of the pillars are

in the beſt Egyptian taſte, adorned with leaves; and there ſeems to have been at each end of the ſmall area, before the temple, ſuch a grand gate as has been deſcribed at Thebes, of which the building to the ſouth ſeemed to be ſome remains. The people of Ombos were famous for the worſhip of the crocodile, and Ælian* gives an account that they fed them in their marſhes, which I ſuppoſe were theſe low iſlands; they were perfectly tame, and obeyed when they were called. We went on to the port of Laſherrad, where the caſhif of Eſne was encamped; we would have paſſed him, but they called to us, and the boatmen dared not to proceed: they ſtopped us the rather, as by the covering of the boat they conjectured we were Europeans: I had letters to him, but did not know that he was the perſon to whom they were directed; I carried him a preſent of tobacco, coffee, and ſome other things, (of which he ſaid there was no need) and told him I was come to ſee the antiquities, and deſired him to give me leave to view Com-Ombo, to which he readily conſented; but the Arab ſheiks of Laſherrad, who were preſent, when they heard of it, immediately cried out, that I muſt not go to the hill; and then their diſcourſe ran on the Europeans coming in ſearch of treaſures. When I departed, the people of the caſhif came aboard, and demanded pipes and other things they ſaw; and it was with much difficulty, by giving them a little, that I got rid of them, and proceeded on my journey. When I returned, the boatmen told me I might go aſhore and ſee the ruins; but I was contented with making the beſt obſervations I could from the water, ſuſpecting that the people of the country knowing my boat, might have lain in ambuſh; and if they had caught me aſhore, would at leaſt have plundered us, if not detained me till they might have a large ſum for my ranſom; the people here being very little ſubject to any government. We went on and came to the iſles Alakiah and Manſunah, both of them fine fruitful ſpots; the former having a village on it; and the country on the eaſt is well cultivated: higher up, the hills to the weſt ſtretch towards the Nile in pretty high clifts, and on one of the hills over the river there is a ſquare tower, which I obſerved, leſſens as it riſes; and they ſay, it is an ancient work. We after came to a ſandy iſle; at the end of it are ſeveral ſmall rocks, which are the firſt I ſaw in the Nile: going a little further, on the twenty-firſt in the evening, we arrived at Aſſouan.

CHAP. V.—*Of Aſſouan Syene under the Tropic, Elephantine, the Quarries of Granite, the Cataracts, Phylæ, and the Borders of Ethiopia.*

ASSOUAN is a poor ſmall town, with a ſort of fortreſs, or rather barrack for janizaries under their governor. Theſe ſoldiers have in reality the command of the country. There are only two Chriſtians in this place, one the ſecretary of the Caimacam, the other a ſervant of the aga's. I waited on the aga of the janizaries with letters from Muſtapha, aga of the janizaries at Girge, and from the ſheik of Furſhout; he treated me with coffee, and made me a preſent of a lamb, and I ſent him a preſent of rice, tobacco, coffee, and ſome other things. He was ſo civil as to ſend two janizaries to guard the boat, and invited me to take a lodging in an apartment that belonged to his houſe, but ſeparate from it. The Chriſtian, ſecretary of the [illegible]imaicam, or civil governor, came to me and ſignified that I ſhould make his maſ[illegible]ſent; but the people and janizaries in and about the boat ſuſpecting him, [illegible]hat he ſaid, and ordered him to go out of the boat, there being a jealouſy [illegible]n the military

* Τοῖς Ὀμβίταις καὶ συνήθεις εἰσὶ, καὶ μεντοι καὶ ὑπακούουσι καλούντων αὐτῶν οἱ τρεφό[illegible]αῖς λίμναις ταῖς ὑπὸ αὐτῶν πεποιημέναις. Æliani Hiſt. Animal. X. c. 21. De crocodilis.

and

and civil power: this coming to the aga's ears, he ſent me word I had no need to make preſents to any body; and when I went to wait on him, he repeated the ſame, and that he would take me under his protection, ſo that no one ſhould injure me, and I removed to the lodgings he allotted me. A Turk, who was here on the part of Oſman Bey, to collect ſome taxes, had come to the boat, very kindly offered his advice on all occaſions, came and viſited me, and brought me a preſent of twelve pigeons and ſome dates: ſome other Turks came to ſee me, and one, as a token of reſpect, brought me ſo trifling a preſent as a bunch of radiſhes. The aga alſo came to ſee me.

On the height over Aſſouan are the ruins of the ancient Syene *, which is exactly under the tropic of Cancer. The preſent fortreſs, which has two or three ſlight walls round it, of no more ſtrength than a common garden fence, is to the ſouth of the preſent town, which is on a gentle riſing from the river, and extends to a height that is over the water, that I ſhould think was the north end of the ancient Syene, the principal part of which ſeems to have been on a lower hill to the ſouth, though very high from the river, and extended to a hill ſtill further ſouth, higher than the other, and ſtretching further to the weſt, being a rock of red granite, and full of ruins of unburnt brick, which we may ſuppoſe to be the remains of Aſſouan, of the middle ages.

Syene, and particularly the ancient forts there, are mentioned by Pliny as in a peninſula: whether this deſcription may agree with a hill to the north, that is to the weſt of the preſent fort, which has water on three ſides of it; or whether a foſſee might be cut through the lower ground on the north and ſouth ſides of the ſite of the ancient Syene, and ſo make it a ſort of peninſula, it is not eaſy to determine. Going further to the lower ground, between the two hills near the river to the ſouth-weſt, I ſaw two pillars of granite ſtanding, and two ſort of extraordinary triangular pillars with their baſe lying down. I conjectured that poſſibly folding doors might turn on the two half rounds of them. Nearer the river I obſerved two oblong ſquare granite pillars, all which may be the remains of ſome ancient temple. About the middle, between the river and the brow of the hill to the eaſt, I found the building which poſſibly might be the obſervatory, built over the famous well, for making aſtronomical obſervations, which is ſo particularly deſcribed by Strabo †. I imagine that the holes at top, which are much larger below than above, were in order to try the experiment in relation to the ſhadows at noon day, as mentioned by Strabo. The building fronts to the eaſt, and whether the windows on each ſide could be of any particular uſe in an obſervatory of this kind, I cannot ſay; but it is to be particularly remarked, that the windows in the inner room are not placed oppoſite to one another. Strabo ‡ gives an account that there was a garriſon here of three Roman cohorts.

From viewing the ruins of the ancient Syene, I went about a mile ſouth-eaſt to the granite quarries; all the country to the eaſt, the iſlands and bed of the Nile, being red granite, which is the Thebaic ſtone mentioned by Herodotus; the quarries are not worked in deep, but the ſtone is hewn out of the ſides of the low hills. I ſaw ſome columns ma[illegible]out in the quarries, and ſhaped on two ſides, particularly a long ſquare

* Ἡ δε Συη[illegible]εφαντίνη, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρων της Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ της Αἰγύπτου πόλις· ἡ δ' ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ προκειμένη της Συήνης νη[illegible]σταδίῳ, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πόλιν ἔχουσα ἱερὸν Κνούφιδος, καὶ Νειλομέτριον. Strabo, xvii. p. 817

† Ἐν δε τῇ Συήνῃ, [illegible]έαρ ἐστὶ τὸ διάσημαινον τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς, καὶ διότι τῷ τροπικῷ κύκλῳ ὑπόκειται οἱ τόποι οὗτοι. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 817.

‡ Ἐισὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα τρεῖς [illegible] Ῥωμαίων ἱδρυμέναι φρουρᾶς χάριν. Strabo, ibid.

one,

one, which might be deſigned for an obeliſk; they ſeem to have worked in round the ſtones with a narrow tool, and when the ſtones were almoſt ſeparated, there is reaſon to think they forced them out of their beds with large wedges, of which there are great ſigns in the quarries in all parts; in ſome places I obſerved channels marked out about three inches wide, and holes cut in thoſe channels at certain diſtances, as if for their chiſels to go in, ſo that probably they worked down with the chiſels at the bottom and on one ſide of the ſtone, and then forced the ſtone out of its bed with wedges. I could not find any other ground why ſome perſons have affirmed that there are pyramids here, but certain quarries cut out into ſteps up the ſides of the hills, which may have cauſed ignorant people to take them for the remains of pyramids, as ſome of the pyramids are built in that manner.

Oppoſite to Syene is the iſland Elephantine, in which there was a city of that name. The iſland is about a mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad to the ſouth, ending in a point at the north; there was a temple to Cnuphis in this iſland, and a Nilometer to meaſure the riſe of the Nile; on it are remains of a ſmall temple. Before the temple is a ſtatue, ſitting with the hands acroſs on the breaſt, being about eight feet high, with a lituus in each hand, which is particular. There is a wall built round part of it about a foot from the wall of the temple, there being juſt room enough for a perſon to enter, which probably was kept concealed, and might be built, as obſerved before, to carry on ſome arts to deceive the people. On the wall before the temple is a Greek inſcription, which is defaced in many parts. In the middle of the iſland there are remains of one ſide of a grand gate of red granite, finely adorned with hieroglyphics, which I ſuppoſe to have been one of the entrances to the temple of Cnuphis, of which the above-mentioned building might be a part. The earth is raiſed up very much about this gate, and all over the ſouth end of the iſland, probably by the rubbiſh of a town of the middle ages that might be on the iſland, as there is now a very ſmall village on it. The ſouth end of the iſland is high, being a rock of red granite, and on the eaſt ſide are great remains of a high wall built by the water ſide with windows on it. It is very probable that all this part of the iſland was defended by ſuch a wall againſt the violent current, at the time of the riſe of the Nile.

About this iſle there are ſeveral ſmaller iſlands, as two to the weſt, and four to the ſouth, which are high above the water, and alſo ſeveral large rocks of red granite; two of them appear to have been worked as quarries, as well as the ſouth end of Elephantine. Out of one of theſe iſlands, probably, that entire room was cut of one ſtone, that was carried to Sais, taking, it may be, the advantage of the ſituation of the rock, ſo as to have only the labour of ſeparating the bottom of it from the quarry, and having firſt probably hollowed the ſtone into a room of the dimenſions deſcribed when I ſpoke of Sais.

I croſſed over to the Libyan ſide, on the ſouth-weſt of the iſland, where there is a ſandy valley, which probably was the bounds on the weſt ſide, between Ethiopia and Egypt. Going about a mile in this valley, I came to a large ruinous uninhabited monaſtery, which I conjectured was dedicated to St. George, his picture, as big as life, being painted on the walls; and there are ſeveral other bad paintings in the church, and ſome Copti inſcriptions about the walls. The eaſt ſide of the Nile was inhabited by Arabs, as far as Meroe; but Herodotus ſpeaks of Egypt as beginning at Elephantine, and ſays that the Ethiopians inhabited one half of the iſland*, though Ptolemy takes into Egypt the tract called Dodecaſchœnus, on the eaſt ſide, near a degree farther ſouth, in which country Metacompſo ſeems to have been, which was forty-four minutes ſouth

of Sycne, and he ſeems to put Pſelcis alſo in Egypt, oppoſite to it; for Egypt on the eaſt ſide probably extended about as far as where De Liſle's map makes the Nile to run to the north, after it has taken its courſe a conſiderable way to the eaſt. It is indeed probable that the Nile, as it runs to the eaſt, and the mountains there, were the moſt ancient bounds of Egypt, as they are at preſent of the Grand Signior's dominions, about the caſtle of Ibrahim; ſo that Egypt ſeems to have ended about Elephantine on the weſt, though it extended further to the ſouth on the eaſt ſide †.

Returning to Aſſouan, I went aſhore under the rocks to the eaſt, oppoſite to the ſouth end of Elephantine. The rocks here are very high, on which the ancient Syene was built; on one of them I ſaw hieroglyphics, and the middle figure ſitting in a niche, and much defaced. The following account of ſome accidents that happened to me there, may give ſome inſight into the nature of theſe people; for by the greedineſs of thoſe that went with me, and by the imprudence of my people, I had like to have been embroiled with the aga. I had not given exactly the ſame preſent to an inferior officer, the brother-in-law of the aga, that I had given to the aga's brother, who was in a greater poſt; and coming afterwards to demand the ſame preſent I had given to the other, I complied in part with his requeſt. On this my ſervant talked to a favourite janizary of the aga's he had appointed to be with me, as if he was a ſpy, and had informed what preſents I had made. This diſguſted the aga, as well as my taking a perſon with me that did not belong to him; ſo the aga ſent for my ſervant, and told him I might ſtay as long as I pleaſed, but that I ſhould ſee nothing more. I found alſo that he was not ſatisfied with the preſent I made him; for afterwards the uncle of the aga, a good old man, came to me, and intimated that thoſe that came there muſt be liberal, that I ſhould ſee every thing, but that it muſt be in the company of the aga's relations. The Turk I mentioned before, came after this happened to ſee me, who I found was ſo diſagreeable to the aga, that he ordered him to leave the houſe, giving it this turn, that he would not permit the people to come and teaze me for preſents. I took it in the light they would have it, and deſired the favour of the aga to come and drink coffee with me, which he accordingly did, and the whole affair

* Οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἤδη, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἡμισυ, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 29.

† Above Syene, in the country called Dodecaſchœnus, Ptolemy mentions Hieraſycaminos, Philæ, and Metacompſo, oppoſite to Pſelcis. Hieraſycaminos, I apprehend, ſhould be put laſt, as it is in the itinerary, and may be Derra, derived from Hiera. On the weſt ſide the itinerary has the places in this order.

Contra Suenem		Tutzis	xx.
Parembolem	xvi.	Pſelcim	xii.
Tzitzi	ii.	Corte	iv.
Taphis	xiv.	Hieraſycaminon	iv.
Talmis	viii.		

On the eaſt ſide it has the places in this manner.

Contra Pſelcim	xi.	Philas	xxiv.
Contra Talmis	xxiv.	Syenem	iii.
Contra Taphis	x.		

It is probable that the two or three ruins that have been found above Philæ, may one of them be of Pſelcis, a place perhaps of more conſequence than the others, being mentioned by both authors; another might be the ruins of Metacompſo, the only place except Pſelcis and Hieraſycaminos, that Ptolemy mentions; though the itinerary has many other places, and poſſibly Metacompſo may have another name in the itinerary; for as Ptolemy ſpeaks of it, we may ſuppoſe that it was a conſiderable town. See Strabo, l. xvii. p. 819.

ſeemed

View of the Island of Philoe Upper Egypt

ſeemed to be made up; and yet notwithſtanding, the next morning, when I was to go abroad, the aga ſent to my man, and told him the preſent I had made was ſmall, that I ought to have given him a piece of cloth, and that if I had none, two ſequins, worth about a guinea, muſt be brought to him, otherwiſe I ſhould ſee no more; ſo I ſent him what he demanded, and then I was at liberty to do what I pleaſed. From Aſſouan I rid to Philæ, paſſing near the quarries, and going along the road that ſeems to have been made level by art *, between little hills and rocks of red granite: ſome of them are in the manner Strabo deſcribes; a rock ſtanding up like a pillar, and a large rock on it, hieroglyphics being cut on ſome of them. The outſide of the granite is turned blackiſh, which occaſioned Strabo to ſpeak of them as black ſtones; though it is much he ſhould not mention the granite quarries, out of which the obeliſks were doubtleſs cut, that were carried to Rome, as ſuch extraordinary maſter-pieces of art, and at ſo great an expence. The road we went in is divided into two parts, by a mound along the middle of it. Going further on, I obſerved the remains of a thick wall of unburnt brick, ending at a hill north of the plain, oppoſite to Philæ; there being a watch tower of the ſame materials ſouth of it, on a high rock of granite. This fence was probably made by the ſouthern people, to defend themſelves againſt ſome incurſions, it may be, of the garriſon of Aſſouan; for we cannot ſuppoſe it to be a work ſo old as to have been built either by the Ethiopians, or as a defence againſt them, about the time that they made incurſions into the Thebaid, and attacked the garriſon of Philæ and Elephantine, and overturned the ſtatues of Cæſar, under the firſt Roman governor Ælius Gallus. The iſland of Philæ is high and very ſmall †, not being above a quarter of a mile long, and half a quarter broad; it was looked on to be rather nearer to the eaſt ſide, and was inhabited both by Ethiopians ‡ and Egyptians. The city indeed itſelf ſeems to have been on the eaſt ſide, and that there were no other buildings on the iſland, but what related to the temple; for Diodorus § ſeems to ſay that no perſon but the prieſts went on the iſland, by reaſon that it was eſteemed very ſacred, from an opinion that Oſiris was buried there; ſo that in the Thebaid there could not be a more ſolemn oath than to ſwear by the relicks of Oſiris depoſited in this iſland. This deity we may ſuppoſe was worſhipped here under the ſhape of the Ethiopian hawk. The whole iſland ſeems to have been walled round, ſomething in the manner of a modern fortification; great part of the wall ſtill remains. The particular ſort of Ethiopian hawk worſhipped here, I ſaw cut among the hieroglyphics in ſeveral parts; it is repreſented with a long neck, the wings ſpreading very wide, and a ſerpent coming out from it, ſomething reſembling the winged globe. It is probable this bird was kept in the middle room where there is a ſmall cell which was probably made for it, being about three feet high. The temple is near the water, on the weſt ſide of the iſland; it is built all of freeſtone. The pillars on each ſide of the court are of an order having over it the head of Iſis every way, as are the ſix laſt pillars on each ſide of the grand area; the others, eſpecially thoſe in the long area, have a great variety of capitals. That court ſeems to have been an addition to the temple, for the pillars on the weſt ſide are not finiſhed; and whether it were by accident, or on account of the ſhape of the iſland, it is not built in a line with the other, and in the court before it, the rooms

* Strabo ſays that the road was through a very plain country, δι' ὁμαλοῦ σφόδρα πεδίου, though a rougher face of things can hardly be imagined; however his words may be favourably interpreted, if the text be corrected by making it πέδου, an even ground relating only to the road.

† Philæ inſula eſt aſpera et undique prærupta. Seneca, Quæſt. Nat. iv. c. 2.

‡ Τῶ δὲ καταῤῥώκτῃ μικρὸν ὑπέρκειται τῆς Φιλᾶς ἤδη συμβαίνει, κοινὴ κατοικία Αἰθιόπων δὲ καὶ Αἰγυπτίων κατεσκευασμένη. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 818.

§ Diodorus, l. i. p. 19.

to the weſt ſeem to have been made to deceive the eye, that this great irregularity might not be perceived. There are very large coloſſal figures cut on the ſouth ſide of the great pyramidal gateway. At the entrance to the eaſt, which is near it, there is an obeliſk on each ſide within; they are of red granite, about two feet ſquare. A little more to the weſt is a lion on each ſide, as I find I took them to be, though, if the heads were broke off, they poſſibly might have been ſphynxes. Between the weſt ſide of the grand area and the water, there is only a narrow terrace with doors to it from the portico, the whole ending at the water to the ſouth, with a parapet wall, at which two obeliſks about two feet and a half ſquare, are raiſed on their pedeſtals, as well as two ſquare pillars at the end of the colonnade. The iſland is there twenty or thirty feet high above the water, and there being a proſpect about a mile ſouth to the high granite hills, where the Nile having made a turn, the view is terminated by thoſe hills in a moſt agreeable romantic manner, all together making a noble and beautiful appearance that is very extraordinary. To the eaſt of the great temple is a beautiful oblong ſquare temple; it is open all round. The capitals of the pillars may be reckoned amongſt the moſt beautiful in Egypt, and probably were of the laſt invention, being the only capitals of that kind I ſaw in Egypt. Strabo * mentions that they croſſed over to the iſland on a float made of rods, like a ſort of baſket work, which I take to have been much the ſame ſort as they uſe now, made of palm boughs tied together, with the ſhells of pumkins under them to bear them up; on which they go down the river, and when they return home, carry them on their backs.

Returning I took a view of ſome extraordinary high rocks of granite, in a regular figure; on them are cut hieroglyphical inſcriptions and figures of men, and they directly face the north end of the iſle. In our return we went to ſee the famous cataracts of the Nile; the hills lock in, and ſhut up the view of the Nile to the north of Philæ. Returning about half a mile in the way we came, we went out of it to the weſt, and going about a mile, we came to the Nile at the port of the boats that come from Ethiopia, where we ſaw moſt of the people black. Here is no village, only ſome little huts made of mats and reeds. At this place they unload their goods, which are carried by land to Aſſouan, and ſo they bring the goods by land to this place, that are brought up to Aſſouan from lower Egypt. The chief import here is dates, which the people of Aſſouan buy both for their own uſe, and alſo to ſend into the lower parts of Egypt; ſo that on the one ſide and the other, the Egyptian and Ethiopian navigation end at the cataract †. I never ſaw a more rough face of nature than at this place; on the eaſt-ſide it is all rock, on the weſt the hills are either ſandy or of black rocks: above to the ſouth there ſeems to be a high rocky iſland, and higher up rocky cliffs on each ſide, and below to the north there are ſo many rocks, that little of the water is ſeen. We went on to the north, the Nile running through the rocks. The people knew I came to ſee the cataract, and ſtood ſtill; I aſked them when we ſhould come to the cataract, and to my great ſurprize, they told me that was the cataract ‡. The rocks of granite croſs the bed of the Nile; and in three different places, at ſome diſtance from one another, divide the ſtream into three parts, making three falls at each of

* Διέβημεν δε εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ πάκτωνος, ὁ δε πάκτων διὰ σκυταλίδων πεπηγός ἐστι σκαφίον, ὥστ' ἐοικέναι διαπλοκίνῳ. Strabo, ibid.

† Navigationis Ægyptiacæ finis. Plinius, l. v. c. 9.

‡ Μικρὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἐστὶν ὁ μικρὸς καταῤῥάκτης, ——— κατὰ μέσον τὸν ποταμὸν πετρώδης τὶς ὀφρὺς, ἐπίπεδος μὲν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε δέχεσθαι τὸν ποταμόν· τελευτῶσα δ' εἰς κρημνὸν, καθ' ὃ καταῤῥήγνυται τὸ ὕδωρ, ἑκατέρωθεν δε πρὸς τῇ γῇ ῥεῖθρον, ὃ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνάπλεν ἔχει· ἀναπλεύσαντες ὃν ταύτῃ, καταῤῥέουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν καταῤῥάκτην, καὶ ὠθοῦνται μετὰ τῆς σκάφης ἐπὶ τὸν κρημνὸν, καὶ σώζονται σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπαθεῖς. Strabo, vii. p. 817.

them.

them. The firſt we came to was the leaſt of all, I thought the falls were not above three feet. The ſecond a little lower, winds round a large rock or iſland, which to the north may be about twelve feet high, and they ſay at high Nile the water runs over this rock; but ſuppoſing the Nile to be then five feet higher below the rock, the fall may be about ſeven or eight feet; to the eaſt and weſt of it runs a ſtream. To the weſt are other rocks, and again to the weſt of that there was a third ſtream, but at high Nile theſe two ſtreams unite. This ſeems to be the cataract deſcribed by Strabo, which, he ſays, is a rocky height in the middle of the river; the upper part of it is ſmooth, ſo as that the water could run on it, but ended in a precipice, down which the water fell; it had a channel, he ſays, on each ſide, by which boats could ſail, that is, as we muſt ſuppoſe, at high Nile, when the two weſtern branches might be united. Sailing over this rock they come to the very fall of the cataract, and the water carried them down the precipice with ſafety. Going ſomewhat lower to the place where the road to Aſſouan turns off from the river to the north-eaſt, I obſerved a third cataract, the fall of which appeared to me to be greater than the others, and I judged the middle fall to be about five feet. As to the catadupes, thoſe high cataracts that fell with ſuch a noiſe that they made the inhabitants deaf, I take all thoſe accounts to be fabulous *. There is another cataract at Ibrim, which they call twelve days journey from this place; ſome ſay alſo that there is a third cataract; and others, that there are ſeven mountains and ſeven cataracts.

Here I ſaw the corn in ear in January, and the coloquintida full grown, and the little apple called Nabok, near ripe, which in Delta was ripe in November; and I ſuppoſe, that in the lower parts of Egypt, the time of growth for ſuch fruit, is after the overflow of the Nile, but that here it is after the great heats are paſt, which muſt hinder the growth. I ſaw them driving the camels loaded with ſenna, and they told me that a camel's load coſt about two hundred medins, that is about twelve ſhillings and ſix pence. The paſha grants a licence to one perſon, generally a Jew, to buy all the ſenna, who is obliged to take all that is brought to Cairo, and no one elſe can purchaſe it; one Engliſh merchant only has the privilege of buying it of him; and ſo the price is very conſiderably raiſed.

When I returned to Aſſouan, the relations of the ſoldier I had brought with me from the ſheik of Furſhout, ſent me a ſupper ready dreſſed, which is a piece of civility and reſpect; but what is chiefly intended, is to get a preſent in return, of greater value: and the laſt evening the aga ſent me likewiſe a ſupper of pilaw, a ſoup of barley with the huſks taken off, like rice, and goats fleſh boiled and well peppered, and hot bread; and deſired that what was left might be given to the boatmen, and not to his people; but his own dependents came notwithſtanding. The next day, the twenty-ſixth of January, I had all my goods put on board, and took leave of the aga, ſome of his relations attending me to the boat. The wind riſing, we could not begin our voyage; ſo I paſſed the day in my boat, ſeveral people coming to ſee me, moſt of them begging ſomething or other of me. A genteel man, brother of the caimacam of Girge, came to ſee me, whom I had ſeen at the aga's; for I was in a country where I thought I met with a friend, if I could ſee a Turk, or one of the middle parts of Egypt; he ſeemed to be a good ſort of man, and ſaid if I had come to him at firſt, I ſhould not have been uſed in that manner, and he would have ſent a man with me that would have ſhewed me all, though I knew he had it not in his power to protect me, being only a

* Ubi Nilus ad illa quæ catadupa nominantur, præcipitat ex altiſſimis montibus, ea gens, quæ illum locum accolit, propter magnitudinem ſonitus ſenſu audiendi caret. M. T. Cicero. ſomn. Scipionis, c. 5.

ſort of a collector of the cuſtoms here, and probably his chief intention was to ſee if I would make him a preſent. The Chriſtian ſecretary of the caimacam put into my hands, with a letter, a ſum of money to the value of three or four pounds, a great ſum in that country, and for ſuch a man, to be delivered as he directed in Akmim; a truſt he would hardly have repoſed in one of his own people that were going to Cairo; and I was a perſon going out of the country, whom he would certainly never ſee more; he preſented me at the ſame time with a live ſheep, and I made him a preſent in return.

CHAP. VI.—*From the Cataracts down to Grand Cairo and Damiata.*

ON the twenty-ſeventh of January we left Aſſouan, with a very cold wind that was not favourable, and were obliged to lie by for ſome time on the eaſt, about a league below the town. They have in all theſe parts a great ſcarcity of fuel; ſo that they commonly uſe either the reeds of Indian wheat, or cow dung dried, the latter is the fuel in general of the poor people of Egypt; but the greateſt ſcarcity is in all the country above Cous. We made very little way this day and the next. I obſerved they draw water here to their land with four buckets one over another. On the thirtieth we paſſed by Com-Ombo: I ſaw what they call the wild goat, of a reddiſh colour, and white behind, which I conjectured to be the antelope. We were obliged to ſtop by the wind; but in the evening we went a little lower, to be near the caſhif, for greater ſecurity, who was ſtill in theſe parts. On the thirty-firſt I took a view of Hajar Silcili, and arrived at Etfou in the evening. On the firſt of February I experienced the great honour and fidelity of the worthy ſheik of that place. I obſerved here that they draw water out of the river with the Perſian wheel. On the ſecond I came to the wall, which I took to be the city of the Hawks. I went aſhore to examine it, and found a deep dry channel above it, ſo that the wall ſeemed to have ſerved for two purpoſes, to turn the water into the canal, and alſo for a quay for the veſſels to lie at, for there are remains of ſtairs down the ſide of it; the wall is fourteen feet wide, being built with four large ſtones in breadth, in ten tiers; about the middle of the upper ſide it ſets in eighteen inches, and what remains of it is one hundred and fifty-three feet long; it is entire at the weſt end, but the earth is waſhed away from it; the eaſt end is ruined, ſo that it might have gone further out into the water. On the weſt ſide a little lower are remains of a wall of no great extent, but pretty high, appearing like the ruins of ſome tower. We arrived at Eſne in the afternoon: I carried my letters to the two ſherifs, or relations of Mahomet, ſaw the church and the temple near the town. On the third I went to the temple three miles north of the town, and to the convent a mile ſouth of it. In the afternoon we purſued our voyage, and going all night, were oppoſite to Jebelin in the morning. The ſheik of Cous, who had afforded me his protection on the eaſt ſide of Thebes, was encamped near Salamea, and I ſaw a great cavalcade of his people to the eaſt. We went aſhore at Erment, and viewed the antiquities there. On the fifth we paſſed Luxerein, and ſtopped at Gurnou, where we ſtaid till the ſeventh in the evening, when we found it was time to leave ſuch bad people, and ſailing all night, we arrived at Kept. I ſtaid here two days to ſee the antiquities, and to get medals and other pieces of antiquity, which they brought to the boat. One of the Mahometans I had a letter to, came to me the laſt day, and would conduct me abroad to ſee ſome things the other had not led me to, and returned with me to the boat, and earneſtly requeſted me not to depart ſo ſuddenly, but to ſtay till I had heard further from him, and in ſome time after he very kindly ſent me a

preſent of a kid, and two baſkets of bread. We arrived at Kena in the night; on the tenth I walked to that town, ſaw their manufacture of earthenware, and went on to Dendera, and from thence to Amara, and ſaw the great antiquities of Tentyra.

On the eleventh we arrived at the port of Badjoura, and went to the convent of Furſhout. I waited on the great ſheik, whom I found ſitting with the Mahometan prieſt, and eating beans boiled in the ſhells. I delivered him my letter from the ſheik of Etfou; he aſked me, ſmiling, whether the people attempted to detain us, and if they tore my book; and laughing, ſaid, they thought we were in ſearch of treaſures. I returned to the boat; we ſailed all night, and on the twelfth we arrived at Girge, and went to the convent. The bey was encamped to the ſouth of the city, when I went firſt to the camp, he was in town at the Harem with the ladies, but he ſoon came on horſeback, attended by about eight ſlaves; the muſic played in the camp on his arrival, for about a quarter of an hour. I went to his magnificent tent; he ſat on the ſopha in the corner on the right hand as one enters; was a perſon of a fine countenance with a graceful ſmile, but when he pleaſed, could put on a ſtern and majeſtic look, and I thought his manner moſt like that of our great men in Europe, of any I had ſeen in Turkey. I delivered him the letter I had from Oſman Bey, and my ſervant placed my preſent before him, about a dozen boxes of French prunellas, and a fine covered glaſs vaſe for ſhirbet. He received me very civilly, deſired me to ſit, and ordered coffee. I requeſted the favour of him to give me ſome letters to the governors under him. He aſked where we had been, and ſmiling, demanded if I had found any treaſures. I went to the ſecretary's tent, where the letters were writ, and brought them to the bey to put his ſeal to them.

From Girge I went to El-Birbi, where, as mentioned before, there was a temple, and I ſuppoſe this place to have been the ancient Abydus. When I returned to the boat, in order to depart, I was informed they had taken away the oars, demanding a duty of about fifteen ſhillings: I ſent to the governor about it, and found they had demanded three times as much as their due. We came to Menſhieh, where the men would ſtay all night with their families. On the fourteenth in the morning we arrived at Akmim, where I went to the convent, and waited on the prince, who gave me ſome letters I wanted in the way to Cairo. On the ſixteenth I went to ſee the convents I have deſcribed to the eaſt. I had agreed with the boatmen ſo far by the day, and here I made a new agreement, giving them about five pounds to carry me to Cairo, and to ſtop where I pleaſed, except that on the eaſt ſide we were to go aſhore only where they ſhould think it ſafe. All my friends attended me to the river, making me preſents of ſheep and bread, and I ſet out for Cairo on the ſixteenth. The next day early in the morning we came to Raigni, where the religious ſheik of the famous ſerpent called Heredy, was at the ſide of the river to receive us; either ſeeing our boat, or having had an account of our coming from Akmim. I carried the letter of the Prince of Akmim to the ſheik of the village, who entertained us with a grand collation. He went with us to the grotto of the ſerpent that has been ſo much talked of, under the name of Sheik Heredy, of which I ſhall give a particular account, in order to ſhew the folly, credulity, and ſuperſtition of theſe people, for the Chriſtians have faith in it as well as the Turks. We went aſcending between the rocky mountains for about half a mile, and came to a part where the valley opens wider. On the right is a moſque built with a dome over it, againſt the ſide of the rock, like a ſheik's burial place; in it there is a large cleft in the rock, out of which they ſay the ſerpent comes; there is a tomb in the moſque, in the Turkiſh manner, that they ſay is the tomb of Heredy,

which

which would make one imagine that one of their ſaints of that name is buried here, and that they ſuppoſe his ſoul may be in this ſerpent; for I obſerved they went and kiſſed the tomb with much devotion, and ſaid their prayers at it. Oppoſite to this cleft is another, which they ſay belongs to Oghli-Haſſan, that is Haſſan the ſon of Heredy; there are two other clefts, which they ſay are inhabited by ſaints or angels. The ſheik told me there were two of theſe ſerpents, but the common notion is that there is only one. He ſaid it has been here ever ſince the time of Mahomet; the ſhape of it is like other ſerpents; the great ones appear of different ſizes, from a foot to two feet long; the colour is of a mixture of yellow, red, and black; they may be handled and do no harm. He comes out only during the four ſummer months, and it is ſaid that they ſacrifice to it; but the ſheik denied it, and affirmed they only brought ſheep, lambs, and money to buy oil for the lamps; but I ſaw much blood and entrails of beaſts lately killed before the door. The ſtories they tell are ſo ridiculous that they ought not to be repeated, if it were not to give an inſtance of their idolatry in theſe parts in this reſpect; though the Mahometan religion ſeems to be very far from it in other things. They ſay the virtue of this ſerpent is to cure all diſeaſes of thoſe that go to it, or of ſuch as have it brought to them, for they often carry it to great people in a bag, to whom he is not always ſhewn, probably pretending to carry him ſometimes when they have him not. They are alſo full of a ſtory, that when a number of women go there once a year, he paſſes by and looks on them, and goes and twines about the neck of the moſt beautiful, which muſt be a certain ſign of extraordinary qualities, with thoſe who have formed to themſelves the idea of a Mahometan paradiſe. They have alſo a ſtory that a prince came to ſee the ſerpent, but at firſt refuſing to ſhew him, when they afterwards produced him, the prince cauſed him to be cut in pieces, and being put under a veſſel, the ſerpent immediately became entire again; but it is ſaid that a Chriſtian, who was deſirous to have expoſed the fraud, offered a conſiderable ſum to be permitted to cut it to pieces, but could not be allowed to try the experiment: they add alſo, that it cannot be carried beyond Girge or Meloui, and if they attempt to go further it diſappears. Endeavouring as much as I could to ſift into the bottom of this affair, I was ſurpriſed to hear a very grave and ſenſible Chriſtian ſay, that he always cured any diſtempers, but that worſe commonly followed on it; and ſome Chriſtians who pretend to have more learning than others, and really believe that he works miracles, ſay they believe it is the devil mentioned in Tobit, that the angel Gabriel drove into the utmoſt parts of Egypt. It is probable that they have ſome ſerpents here they have bred tame, and it ſeems to be ſome remains of the heathen worſhip of thoſe harmleſs ſerpents mentioned by Herodotus, that were eſteemed ſacred to Jupiter, and when they found them dead, they buried them in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes*. I went on and came to Gaua-Kiebir, where I went aſhore. The ſheik, to whom I had a letter, was not at home, but his brother ſent one with me to view the temple a ſecond time. The wind not being favourable, we ſtaid at this place; it rained in the night, and began to rain again after it was day, on the eighteenth; but it cleared up. We purſued our voyage, and ſtopped early at Sciout; and it rained again in the evening. Here we met with ſome Turkiſh merchants with black ſlaves, which they buy up

* Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱροὶ ὄφιες ἀνθρώπων ἐδαμᾶ δηλήμονες, οἳ μεγάθει ἐόντες μικροὶ, δύο κέρεα φορέεσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς· τοὺς ἀποθανόντας θάπτουσι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῷ Διὸς· τούτου γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἱρούς. Herodotus, ii. c. 74.

It is to be obſerved, that theſe ſerpents are mentioned as ſmall and harmleſs, and as having horns. The horned viper is very common in Egypt, but I ſuppoſe is noxious; the horns are ſomething like the horns of a ſnail, but are of a hard ſubſtance; I have one of them preſerved in ſpirits.

towards Ethiopia, and bring them down into the upper parts of Egypt, where they are prepared for the ſeraglios, under which operation they ſometimes die. On the nineteenth I went to Sciout, and took a view of the town. On the twentieth we came to Manfalouth, where I delivered a letter I had to a Chriſtian of that place, but as there was nothing to ſee there, ſo we went on and came to Meloui. I waited on the ſardar with a preſent of Engliſh cutlery ware and ſome other things, and he was very obliging, and ſaid, if he could he would go along with me himſelf to ſee the temple of Archemounain, to have half the treaſures I found, or he would ſend his ſecretary. The next day I went to the town, and the cavalcade of the ſardar was going out towards Archemounain with the caia, attended by a great number of people with kettle-drums and other muſic, and I followed on a very indifferent aſs; and when they paſſed through any village, the muſic played. The ſecretary was ſent with me to view the temple. I returned to the caia, whoſe carpets and cuſhions were laid on a height, on which he ſat with the ſtandard by him, that is carried before him when they go out in this manner. I ſat down with him, and coffee was brought; the ſardar himſelf came after, as incognito. I returned to my boat, and on the twenty-fourth we went forward, and came to Minio about night, where the men were obliged to pay twenty medins, which is about a ſhilling, for the boat. On the twenty-fifth we paſſed by Samalut, and after by Galoſana on the weſt, where I ſaw in the water two rows of hewn ſtone about twenty feet in length, as if it were the remains of an old wall. We approached two villages, Sheik-Faddle on the eaſt, and Benimſar on the weſt. Theſe two villages had a diſpute about an iſland that was between them. It is ſaid on applying to a great bey their landlord, who was not willing to diſoblige either of them, he bid them fight it out. This happened to be the important deciſive day between theſe two villages. We heard guns fire, and after that a noiſe and ſhouting as for victory, and ſaw many people ſtanding on the weſt ſide. Soon after we perceived people throwing themſelves into the water from many parts of the iſland, and ſwimming to the eaſt, others following them to the water, firing at them or pelting them with ſtones. We ſaw plainly we were in the midſt of a battle, and it was too late to retire. However, we prepared our arms to defend ourſelves in caſe we ſhould be attacked. As we obſerved that the chief fire was from the eaſtern ſide, the battle being on the weſt, where they were engaged, we were determined to go on the eaſt under the cover of their fire. We ſaw great numbers ſwimming over to the eaſt, with their clothes and pikes in their hands; one of them laid hold of our boat, and came in to reſt himſelf, ſo that we were afraid the people on the weſt ſide might fire on us, as protecting their enemies; for the weſtern people had gained the victory, and moſt of them were retired from the iſland, and, diſplayed their ſtandard on the other ſide. We ſaw the women on the eaſt coming to the ſide of the river, to ſee if they could ſpy out their huſbands, clapping their hands and beating their breaſts. The village of Sheik-Faddle on the eaſt had manned a boat, put it out into the river, and were firing on the other ſide, and the fire was returned on them. Paſſing by this boat, we were in great danger. When we were below the village, we judged we were ſafe, and I got out to ſee what paſſed, and in a very ſhort time I perceived a ball fell into the water, only three or four yards from the boat, which without doubt they fired at us. Thus I ſaw this battle, which perhaps may not be much inferior to ſome of the little engagements of the Greeks, deſcribed by Thucydides with ſo much pomp and eloquence.

We paſſed by Sharony on the eaſt; to the ſouth of it is a ſmall hill, on which there appeared to have been buildings, and there are many ſtones on the bank of the river, which

which ſeem to be the ruins of a thick wall of a quay, which together with the likeneſs of the name, made me imagine that either Ptolemy is miſtaken in placing Oxyrinchus on the weſt, or that this city which from Ptolemy I place about Abougirge, might in latter ages be neglected and ſuffered to run to ruin, and that a new city might be built on the eaſt ſide, and take its name. On the twenty-ſixth I went aſhore at Beneſuief, and we after paſſed by Bouche, which I ſuppoſe to be Ptolemais, the port of Arſinoe. To this place they uſually come to go to the monaſteries of St. Anthony and St. Paul, in the deſerts near the Red Sea; the latter being the founder of the hermit's life, and the former of the monaſtic life in ſociety: they were cotemporaries. St. Anthony the abbot founded a monaſtery in this place; and at the convent of St. Paul, a ſmall day's journey to the north, they now live in the monaſtic way, though formerly they were hermits. Some ſay they lived in the time of the Emperor Philip, others of Decius, who perſecuted the Chriſtians; and it is ſaid St. Anthony lived till the time of Conſtantine. The convent of St. Anthony is a large encloſure, the entrance to it is by a window, as at Mount Sinai; they have a great number of palm, olive, and other trees within it. I met a monk of this convent at Faiume, who gave me ſome account of it. The patriarch is head of the convent of St. Anthony: I know not whether it is always ſo, or that the patriarch being choſe from thence, might have preſided over this convent, and continue to do ſo; he has a deputy there. There are three other perſons who have a ſhare in the government of the convent, four more that are prieſts, and twenty-three that are lay monks*. They have every thing within themſelves, and particularly a tower for a ſtorehouſe, defended by a draw-bridge, in caſe the Arabs ſhould any way break in upon them. They have three ſprings of water running into the convent, that are a little ſalt. And it is probable that in theſe convents are the only bells in all Egypt.

At the convent of St. Paul there are twenty-five monks in all; they cannot marry, but widowers may be admitted. A woman is not permitted to enter the convent. They are not allowed ſo much as to ſmoke in the convent, nor to eat meat, but the good monks think they do not break through their rule if they do both without the convent, which is what they commonly practiſe; but their uſual diet is olives, cheeſe, that they bring from Faiume, and ſalt fiſh, with which they are ſupplied from the Red Sea, which is about ſeven miles from theſe convents. It is indeed ſaid that they eat but once a day, except on Saturdays and Sundays. Thoſe who go to theſe mountains will do well to enquire if there is a very thick high wall in theſe parts, ſaid to be twenty-four feet wide at the bottom, and to examine all particulars about it, and of what extent it is†. The perſon who made the ſketch of the country about theſe convents in 1716, from which I have taken what relates to the modern geography in that part, obſerved on the 1ſt of June, and the ſecond day of the moon, that the tide went out there at the Red Sea from twelve at night to ſix in the morning, one hundred and ten paces. He obſerves alſo that there is water in the ſeveral torrents only in the middle of the winter.

On the 27th of February in the evening, 1737, I arrived at Old Cairo, and went to Cairo to the conſul's houſe, having performed this journey up above the cataracts and back again, with the greateſt good fortune, exactly in three months.

As the convent of Mount Sinai was not at peace with the Arabs, and it was impoſſible to go there on that account, I determined to be at Jeruſalem at Eaſter, to ſee

* The deputy they call rubeti, the three next gumous, the prieſts keſheiſh, and the others ruban.

† See Muller's deſcription of Egypt, p. 321.

Paleſtine,

Paleſtine, Syria, and Cyprus, and to return into Egypt to make that journey and ſome others I propoſed; ſo ſtaying only three days in Cairo, on the 3d of March I got into a boat for Damiata, in order to embark for Joppa, not ſailing till early the next morning. A merchant of black ſlaves had a number of them in one part of the boat, and I ſaw a young woman among them, that had ſeven holes bored in her noſe for rings, one in the middle, and three on each ſide. The firſt day we made about a quarter of the voyage, and ſtopped at Miſelcaſer. On the fifth we ſailed by Benalhaſſar, which I ſuppoſe to be Bubaſtus and Phibeſeth of the ſcripture. In the evening we were about half way. On the ſixth we lay by part of the day near Abouſir, the wind not being favourable. We went on and anchored at night out in the river, as I ſuppoſe they apprehended ſome danger; and hearing a gun fire, the people of the boat ſhot off their pieces two or three times. On the ſeventh we paſſed by Mahalla, Manſoura, and Dioſt. This latter is on the weſt, and about four hours weſt of it is the convent of St. Geminiani, where there is yearly a great reſort of Chriſtians for devotion, and much talk of ſomething like ſpirits, which, as far as I could find, is nothing but the ſhadow of the people paſſing, ſeen in a room by a ſmall hole. The next day I arrived at Damiata, and went with letters I had to a perſon there. I was ſo diſguiſed with my dreſs and beard, that he would hardly believe I was an Engliſhman. I was very handſomely entertained accidentally by ſome Greek merchants to whom I was not recommended, with all ſorts of ſhell-fiſh, and roes of fiſh; for in Lent they are not allowed to eat any other, and only the roes of fiſh that have blood in them. In the evening I went down to the port at the mouth of the river. A French ſhip was hired to carry the pilgrims, who paid about a guinea a head to the merchant for their paſſage. Moſt of the pilgrims met on the narrow ſandy point on the weſt ſide of the mouth of the river. To the weſt is a bay about two leagues over; and on the weſt head, a large Turkiſh ſhip of Alexandria was loſt in November laſt, with ſeven hundred people in her, the captain only being ſaved: the bey, who had carried the Grand Signior's tribute out of Egypt, was on board, and came to land alive, but ſoon after died, as it is ſaid of the fright. In the evening we returned up to the port, paſſed the night in the boat, and on the tenth went on board the ſhip with the other pilgrims, and ſailed for Joppa.

BOOK III.

FROM GRAND CAIRO BY THE RED SEA, INTO ARABIA PETRÆA, TO MOUNT SINAI, AND BACK TO CAIRO, ROSETTO, AND ALEXANDRIA.

CHAP. I.—*From Grand Cairo to Suez, and the Red Sea.*

HAVING ſeen Paleſtine, Syria, part of Meſopotomia, and Cilicia, and the iſland of Cyprus, I landed again in Egypt on the 25th of December 1738. I ſaw at Cairo the grand proceſſion of the caravan to Mecca, and of the haſna or treaſure, that is, the Grand Signior's rents, which are yearly ſent to Conſtantinople. I alſo made the journies to Faiume, the labyrinth, the pyramids of Saccara and Daſhour, and the catacombs of Saccara, and went twice to the pyramids of Gize, near Cairo, which

are commonly ſeen by travellers; and prepared for my journey to Mount Sinai, which is to be looked on as the moſt difficult of all the eaſtern voyages.

The monks of the convent had made peace with the Arabs; the occaſion of the breach between them was a murder they had committed on a monk of the convent. The method that is taken to make this journey, is to agree with the monks of Mount Sinai, who have a convent at Cairo, to furniſh ſo many camels, giving about four pounds for each; they take care alſo to procure the common proviſions for the road; and it is the cuſtom to lie at their convent the night before the departure. On the 27th of March I went to the place from which the caravan was to ſet out, but found they would not depart that day; ſo I returned to the conſul's, and the next day in the evening I went out to Keyd Bey, to a large yard where all the camels were together, that were to make up the caravan. In this open yard we lay; the caravan conſiſted of about two hundred camels laden with corn, going to Muellah to the eaſt of the Red Sea, to meet the caravan coming from Mecca; the bey that always goes out to meet the Emir hadge being gone before to Adjeroute. My bed was laid on my camel, a bag of proviſions on one ſide, a ſkin of water on the other, and a wooden bottle of water to ſlake the thirſt in this hot climate. We aſcended the mountain called Jebel-Macathum, and went eaſt along the ſandy hills. I obſerved in the road many ſtones that looked like petrified wood, being very numerous in ſome parts; if this is really petrified wood, as this place ſeems never to have been capable of producing trees, I do not know whether it may be looked on as a probable conjecture, that the people travelling in theſe parts, and carrying ſome wood with them for their uſe, might leave it behind when they approached towards the great city, and that having been covered with ſand, it might petrify, and the ſand be afterwards blown away; though indeed I ſaw one piece that ſeemed to have been a large body of a tree. We came to ſome uneven ground; and all of a ſudden the caravan was alarmed, by ſeeing four men at a diſtance riding ſwiftly towards them from the ſouth. All the people alighted from their camels and took their arms, and went towards them to meet them, on which all but one of them retired, who coming on, they went in a body towards him, and as he perceived he was like to meet with a warm reception, he thought fit to withdraw. The long ſtep of the camel cauſes a very great motion in the riders, which to ſome is very diſagreeable; they commonly lie down to be mounted, but when any one diſmounts on the road, the way of getting up is on the back of the Arab, who ſtoops down, and ſo they climb up the neck of the camel. The pace they go is not above two miles and a half an hour. We lay in the open air, as they always do in this journey; having travelled thirteen hours without ſtopping. As ſoon as the caravan halts, if it is not dark, they let the camels browſe a while on the little ſhrubs, and the people go about and gather the wood of them for fuel; they then make the camels lie down, bind one of their legs to hinder them from getting up, and commonly tie them together with a ſmall rope, to prevent any of them from going away without diſturbing the others, and making a noiſe; ſo they place their goods in the middle between themſelves and their camels. They feed theſe uſeful beaſts with balls they make up of barley meal, which they put into their mouths. In theſe parts, where it is not very wholeſome to lie abroad, ſtrangers eſpecially take care to be well covered, by a carpet laid over the head: for though I carried a tent, it was not proper commonly to make uſe of it, for fear of paſſing for a conſiderable perſon, that might be worth plundering. On the thirtieth we ſet out an hour before day, and in about eleven hours we came to a narrow valley called Tearoſaid, between

very

very low hills. In about an hour and a half we came to a narrower valley, with a high ground on each ſide; this is called Haraminteleh, and there ſeem to be ruins of a wall built acroſs, to defend the paſs. After I left the place, I thought poſſibly the canal might paſs this way, and that this wall might be the remains of the buildings of one of the flood gates, which any one who goes in that road may take more particular notice of, to ſee if they can trace the canal that way. I ſaw no ſort of beaſts in the deſert till I came to this place, where I obſerved ſome birds; and in the deſert I had ſeen ſeveral holes, which they ſaid were made by an animal called Jerdaon, and I could not be certainly informed, whether or no it was what the Europeans call the Pharoah's rat, and is thought to be the Ichneumon. All the deſert is gravelly, having in ſome parts ſhrubs and aromatic herbs. We after came into the open plain, and ſaw Adjeroute, at which place we lay, having travelled ſixteen hours without ſtopping, and the afternoon was ſo very hot, that my leg, that was expoſed to the ſouth, bliſtered, being uncovered, according to the faſhion among the common people, whoſe dreſs I always imitated, but I was after obliged to defend myſelf better againſt the heat.

Adjeroute is only a ſquare caſtle with a garriſon of ſoldiers in it; this, as I ſhall obſerve, has been ſuppoſed to be the ancient Heroopolis; it is diſtant from Cairo four hundred and eighty deraies (as the Arabs call them in their journey to Mecca, fifteen of them making an hour,) which is thirty-two hours, but according to my computation it is only twenty-nine hours; the three hours difference may be in the road the caravan takes farther round, being much about the diſtance that the lake of the Pilgrims is from Cairo, where they encamp and begin their journey. On the thirty-firſt we ſet out before ſun riſe, the great caravan taking the road to the ſouth-weſt to Mecca, which is called the eaſtern road (Derb-el-Charke), we went on ſouth towards Suez, in a ſort of a hollow ground, in which, as I ſhall obſerve, the ſea formerly might come, having firſt a riſing ground to the eaſt. In about two hours and a half we came to the well of Suez (Bir-el-Suez) where there is a cane; it is a fine large well, in which the water was drawn by a wheel, but not being kept in repair, the men draw it up with ropes: it is ſo ſalt that it is not fit to drink. About two miles further to the ſouth is Suez, at the north end of the Red Sea. This ſea makes two gulfs to the north, divided by that point of land which ſeems to have had the general name of the deſert of Pharan, from a place of that name towards the ſouth of it; that to the eaſt was called the Elanitic Gulf from Elana, at the north end of it, as the weſtern was called the Heroopolitic Gulf from Heroopolis. I ſuppoſe Suez to be the ancient Arſinoe, by which Strabo * ſays the canal run into the Red Sea, ſo that it muſt have been at the north end of the ſea. To the eaſt of Suez there is a ſmall bay, that divides again into two parts, extending ſome way to the north: whether or no Heroopolis was on this moſt northern point of the ſea, or about Adjeroute, where it has commonly been thought to be, it is not eaſy to determine: it might either have been there, or on the high ground to the ſouth-eaſt. This I ſuppoſe to be Migdol, mentioned in the journey of the children of Iſrael, different from Magdol near Peluſium. Strabo ſeems in one place to make Cleopatris the ſame as Arſinoe, where there muſt be concluded to have been ſome alteration in the words of the author, as he afterwards † ſays, that near Arſinoe was Heroopolis, and Cleopatris on the Arabian gulf next to Egypt: he ſpeaks of ports, canals, and lakes near Arſinoe, the latter poſſibly made by the tide, and might be about the ſmall bays to the north-eaſt of it. This paſſage of Strabo

* Ἄλλη δ' ἐστὶν ἐκδιδοῦσα εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν, καὶ τὸν Ἀραβίον κόλπον καὶ πόλιν Ἀρσινόην. Strabo, xvii. p. 804.

† Πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ἀρσινόης, καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἡρώων ἐστὶ πόλις, καὶ ἡ Κλεοπατρὶς ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ, τῷ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ λιμένες, καὶ κατοικίαι· διώρυγες δὲ πλείους, καὶ λίμναι πλησιάζουσαι τούτοις. Strabo, ibid.

alſo is a proof of an error in Ptolemy, who places Arſinoe forty minutes ſouth of Heroopolis. It is likewiſe very doubtful where Cleopatris was, unleſs it might be on the high ground to the north of Suez; this I ſuppoſe to be Pihahiroth. If Heroopolis was on the moſt northern height I have mentioned, the Red Sea muſt have loſt ground; and indeed by the ſituation of places there is great appearance of it; the valleys, and the high ground, with broken clifts, looking very much like ſuch an alteration; and we may ſuppoſe, that if the ſea retired in this manner, Cleopatris might firſt be built more to the ſouth than Heroopolis; and that continuing to retire, Arſinoe might be built ſtill farther to the ſouth, which I ſuppoſe to be Baal-Zephon. Arſinoe, with great reaſon, is ſuppoſed to be where Suez now is, as one ſees to the weſt and north of it plain ſigns of an ancient city. It would be a very fine ſituation for a port, if the ſhips could come up to the quay, as probably they did formerly. It is ſituated on a ſmall promontory, making out eaſtward into the Red Sea. The old city extended about a furlong to the weſt of this promontory, and the north-weſt corner of the Red Sea is about two miles to the weſt of the town. Two ſmall bays of the ſea extend about a league to the north-north-eaſt of the town. The port ſeems to have been between the weſtern bay and the town, to the weſt of which there is a raiſed ground, that ſeems to have been the ſite of an ancient caſtle to defend the ſhipping; for the old town extended alſo to the north-weſt of the preſent. Here the ſhipping lay ſecure from all winds, only a little expoſed to the eaſt, which could have no great force, the paſſage over to the other ſide into Aſia not being above a mile. When the tide is out, there is to the ſouth of the town, a large ſandy bank about two miles long, to the eaſt of which is a road to go out to the ſhipping, and when they have no wind, they draw the boats along by this bank; about a mile ſouth-weſt of it are the ſhips, a league from the town, the deep water being on the weſt, where it is a bold ſhore, there being ſhoals on the eaſt ſide, where the land is low, whereas there are high hills all along on the weſt. Suez is governed by a captain, which is the title of an admiral, the high admiral being called captain baſhaw, or head admiral. His buſineſs is more particularly with the ſhips, and he has under him a caimacam, the ordinary governor of towns, who both together, or ſeparately, govern the affairs of the place; the latter commonly reſides here, the other when the ſhips are in the ports; and a ſheik Arab, who lives here, has really all the power, whenever he pleaſes to interfere; and what gives him much authority is the great ſcarcity of water, which is brought ſix miles from Naba, to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, on the other ſide of the Red Sea; ſo that on the leaſt diſcontent with the people or their governors, they will not permit water to be brought to the town, and they are obliged to drink a ſalt water brought near a league from the north, from (Beer-el-Suez) the well of Suez, ſo that on this account it was a very great advantage to have a canal cut from the Nile, as the canal of Trajan was; for water is now ſold at Suez in the ſmalleſt meaſures. There are four moſques in the town, and a Greek church in a houſe, there being about a hundred and fifty Greeks here, and three or four Coptis.

Part of the way from Adjeroute is in a ſort of foſſee, that is thought to be the canal of Trajan, and ſeems to have run cloſe to the weſt end of the old city: from Cairo, through which it conveys the water, it goes north, and north-eaſt and by north, and ſupplies all the country with water for ſeveral miles, and by a branch from it, that large lake called the Birke or Lake, is filled, in which the water remains moſt part of the year. It is about eight miles from Cairo, and a league north of Matarea; it may be ſeven or eight miles long, and four broad; here it is the pilgrims for Mecca meet, near a week before their departure, and ſet out altogether on that journey. The canal after makes

a great circuit round the hills to the north and north-eaſt, inſomuch that the common people ſay it goes near to Gaza, which muſt be falſe. That lake repreſented in Sicard's map with a canal going to it, which I ſuppoſe to be part of the ancient canal, may poſſibly be the lake ſpoken of by Strabo *, in the Sethreitic province to the ſouth of Peluſium; for he ſpeaks of canals going into this lake, and ſeems to ſay that one of them went to the Red Sea by Arſinoe, though in the whole, the ſenſe of the author appears to be ſomewhat difficult.

The trade of Suez is only to Jedda on the eaſt of the Red Sea, near Mecca; it is carried on by one fleet of between thirty and forty ſhips, that ſet out about the ſame time from Jedda in the Hamſeen ſeaſon, that is, the fifty days before the middle of May, when the Meriſy or ſouth winds generally blow; and if they chance to be too late, they muſt wait another year; and when thoſe winds fail on the voyage, they ſometimes are obliged to paſs a twelvemonth in ſome bad harbour, as they have often done at Coſſeir. They return laden with corn and rice in October; the loading from Jedda is principally coffee, incenſe, ſome few Indian and Perſian goods, the richeſt being carried by land with the caravan from Mecca. There are other ſhips that bring the coffee from Feſeca in Jemen, the ancient Arabia Fælix, among which are five or ſix Engliſh and French ſhips generally employed: five of the ſhips which come to Suez belong to the Grand Signior, the others to merchants. Each bag of coffee weighs between three and four hundred pounds, and pays thirty medines, which is about two ſhillings, when it comes out from Jemen. At Jedda the tenth bag is taken, and half of it goes to the captain for his freight, and half to the paſha there, and at Suez it pays a duty of near a penny for every pound weight. When it is bought by our merchants it is purified, and ſent very clean into England, but of late the Weſt India coffee, which is not ſo good, has ſold ſo cheap, that it does not turn to account to ſend it to England. This Weſt India coffee is carried into Syria and other parts, and ſold cheaper than the coffee of Arabia, and ſometimes, to deceive, is mixed with it. They can alſo bring coffee round by the Cape of Good Hope, much cheaper than this way. The ſhips that go between Jedda and Suez, are built moſtly in the Indies, rather clumſy, after the Dutch manner, and probably many of them may be built at the Dutch ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. Moſt of them are large, and they aſſured me that the biggeſt was forty-eight pikes high, that is, about double the number of feet; but probably they meaſure in two decks they have at the ſtern above the middle part of the ſhip; they have alſo one deck raiſed before, above the middle; on this they have on each ſide a little room for a moſque, where they pray, and to the corner of each is raiſed a little pole with a flag on it, marked with a half-moon. On the end of the bowſprit is a little ſhort maſt, and a yard and ſail on it, and over it is a ſmall gallery, on which the pilot ſtands to look out and give the word to the helm. They do not uſe pumps, but draw the water up with a leathern bucket, by the help of a windlaſs. On each ſide of the well to receive the water that enters into the ſhip, there is a ciſtern about fifteen feet long and eight feet wide, going down near to the bottom of the veſſel, being made of wood; in theſe they put their water, and draw it up with leathern buckets, and put it into large earthern jars for preſent uſe. Theſe ciſterns hold enough for a voyage of eight months, though they always take in freſh water at Tor. Inſtead of a handle to the rudder in the ſhip, they have a pole fixed in it, inclining upwards beyond the ſhip, being about fifteen or twenty feet long. A beam is laid acroſs the upper deck, which extends on each ſide about fifteen feet beyond the ſides of the ſhip; to each end of this is tied a yard or

* Strabo, ibid.

pole

pole perpendicularly, ſo as that either end of it may be moved backwards or forwards towards the ſhip, as it is drawn. To the lower end of this comes a rope from the pole, which is fixed into the rudder; to the upper end a rope is fixed, which is carried to a block at the corner of the ſtern, and brought again to another block at the upper end of the yard, and thence croſſes the ſhip over the great beam, and goes to the other yard, to which and to the ſtern it is carried in like manner, as on the other ſide. When the ſhip is to be worked, the rope of communication, which goes acroſs the ſhip, is drawn to a poſt nearer the ſtern, where there is a ſtay made for it, in which it is drawn either one way or other, as the pilot directs, and moves the helm by the ropes fixed to the lower end of the aforeſaid yards; and when one is drawn nearer, and the top of the yard comes nearer to the ſhip, the bottom conſequently flies out, and the other pole is left perpendicular in its natural direction. When there is a ſtorm, and they let the ſhip drive, they looſe the rope off from that poſt, and let the helm play as it will: and this ſeems to explain what is mentioned in Saint Paul's voyage, Acts xxvii. v. 40. "That when they had committed the ſhip unto the ſea, they looſed the rudder bands, and hoiſted up the main-ſail to the wind." For theſe ropes, which direct the the helm, may be very properly called the rudder bands, by which it is either fixed or moved one way or other. The voyage to Suez is very dangerous, more eſpecially ſouth of Tor, where there is much foul ground, and thoſe trees of Madreporæ, a ſort of imperfect coral, which are about Tor and ſouth of it, are as dangerous as rocks to the ſhips; and in thoſe parts, where the water is not deep, they come to an anchor every night. The mariners ſay, that from Tor to Mount Houſſan it is three hundred miles, from which mountain to Mount Jamba are three hundred more, and from that mountain to Jedda four hundred, though the calculation ſeems very much to exceed the diſtance. And as Jedda is only ſix degrees, or three hundred and ſixty miles ſouth of Tor; it is poſſible they may compute by ſome meaſure that is about the third part of a mile, unleſs I might be any ways deceived by my interpreter. They ſometimes tie their cables to theſe trees, or ſtones on the rocks. When the ſhips are unloaded at Suez, they leave them without any body in them, faſtened with two anchors, to each of which are tied four or five great cables, made of a part of the date tree, and the cuſtom-houſe officers attend here only during the ſhort time that the ſhips are unloaded and loaded again; ſo that, except at thoſe ſeaſons of buſineſs, the little town of Suez is very thin of people. I was informed that the port of Coſſeir is exceedingly dangerous, which I ſuppoſe was uſed when the trade of the Eaſt Indies was carried on that way to Kept and Alexandria; that north of it is another bad port, called Old Coſſeir, and north of this is a fine port called Hamromyos, being like a round baſin; one would conjecture that this was the ancient Myos (Coſſeir being Beronice) as doubtleſs moſt convenient for Kept, the ancient Coptus; to which place, ſituated on a canal of the Nile, the merchandizes were carried both in the ancient and middle ages. It is ſaid that the weſt ſide of the Red Sea is much deeper than the eaſt ſide, all the way to Ethiopia, but that they are not acquainted with that road. From Suez the paſſage is about a mile over the ſea to the eaſt ſide of it; the boats go twice a day, both for water, which is brought in ſkins by camels to the ſea ſhore, and alſo for wood; for of all places, Suez is the moſt deſtitute of every thing that the earth produces. They have neither water, graſs, corn, nor any ſort of herb or tree near it, and not one garden about the whole town.

Egypt ſeems to have extended as far as the Red Sea, and in a line from the eaſt ſide of the Heroopolitic gulf to Sihor, called the river of Egypt. It is probable the mountains to the eaſt were the bounds between it and Arabia Petræa; for we have

Heroopolis on, or near the Red Sea, as a capital of the laſt province of Egypt; the Caſiotis was on the ſea, and the province of Phagroiopolis in the middle between them.

CHAP. II. — *Of Arabia Petræa; from Suez to Tor, and Mount Sinai.*

ARABIA was divided into three parts. Arabia Felix, between the Red Sea and the Perſian gulf, part of which is the territory of Mecca, and the other part to the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt is called Jemen. Arabia Petræa, which has its name from being a rocky country, conſiſted of this point of land between the two gulfs of the Red Sea, and extended away to the eaſt of the Dead Sea, and the river Jordan. To the eaſt of this, and of great part of Syria, was Arabia Deſerta, bounded to the eaſt by the Euphrates. In Arabia Petræa we were in Aſia; and Ptolemy mentions the black mountains which run along this promontory between the two gulfs, extending as far as Judea *. The firſt country on that ſide was the ancient Sarracenæ †, poſſeſſed by the Arabs, called Sarraceni, who at length extended themſelves as far as the country about Elana. From theſe all thoſe Arabs, that under Mahomet and his ſucceſſors, overrun theſe countries, had the name of Saracens among the European writers, for I could never hear of this name in the eaſt, or in the eaſtern authors. This part of Arabia Patræa conſiſts of mountains, narrow valleys between them, and ſandy plains. On the weſt there is a ſandy plain on the ſea two or three leagues broad, which extends about thirty miles in length to thoſe hills of a white ſtone that are about the vale or winter torrent called Corondel. Theſe hills ſtretch ſouthwards by the ſea for above twenty miles, to a long valley two or three leagues broad, called the vale of Baharum, having on the weſt to the ſea the hills of Gah, and on the eaſt the granite mountains, which take up near the whole breadth of this promontory, Mount Sinai being about the centre of them. This plain extends ſouthwards beyond Tor, to the end of the promontory. Eaſt of the mountains of Corondel, and thoſe called Pharaone, there is a long ridge of high mountains that run to the eaſt, within thirty miles of Accabah, the ancient Elana, on the north of the eaſtern gulf of the Red Sea, which does not come ſo far north as the weſtern by about a degree, as near as I could compute. Theſe mountains are called Jebel-Te. South of them, for about twelve miles, is a ſandy deſert called Rembla (the ſand), and ſouth of this begin the granite mountains, which extend to the eaſt, and ſouth to the ſea. In all this country there are but three or four villages, which are Tor, Jebele, Gedeheieh ſouth of it, ſomewhere in thoſe parts, and Sharme, which I had apprehended was to the eaſt; but I have ſince reaſon to think it is towards the ſouth-eaſt corner of this promontory, a day and a half from Mount Sinai, where they have boats, and from whence the convent is chiefly ſupplied with fiſh. About north-north-eaſt of this place, as I conjecture, on the ſea, and three days from the convent, they told me was Dahab, which ſome people have thought to be Ezion-geber, becauſe of the name, which ſignifies gold; ſo, excepting theſe, there are no other names of places, but what are given to mountains, vales, winter torrents, and ſprings.

The whole country is inhabited by Arabs, its natural inhabitants, who live under tents, and ſtay in one place as long as they have water, and ſhrubs, and trees for their camels to feed on, and they find it otherwiſe convenient, for there is no tillage nor graſs in all this country. All their riches conſiſt in camels, a few goats, and ſometimes ſheep; ſo that they live in great poverty, having nothing but a few dates

* Διαλαίνει δὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ καλέμενα Μελανὰ ὄρη ἀπὸ τῶ κατὰ Φαρὰν μύχω, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδάιαν. Ptol. v. c. 17.

† Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως τῶν ὀρέων τούτων παρατὴν Αἴγυπτίαν, ἥ τε Σαρακήνη παρήκει. Καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Μενυχάλις. Ptol. ibid.

and

and a little goat's milk, and bring all their corn eight or ten days journey from Cairo. The Arabs are in different nations or clans, each under its great ſheik, and every encampment under its particular ſheik. All round by the ſea ſide are the Miſenides and Penuaſi, who are a good people. On the mountains, ſouth-eaſt of Suez, are the Aiaidi, a bad people, and have poſſeſſion of the water they are ſupplied with at Suez. At Suez are the Arabs called Beni Soliman, who have alſo of their nation at Tor; their ſheik is the moſt powerful of all, and has an influence over all the reſt. About the convent are three clans maintained by it: they are but a bad people; thoſe who are called Elecat are the beſt. Next are the Soualli, and the worſt of all the Wecelcadiſaid, which may be a people from Said, or upper Egypt; and I obſerved among the Arabs of the convent the particular manner of muſic they have in Said, or upper Egypt. All theſe Arabs are united in a ſort of league together; are very honeſt among themſelves with regard to property, and if one gives them to eat, there is no danger of any injury from them; they are indeed liberal themſelves; and if they kill a ſheep, they eat it all at once, though they have nothing but bread for their food the day after, which is an univerſal cuſtom among the Arabs; and they provide of what they have for all that come. Any one of theſe Arabs is a protection againſt all the reſt, for they ſtrictly obſerve that law with one another for their mutual advantage. The Arabs about Accabah are called Allauni; a very bad people, and notorious robbers, and are at enmity with the others. Though the Arabs in theſe parts do not live in houſes, yet in moſt places where they find it convenient to dwell, they build little houſes for their grain, ſome of which I ſaw forſaken, becauſe the water had failed.

I went, in Suez, to the houſe of a Greek prieſt, and the next day met with a Turkiſh captain of a ſhip, a very obliging man, who gave me ſeveral informations in relation to the navigation of the Red Sea. Before I departed, the good prieſt aſked me my name, that they might pray in the church for my good journey, which is only a way they have of deſiring charity. About noon on the the firſt of April, we croſſed over the bay to the eaſt, the camels being ſent round before. They had received an account that the Gedda fleet was coming; and this afternoon we ſaw many of them, and others the next day.

As I obſerved before, Nabah or Nabate is to the eaſt; from which place they bring the water, and over it are the mountains called Nouebeh. Theſe names, one would imagine, were ſome remains of the ancient name of the Arabs, called Nabatæi *, that were in Arabia Petræa, inſomuch that the whole country has been called from them Nabatæa. The mountains here go by the general name of Te, but the particular parts of them have diſtinct names.

Three or four hours ſouth of the landing place from Suez, are ſeveral ſprings on little hillocks called Ein-Mouſeh (the ſprings of Moſes.) On theſe riſing grounds, wherever they make a hole, the water comes up. There are about four or five open now, though I ſaw the places where about a dozen ſprings had run. The water where it riſes, brings up the ſand with it, which is like a quagmire all round, and it is dangerous to approach too near. I could not find the bottom with a pole, and they even ſay that camels have been ſwallowed up in them. The waters are warm, ſaltiſh, and I believe there is ſome ſmall mixture of ſulphur in them. One of the ſprings notwithſtanding affords tolerable good water. Some of them have been walled round,

* Παραπλεύσαντι δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐκδέχεται κόλπος Αἰλαϊτικὸς, περιοικούμενος πολλαῖς κώμαις Ἀραβίων τῶν προσαγορευομένων Ναβαταίων. Diodorus, iii. p. 176.

probably

probably to keep up the water for cattle to drink, and one ſeemed to have had ſtone channels made from it. There are two or three palm trees about this place. One would be apt to conjecture that theſe ſprings have their ſource in the neighbouring mountains. From this place a point ſtretches out a great way into the ſea, being ſouth-eaſt of the ſhipping, and breaks the ſea when the ſouth-eaſt wind blows. Clyſma might be near oppoſite to this part, which Ptolemy places twenty minutes ſouth of Arſinoe, and probably it was between mount Attakah and mount Gewoubee. Here I imagine that the children of Iſrael might paſs over the Red Sea. We lay here in the open air, as we did every night in this journey, and were careful not to have any fire after it was dark, not being as yet in a ſafe country, and only five in company. I ſaw about the plain much of the ſmall talc, and the next day many little hills full of it. On the ſecond we went on through the ſandy deſert, and came to a riſing ground covered with little ſhrubs, being the point that makes out to the weſt, oppoſite to mount Gewoubee. Here we ſtopped, after having travelled four or five hours, and I ventured to pitch my tent, to be under the ſhade of it, and defended from the heat of the ſun. And travelling near three hours more, we came to the plain at the beginning of Birk-el-Corondel, which is the name they give the great bay of Corondel. We were alarmed by ſeeing two men running towards us from the eaſt. The Arabs threw off part of their garments, laid their arms bare to fight with the ſabre, and prepared their firelocks. They proved to be two perſons of Suez that were in theſe parts with their camels; who notwithſtanding would probably have robbed us, if we had not been too ſtrong for them. We came to the deſert they call Shedur, the old Shur, and went on an hour longer, and came to a place full of ſhrubs, and ſtaid there for the ſake of grazing the camels. Four of the Gedda fleet were anchored near, and we had oppoſite to us the caſtle of Shedur on the hills to the eaſt. On the third we went on, and in an hour we came to the bed of the winter torrent, called Ouardan, about a quarter of a mile weſt of the road. In this torrent is the ſpring of Ouardan (Ein-El-Ouardan) where if they dig a hole three feet deep, the water comes plentifully into it, probably from the ſea. The water ſeemed rough, but not ſalt. There are a few palm trees here. The Arabs made a ſhallow hole in the ground, and laid in it a round piece of leather, and taking the water out of the deep hole with a bowl, they poured it into this leather, and ſo the camels drank, that were unloaded and brought to the ſpring. We ſtaid here about two hours, and going on came to a ſandy plain, and in three hours to a hill conſiſting almoſt all of talc. We paſſed over it in two hours, and came to a vale between the hills, in which we travelled about two more, and aſcending again, we had on the eaſt Jebel-Houſſan, and on the weſt Jebel-le-Marah, where to the weſt there is a ſalt ſpring. This ſeems to be Marah, mentioned in the old teſtament. We came to the vale, or the bed of a winter torrent, called Corondel, having travelled about eleven hours in all. This place is full of ſhrubs, and has many tamariſks in it. Here we ſtaid all night, but found no water. The day had been cool and windy; and towards the evening the wind raiſed the duſt in ſuch a manner, that we could not ſee far before us. Being now in a country where there is no danger, I pitched my tent whenever I pleaſed; which I always found convenient in the middle of the day, againſt the heat of the ſun.

Beyond the vale of Corondel, is a mountain on the ſea called Jebel-Hamam-Pharaone (the Mountain of Pharaoh's bath.) On the ſide of this mountain there is a grotto by the ſea ſide, to which there are two mouths; one of them leads by a narrow, low paſſage, to a ſource of very hot water, which I believe exceeds in heat the baths of Abano near Padoua. As ſoon as one enters this paſſage, there is heat enough to

make any one ſweat very plentifully. A little further in, it is exceſſively hot; and many people have died that have gone as far as the water, by a vapour that extinguiſhes the lights. The water runs through the rock and ſandy banks, in a great number of little ſtreams into the ſea for a quarter of a mile, and it is even there exceedingly hot, and ſo are the ſtones, which are incruſted with a white ſubſtance, that I ſuppoſe is of ſalt and ſulphur. The water is ſalt; and having brought a bottle to Cairo, it was found to be impregnated with much earthy groſs ſulphur, a neutral ſalt, and a ſmall quantity of allum, but no proportion of vitriol *. It is of ſo nauſeous a taſte, that it could not be taken inwardly, but muſt be uſed by bathing. Theſe waters are eſteemed much for barrenneſs in women, and impotency in men, and are judged to be good in moſt cutaneous and nervous diſorders. They have the water poured on them firſt without, and then in the paſſage, to make them ſweat more plentifully; this they do only once, and for forty days eat nothing but oil, honey, and bread made without ſalt, and drink only water with dates ſteeped in it.

On the fourth we came in three hours to the mountain torrent, called Wouſet, where there are ſeveral palm trees, and a ſalt ſpring, that I thought had a chalybeat taſte. In three hours we came to Taldi, where there are date trees, and as they told me a ſalt ſpring. In half an hour more we paſſed Reiſimah, ſo called from a ſheik buried there; on whoſe tomb the Mahometans throw a piece of bread as they paſs by, out of devotion. In an hour more we came to a narrow valley called Menetfah, where the road to Tor goes to the ſouth, and that to Mount Sinai to the eaſt; but in order to have company, my Arab would carry me a day's journey round about, ſo we went in a long valley to the eaſt, in which we lay. On the fifth, continuing in it, we turned to the north, up a gentle ſandy aſcent, and having a hill to the ſouth-weſt, called the Houſe of Pharaoh (Bait-El-Pharaone) we came to the place that was near the encampment of our Arabs. Here one of them, who had a difference with one of the company, as he was in his own country, came and brought him a flower, as a preſent, which being accepted of, was a ſign that all was made up. From this place on the ſixth, I purſued my journey, only with one Arab, going weſt, and leaving the road to Mount Sinai in order to go to Tor, and ſoon came into a narrow valley, which is the bed of a torrent which was dry, as all the others were. The hills are very high on each ſide, conſiſting of a great variety of red and grey granites, moſtly with ſmall grains; and in ſome of theſe valleys I picked up ſpecimens of the moſt beautiful granites, of which there are great variety. After we had travelled a few hours, we ſtopped, and the Arab left us and led his camels to a ſpring at ſome diſtance, having been near four days without water. In the evening we paſſed by an encampment of Arabs, who invited us to ſtay all night, offering to kill a kid; but the Arab, knowing

* Theſe obſervations were made on this water in Grand Cairo:

1. Scrapings of gall being put into it, produced very little change in the colour, till it had ſtood a conſiderable time, when it turned greeniſh.

2. Two ounces being mixed with a dram of ſpirit of ſal armoniac, it became turbid, and there was a ſettlement of a little dark grey powder.

3. It hardly changed colour when mixed with ſugar of violets.

4. Two ounces mixed with ʒj of a ſolution of ſacch. Saturni, it became immediately very turbid; but ſtanding twelve hours, there was a great ſediment of a dark brown colour, the water remaining white and troubled.

5. Two ounces mixed with ʒj of a ſolution of ſublimate, it turned preſently yellow; but after ſtanding ſome time, a little woolly unctuous matter ſettled at bottom.

6. Two ounces mixed with ʒj of ol. tartar. per deliq. it turned turbid, and of a pearl colour.

7. Two ounces mixed with ʒj of ſpirit of vitriol, it ſuffered no manner of change as to its colour or clearneſs.

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we did not chooſe to ſtop where there were any people, told them we were in haſte. We paſſed by one place where we ſaw ſome garments hanging on a tree, no one being near, and expreſſing our ſurpriſe at it, the Arab ſaid there was no danger here, they were all honeſt people, and if any thing was loſt, the next encampment was obliged to make amends. We came into a plainer country, and to the road we ſhould have come in, and after to the torrent of Pharan (Waad Pharan), the bed of which is a quarter of a mile broad. On the ſeventh we turned ſouthward, and paſſed over a hill into the plain of Baharum, about five miles wide, having only the mountains of Gah between us and the ſea; we travelled this day thirteen hours. On the eighth we came into the valley of Tor, and in three hours to the palm grove of Tor (Nach-El-Tor). At the firſt entering of it there is a ſalt ſpring, the water of it ſpreads over the ground, and the ſalt making a cake on the ſurface, it looks like dry ground, which was the occaſion of an accident to me, which is looked on as extraordinary, even among the Arabs, and is generally very diſaſtrous; for the camel going on this ground ſlipt and fell down, and I came off; it was well the ground was ſoft, for if a camel falls on ſtones he is certainly ſpoiled.

Tor is a ſmall village on the eaſt ſide of the Red Sea, and lies above a day's journey near weſt of Mount Sinai, ſo that it is a day further to go by Tor than by the direct road. Near it is a ruined caſtle, inhabited by the Arabs; the Greeks call this place Raitho (Ραιθὼ), which might have its name from being inhabited by ſome of thoſe people, called by Ptolemy Raitheni, towards the mountains of Arabia Fœlix*; it is inhabited by Arabs, and about twenty families of the Greek church. The monks of Mount Sinai have a convent here, to which they have ſometimes retired when they could not conveniently ſtay at Mount Sinai; only one prieſt reſides in it for the ſervice of the church. There are a ſect of Mahometan Arabs here, called Seleminites, as it is ſaid from their having a particular regard for Solomon, as they have alſo for Abraham; they ſeem to be the ancient inhabitants of the place, for they have the principal moſque to which all the others go every Friday; and theſe in their prayers make mention of Solomon as well as Mahomet. It is poſſible they may be deſcendants of ſome people in theſe countries, who in ſome manner adhered to the Jewiſh religion; or perhaps may be of the race of Jethro the father-in-law of Moſes. About a league north of Tor is a well of good water, and all about it are a great number of date trees and ſeveral ſprings of a ſalt warm water, eſpecially to the ſouth-eaſt, where the monks have their garden. Near it are ſeveral ſprings, and a bath or two, which are called the Baths of Moſes; the Greeks as well as ſome others are of opinion, that this is Elim. The greateſt curioſities at Tor are the productions of the Red Sea; the ſhell fiſh of it are different from thoſe of the ſeas to the north of it; but what are moſt peculiar to it, are the ſeveral ſtone vegetables, the Madreporæ, a ſort of coral, the fungi or muſhrooms, and the red pipe coral. I went to the houſe that belongs to the convent of Mount Sinai, where I was entertained by the prieſt: I had a letter to the ſteward of the convent, who being abſent, his ſon came to me and brought me a preſent of fruit and ſhells, invited me to eat at his houſe, but excuſing myſelf, he ſent his proviſions in for me.

To the ſouth of the town is a ruined caſtle under an Arab governor; and three or four miles to the ſouth there is a village called Jebelee: beyond it is the bay of Raie, where the ſhips going to Suez often ſtay when the wind is contrary. They ſay the Red Sea here is half a day's ſailing over, though I think it cannot be above ten leagues.

* Παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρημὸν τῆς Εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας οἱ Ραίθηνοι. Ptol. v. c. 17.

Oppoſite to Tor is Jebel Garib, and ſouth of that is Jebel Zeit, that is, the mountain of oil, which they ſay has its name from a healing water there, which they think has the effect of oil. I went twice into the Red Sea, ſwimming over the groves, if I may ſo call them, of coral or madreporæ, which is ſomewhat dangerous, and pulled ſeveral of them up. I could not obſerve that they were in any part ſofter at firſt taking out than they are afterwards, but I took notice that they changed their colour in a very ſhort time; ſome that were reddiſh to a deep yellow, and thoſe that were white to a pale yellow. I ſaw none of the fungi, or tube coral growing: the latter is found at about the diſtance of a day and a half: I got a finer piece of it than ever I ſaw, which ſhews plainly how it grows with a round head like a colly-flower.

On the ninth we purſued our journey towards Mount Sinai. Croſſing over the plain to the eaſt, and travelling about ſix hours, we lay near the entrance into a narrow vale, having joined ſome company that were going that way. At Tor they demanded of me a ſmall caphar, but I did not pay it, and a ſheik that was in the company took four that were due to him on the road, and another four for Mount Sinai, becauſe his anceſtor having aſſiſted a merchant, who had like to have had a dangerous fall at Mount Sinai, he gave him four medines, which they have demanded of every one that has come ſince to Mount Sinai; ſo dangerous a thing is it to give the Arabs money on any account whatſoever. We ſaw a hill within the reſt, called Jebel Meſeka, where they ſay there was formerly a convent. On the tenth we came to the torrent called Waad Hebran between the high hills of granite. I obſerved ſome inſcriptions on the large rocks that lay about the valley, and after ſaw ſeveral ſuch inſcriptions at Mount Sinai; there are many palm trees in this vale. We came to the fountain Hebran, which is a little running ſtream; and to ſuch another half a mile further. We paſſed through the country called Diar Frangi (the country of the Franks), becauſe they ſay formerly the Franks uſed to come there. We had on the left Jebel Moſinewm, that is, the hill where Moſes ſlept; we had left the convent of Pharan to the north, and going on, we lay out of the road in a little valley; for they ſeemed to think there was ſome danger here, probably being near the Arabs of Mount Sinai. On the eleventh, after travelling ſome time, we turned to the ſouth-eaſt, and went up a narrow vale called Negeb-Houah, which has a gentle aſcent, and water and palm trees in it, there being the bed of a winter torrent to the left. We here paſſed over a ſquare ſpot encompaſſed with looſe ſtones; where it is ſaid they firſt deſigned the convent, but they pretend that the architect by ſome miracle was led to build it where it ſtands. We went on and arrived at the Greek convent of St. Catharine's, commonly called the convent of Mount Sinai, being on the foot of Mount Sinai, at the north-eaſt ſide of it. I was drawn up in a machine, by a windlaſs, about thirty feet high, and conveyed through a window into the convent. The archbiſhop of Mount Sinai was not here, but his deputy and the chief of the convent received me at the window, and aſked if I would go firſt to my room, or to the church; I went to the latter, where they ſung a hymn, and conducted me to the ſhrine in which the body of St. Catharine was depoſited, and then ſhewed me the way to the apartments they have allotted for ſtrangers.

CHAP. III. — *Of Mount Sinai, and the Places about it.*

MOUNT Sinai in general, is called by the Arabs Jebel Moſes (the mountain of Moſes). It is one hill with two ſummits: the Greeks divide the mountain into four parts. Half way up the mountain is a little plain. Between the two ſummits to the north of it, is what they call Mount Horeb. To the ſouth is the height called properly Mount

Mount Sinai. Mount Serich is a long narrow hill to the weſt of Horeb. Eaſt of the great convent, and at the eaſt end of the narrow vale, which is north of Mount Horeb, is a round hill which the Greeks call the Mount of Moſes. It joins to Mount Sinai on the ſouth, and to Mount Epiſteme on the north. But the mountain is more commonly divided into Sinai properly ſo called, and Horeb. I ſhall ſpeak of the ſeveral parts of Mount Sinai in general, as they are diſtinguiſhed by the Greeks. The convent of Mount Sinai is ſituated on the north foot of Mount Horeb, and weſt of the Mount of Moſes; for ſo I chuſe to expreſs myſelf, though the valley runs from the ſouth-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt. At a well in the convent, called the Well of Moſes, they ſay, Moſes met the daughters of Jethro; that on the Mount of Moſes he was feeding the flock of Jethro his father-in-law; and that in the ſpot where now is the chapel of the Holy Buſh, adjoining to the eaſt end of the great church of the convent, grew that tree which appeared to Moſes as if it burnt and was not conſumed, and out of which God ſpake to him. In a garden near, the fathers have planted a bramble, ſuch as are common in Europe, and ſay it was ſuch a buſh in which this miracle was wrought; though ſuch brambles do not grow in theſe parts; but they tell you that formerly they did. To the weſt and ſouth of Mount Sinai, and that part of it called Mount Serich, is a narrow vale, called the vale of Jah, that is, the vale of God. The vale to the weſt is certainly the vale of Rephidim, where the Iſraelites encamped when they came out of the deſerts of Sin. Here they ſhew the rock which, they ſay, Moſes ſtruck, and the waters flowed out, when God told him he would ſtand before him upon the rock in Horeb, which was after called Maſſah and Meribah; it is on the foot of Mount Serich, and is a red granite ſtone, fifteen feet long, ten wide, and about twelve feet high. On both ſides of it, towards the ſouth end, and at top, the ſtone, for about the breadth of eight inches, is diſcoloured, as by the running of water; and all down this part on both ſides and at top are a ſort of openings or mouths, ſome of which reſemble the lion's mouth that is ſometimes cut in ſtone ſpouts, but appear not to be the work of a tool. There are about twelve on each ſide, and within every one is an horizontal crack, and in ſome alſo a crack down perpendicularly. There is alſo a crack from one of the mouths next to the hill, that extends two or three feet to the north, and all round the ſouth end. The Arabs call this the ſtone of Moſes; and they put herbs into theſe mouths, and give them their camels, as a ſovereign remedy, as they think, in all diſorders. It was in this valley that Iſrael fought with Amalek; and at the ſouth-weſt end of it, at the foot of Mount Sinai, is the convent of the forty martyrs, where the fathers have only a ſervant who takes care of the large garden. Here are the only fruit trees in all theſe parts, which they have of almoſt all ſorts. From that they aſcend very high to the ſouth-weſt, up to the mountain of St. Catharine's, and on the ſummit of it, pretend to ſhew the print in the rock where the body of that ſaint lay; who being tied to a wheel at Alexandria, under the Emperor Maxentius, in order to be put to death, it is ſaid the wheel ſnapped in pieces; and being afterwards beheaded, her body (according to her prayer, that it ſhould not come into the hands of infidels), they ſay, was carried by angels to the top of this mountain, and was brought to the convent by the monks, ſoon after it was finiſhed. About a third of the way up is the ſpring of partridges, which the Caloyers ſay was diſcovered by partridges, who flew after the body; when the monks reſting there, who brought it down, and ſuffering with thirſt, the birds all went to this ſpring, by which means, as they ſay, they found the water. This mountain is much higher than any other in theſe parts; and when one is at the top of it, Mount Sinai north-eaſt of it appears but low. From the top of this high mountain I ſaw both the arms of the Red Sea, and

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on the eaſt ſide, a part of the ſea ſouth of this promontory; and on the other ſide into Arabia Felix. This hill is a ſort of a ſpeckled ſtone or marble, which may be reckoned among the granite kind; many parts of which are dendrite ſtones marked with beautiful figures of trees; as are alſo ſome of the red granite ſtones of Mount Sinai, but are inferior to theſe in beauty.

The vale of Jah does not extend the whole length of Mount Sinai and Horeb to the north, but opens into a plain near a league over every way, which is called the vale of Melgah. This alſo to the north opens into the vale of Raha, which is to the weſt of the vale of the convent that is between Mount Horeb and Mount Epiſteme. Oppoſite to the vale of Melgah to the north is the vale of ſheik Salem; it is to the weſt of Mount Epiſteme, of which I ſhall have occaſion to make mention. Theſe two vales of Melgah and Raha, I take to be the deſert of Sinai, into which the children of Iſrael moved, before Moſes was called up into the mount; and they remained here about two years. It is to be obſerved that the ſummit of Mount Sinai, where God gave the law, is not to be ſeen from either of them, and from very few places; not from any that I could obſerve to the north or north-weſt, being hid by Mount Horeb. In the plain of Melgah is a well dug through the rock; and weſt of the vale of Raha there is a narrow paſſage to the eaſt, between the mountains; and ſuch another well is dug at the entrance of it, which is called Beer Abouſely. In this paſſage there is water and palm trees; and it is probable the encampment of the children of Iſrael extended this way, which might be a part of the deſert of Sinai. From the ſouth-eaſt corner of this vale there is a gentle aſcent, between Mount Serich and Mount Horeb, which leads up to Mount Horeb, paſſes by the chapels of St. Panteleemon and St. John Baptiſt, between the ſummits of Mount Horeb, and ſo goes into the little plain between Mount Horeb and Mount Sinai. This is called the road of Serich; and, according to a tradition they have, it is very probable that Moſes went up to Mount Sinai this way, being the eaſieſt aſcent of the three ways up to the mountain, and neareſt to the ſuppoſed deſert of Sinai. Coming out from this road, into the vale of Rahah, about a furlong to the weſt, is the ſpot where they ſay Aaron caſt the head of the calf; for there being a hole in the rock ſomewhat in the ſhape of a head, they will have it that the head of the calf was caſt there, which the Iſraelites worſhipped; for they ſpeak of the head of this animal as the object of their adoration. Near it is an advanced rock, which ſeems to be formed naturally into ſteps. They ſay the idol was placed on it; and certainly a fitter place could not be choſen to expoſe ſuch an idol on, as it is ſeen from all the neighbouring vallies. On the north ſide of the vale of Melgah, is a ſort of a narrow bed of a winter torrent which the Greeks call Dathan and Abiram, and ſay thoſe ſinners were there ſwallowed up by the earth; but when this happened, they had left the deſert of Sinai: and the laſt place mentioned before this account is Hazeroth, in the deſert of Paran.

It is conjectured by ſome that the derivation of the name of Mount Sinai, is from (סנה) in the Hebrew, which ſignifies a buſh, on account of the dendrite ſtones of this mountain, which are full of the figures of trees or ſhrubs; or, it might have its name from ſome part of it abounding in ſuch ſhrubs. Sine, alſo in the Perſian language, ſignifies a breaſt; ſo that probably it has its name from the Hebrew, or from the other eaſtern word, as Mount Sinai and Mount Catharine are the higheſt hills in all theſe parts, and poſſibly might be likened to the breaſts of the human body. It is alſo in the eaſtern writers often called Thor, by way of eminence, which ſignifies a mountain; and ſometimes it is called Thour Sinai, though ſome eaſtern writers pretend that both the mountains and the town had their name from a ſon of Iſhmael.

The moſt uſual way up to Mount Sinai, is that which is called the way of the ſteps, which begins at the convent on the north ſide of Mount Horeb, the ſteps are narrow, of the rough red granite of the mountain; in the different parts of which there is a great variety of granites, ſome being of the grey kind. Aſcending, one paſſes by a fine ſpring, and after a chapel of St. Mary, concerning which they have ſome hiſtories. Further is a narrow gateway at a paſs up the mountain, and beyond that a ſecond. It is ſaid that all Chriſtians uſed to receive the ſacrament on the top of Mount Sinai, and delivered a certificate to the keeper of the firſt gate, that they had confeſſed at the convent below; and receiving another paper there, delivered it at the ſecond gate, which is juſt at the entrance into the little plain ſpot between Horeb and Sinai, where there is a well and a pool of water to the ſouth. To the weſt is the road called the road of God (Derb le Jah), which has its name from the vale it leads down to, in which is the convent of the forty martyrs. To the north-weſt is the road before-mentioned, which Moſes is thought to have uſed, called Derb Serich; it paſſes between the little ſummits of Mount Horeb, which hill abounds in ſmall ſhrubs and aromatic herbs, where they feed their cattle. There are alſo among them ſeveral white thorn trees, which I had not ſeen any where in the eaſt, except about Antioch; and if the monks had not determined it to a bramble, one would rather imagine this was the tree which is called a buſh, and alſo that this was the ſpot, being a retired place and proper for paſturage, whereas the other has no herbage about it; but it is certain that in Juſtinian's time, when the convent was founded, the tradition was of the place of the convent, though I don't find that they had this tradition in the Empreſs Helena's time, who built a tower within the ſite of the preſent convent, when ſhe came to this place from Jeruſalem, and made thoſe ſteps up to Mount Sinai, of which there are ſtill ſome remains; though ſome ſay that ſhe founded the chapel of the holy buſh.

About Mount Horeb there are four chapels: St. John Baptiſt, the holy girdle of the Virgin Mary, St. Panteliemon, and St. Anne. On a height over St. Panteleimon, there is a long cell cut out of the rock where they ſay two brothers, the ſons of ſome King, lived as hermits. And near St. John's chapel is a building with three cells in it, which belonged to a hermit of the name of Gregory. Returning to the plain, to the ſouth-weſt of it is a cell under a rock where St. Stephen a hermit lived. At the very firſt aſcent up to Mount Sinai, from the vale of Elias, are two chapels adjoining to one another, dedicated to Elias and Eliſha, and on the north ſide of them is a chapel now ruined, dedicated to St. Marina. Within the chapel of Elias there is a little grott, where they ſay that prophet dwelt when he fled to this place: and now the Arabs call the way to Jeruſalem Derb Helele, which they told me ſignified the road of Elias. Going up that ſteep aſcent to Mount Sinai, ſouthward, is the print or ſhape of a camel's foot, for which the Mahometans have a great veneration, and they ſay it is the print of the foot of Mahomet's camel; for they have a ſtory that he and his camel were taken by Gabriel up into heaven, that another foot was in Cairo, the third in Mecca, and the fourth in Damaſcus; and though ſuch a camel muſt have been of an extraordinary ſize, yet the figure of this foot is not bigger than ordinary. A little higher is a great ſtone hanging out from the rock, and they have ſome ſtory that Elias was there forbid to go further, as to aſcend higher was permitted only to Moſes. At length we arrived at the top of this mountain which is but ſmall. It conſiſts of two little ſummits; one at the landing-place, the other a little to the ſouth; on the latter is a ſmall moſque under a rock, at the ſouth-eaſt corner of it is a little grott, which is likewiſe a ſort of a moſque in the poſſeſſion of the Mahometans. Here they ſay Moſes faſted forty days; and there is an imperfect Greek inſcription on the ſtone, which ſeems to be older than the beginning

ning of the Mahometan religion; it is the tenth inſcription in the fifty-fifth plate. On the other ſummit of the mountain, is the Greek church of our Saviour, and north of it a ſmaller belonging to the Latins. According to the tradition they have in the country, Moſes received the law on the ſpot where theſe churches are. To the north of theſe churches, and adjoining to the church of the Latins, is a great rock about nine feet ſquare, which is almoſt as high as the top of the church. It is ſomewhat difficult to get to the top of it, being the very higheſt point of the mountain. Under the weſt ſide of this rock is a cavity, in which any one may conveniently lie; and from it there is a crack in the rock to the eaſt, through which one may ſee the light. This is ſaid to be the place from whence Moſes ſaw the back parts of the Lord, when he told him "that he would put him into a clift of the rock." Exodus xxxiii. 22. The common people ſay the rock inclined forward, that Moſes might not ſee, and that lifting himſelf up to look, he left the impreſſion of his back in the top of the cell. The Mahometans have a great veneration for this place, and it is ſaid often ſacrifice at it; and I ſaw the entrails of beaſts near their moſque. In the top of the mountain is a ciſtern that was made above the ground, as may be ſuppoſed to hold the rain water, and an arched building, which might alſo be a ciſtern. They ſay there were three thouſand ſteps from the convent to the top of the hill; five hundred of which to the ſpring, one thouſand more to St. Mary's chapel, five hundred to St. Elias's chapel, and thence a thouſand to the top. Eaſt of the mountain, at the foot of it, is a little valley which is weſt of the great valley, there being a riſing ground between them. This is called the valley of Seer, and is the only place that retains any thing of the name of Mount Seer, which the Iſraelites are ſaid to have compaſſed in their travels about the wilderneſs, which might be a general name for many mountains. The north part of Mount Sinai is of red granite for above half way up, all the reſt being a granite of a yellowiſh ground, with ſmall black grains in it, and the mountain at a diſtance appears of two colours.

Mount Epiſteme, is ſo called from a woman of that name, who lived on it with her huſband Galaktion, and afterwards a nunnery was founded there, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen. At the ſouth-weſt corner of this mountain, at the entrance both into the valley of Sheik Salem, and into that of the convent from the valley of Rahah, there is a little hill called by the Arabs Araone, and by the Greeks the tabernacle of the teſtimony, (ἡ σκήνη τὲ μαρτυρίε,) where they ſay Aaron was conſecrated, and where he firſt offered up ſolemn prayers to God; ſo that if there is any regard to be had to this tradition, it is probable that on this very hill was placed the tabernacle of the teſtimony of the congregation, which Moſes was ordered to place without the camp afar off.

In one of the roads from the convent to Suez, there is exactly ſuch another ſtone as the rock of Maſſa and Meribah in Rephidim, with the ſame ſort of openings all down, and the ſigns where the water ran. I was deſirous to paſs by it in my return, but unfortunately was led another way. I aſked the Arabs about it, who told me it was likewiſe called the ſtone of Moſes, and that they judged it had the ſame virtues as the other. The firſt account I had of it, I can very much depend upon, being from a manuſcript journal, writ by the preſent prefetto of Egypt from the Progaganda Fide, who went this journey with an Engliſh gentleman now in London. The way to it is by the valley of Sheik Salem, being about ſixteen miles from the convent to the north-weſt. The reaſon why I am ſo particular is, becauſe it is ſaid that this muſt be the rock Meribah, in the wilderneſs of Zin, or Kadeſh, which Moſes ſmote twice, and the water came out abundantly, being after they returned into theſe parts from Eziongeber;

though the father took no notice of this particular, but only relates what he obſerved. About four hours from the convent, in this road, is a ſtone the Arabs pay a great reſpect to, having a tradition that Mahomet ſat on it when he came to this convent. I could find no tradition amongſt the monks that Mahomet was born here, or was a ſervant to the convent, as ſome have ſaid, but found in a hiſtory of the convent, that he was born in the deſerts of Kinſi, in Arabia Felix; and that when he came to the convent, he was honourably entertained by them, and granted that patent of their privileges in particular, and of Chriſtians in general, which was in their hands to the time of Sultan Selim, who eſteeming it too precious a treaſure to be in their poſſeſſion, took it from them, and granted them one under his own hand in the ſame terms. They have great privileges granted in this patent; but the conditions proved to be hard, to give food to all comers. A copy of it may be ſeen in the laſt chapter, tranſlated from the modern Greek. The famous Sinaic inſcription, mentioned by Kircher, is on a ſmall ſtone about half a mile to the weſt of the convent, at the foot of Mount Horeb. Some have ſaid that Jeremiah hid under it the veſſels of the temple; but the place where he depoſited them was at Mount Nebo. Others, with leſs appearance of truth, ſay that Moſes and Aaron are buried under it. It is ſaid the Arabs have ſometimes ſeen a light about it, and imagining the ſtone to have a virtue in it, have broken off pieces from it, as a remedy taken as a powder, when they are not well, and ſo the inſcription is almoſt entirely defaced. However, I ſaw enough of it to be aſſured that it is the ſame inſcription that is in Kircher, of which I had a copy by me, which he ſays was compared by two or three perſons*. There are on many of the rocks, both near theſe mountains and in the road, a great number of inſcriptions in an ancient character; many of them I copied, and obſerved that moſt of them were not cut but ſtained, making the granite of a lighter colour, and where the ſtone had ſcaled, I could ſee the ſtain had ſunk into the ſtone. I obſerved one particularly that is a black ſtone both within and without, and the inſcription is white.

There are other convents and chapels about the mountains, beſides thoſe I have mentioned; as at the north end of the olive garden of the forty martyrs, is the chapel and cell of St. Onuphrius, the latter being under a rock. On the ſouth ſide of the valley of Melgah is the convent of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, where the monaſtery keeps a ſervant. On the eaſt ſide of it is the ruined convent of St. Mary of David. Oppoſite to this, over the hills to the weſt, is the valley of Teleh, a pleaſant retired place, where there is much water, and ſeveral gardens. Here is the ſmall convent of St. Coſmas and Damianus, in which there is a ſervant. To the north there is a ruined building, called by the fathers the priſon of St. John Climax, from a cell of that hermit under a rock that is beyond it. This priſon was a ſort of a convent, to which they ſometimes ſent their monks to do penance; and under it is a ſmall grott in the rock. They were at firſt hermits here, and it is ſaid that the hermits of this place and of St. Saba (the convent I ſuppoſe near Jeruſalem) petitioned the Emperor Juſtinian to build them a convent, which he accordingly did.

The Empreſs Helena ſeems to have laid the firſt foundation of the great convent, in a tower ſhe built, probably for her own convenience, when ſhe came here, as well as for the monks; it is in the heart of the convent, where the archbiſhop's lodgings now are; it is ſtill called St. Helen's tower, and has in it three chapels. This convent

* The Greeks call this inſcription Θεῦ χάραξις γράμματα, (the words of God engraved.) This inſcription may be ſeen in Kircher's Prodromus Copticus.

is built on a deſcent, but the deſign ſeemed to have been to raiſe the lower part by a great number of arches, many of which remain, and to have built the firſt floor on a level, and raiſed two more on it; for the walls round have three tiers of windows or holes: there is nothing of ancient building but theſe walls and arches, and the church, which are well built, of large hewn ſtone of a coarſe red granite. The walls are ſix feet thick, ſome part of them are ruined, eſpecially almoſt all the ſouth ſide, which is rebuilt of rough ſtone. There is a walk all round, on the top of the walls; the old gate now built up is on the weſt ſide; there is ſome ſign of a Greek inſcription over it, but ſuch as I believe would not be legible, if any one could come near it. They enter from the garden by a ſmall door, the great door never being opened but when the archbiſhop firſt comes to the convent. Before it there is a court walled round, with the entrance built up, to keep the Arabs from it, leſt they ſhould force their way in; ſo that all the people are drawn up to a window about forty feet high. The convent is very irregular and ill built, of unburnt brick: the walls having little ſquare towers at each corner, and in the middle of each ſide. The whole is two hundred and fifty-five feet long, from eaſt to weſt, and about one hundred and fifty-five feet broad from north to ſouth. They have their mills, bakehouſes, and all offices that are neceſſary for people who muſt have every thing within themſelves. The great church of the tranſfiguration is on the loweſt ground of the convent, towards the north-eaſt corner; it conſiſts of a nave, an iſle on each ſide built lower, and three chapels on the outſide, built ſtill lower than the iſles; the roof of it is of cypreſs, covered with lead, and ſeems to be as old as the time of Juſtinian; for on the beams are ſome inſcriptions to the honour of Juſtinian and his Empreſs Theodora, whoſe pictures are likewiſe in Moſaic, over the arch of the ſemicircle of the high altar. There are two rows of columns in the church, which I diſcovered to be of the coarſe granite; for they are plaiſtered over; the capitals are all different, though doubtleſs made for the church; ſome of them are bad imitations of the Corinthian order. The eaſt ſemicircle has round it three degrees of ſeats like ſteps, and in the middle the archiepiſcopal chair; they ſay, by ſome miracle they were formerly forbid ſitting in it, ſo now they put the tabernacle on it, in which are preſerved the holy myſteries. The church was very beautifully paved; but being deſtroyed by ſome Turks, who thought to find treaſures, it was as beautifully repaired in the laſt century, under the Archbiſhop Athanaſius; and there is in it a great variety of beautiful and coſtly marbles, brought from Damaſcus. There is an incloſed portico before the church, and a tower ſeems to have been deſigned at each end, over the chapels at the corner. This church is probably a very perfect model of an ancient Greek church. On the partition between the high altar and the church is a marble cheſt adorned with reliefs of foliages, in which are preſerved the relicks of St. Catharine. Among them is the ſkull which probably is imperfect, becauſe it is not taken out, and the left hand very perfect, having on the fingers ſeveral rings; and is adorned with pearls. The Greeks ſay the whole body is in it, which may be much doubted. Adjoining to the eaſt end of the church is the chapel of the holy buſh, which, they ſay, grew where there now lies a white marble ſtone under the altar, which they kiſs with great devotion; no one entering into the chapel without putting off their ſhoes. To the north of this is a chapel, and there is another on the ſouth ſide of it; the latter is called the chapel of the holy fathers; and it appears by a Greek inſcription, that twelve martyrs are there buried, who are ſuppoſed to be of the number of the forty thouſand martyrs. About the convent are ſixteen other chapels; one of which is in the garden, adjoining to the dormitory of the archbiſhop and monks, who

are laid in a houſe built above ground, without being inhumed; and the archbiſhops only have the honour of coffins.

They have two wells in the convent, one is called the well of Moſes, the water of which is cold, and uſed in ſummer, the other, the well of the holy buſh, which is not ſo cold, this they drink in the winter. All their ſprings and wells depend much on the rain: and in the valleys, between the ſummits of Mount Horeb, they have built walls to keep the water from running off, that it may ſink down and ſupply their wells; notwithſtanding this they want water for moſt of their gardens, by reaſon that the rains of late years have not been plentiful; and many of their trees die on that account.

The patriarchs of Conſtantinople when depoſed, have often been baniſhed to this convent. If I do not miſtake, Athanaſius was of this monaſtery; and I was informed that Sergius was a monk here, who was an accomplice with Mahomet; and I ſuppoſe is the ſame perſon that aſſiſted him in completing the Alcoran, and the ſyſtem of the Mahometan religion.

The convent is exempt from all juriſdiction, and is governed by a biſhop, who has the title and honours of an archbiſhop; he is elected from their own body, by the monks of this convent, and the convent at Cairo, and goes to Jeruſalem to be conſecrated by the patriarch. Under him there is a ſuperior that ſuperintends under the archbiſhop when he is preſent, and governs in his abſence; but does very little without conſulting in a meeting that is compoſed of ſeven or eight either of the oldeſt men, of greateſt judgment, or of thoſe who have done moſt ſervice to the convent, whether prieſts or lay-brothers, no office or ſeniority entitling any one to be a member of it *.

In Cairo they are governed by an archimandrite, which is the title of thoſe who are ſet over the monks that are abſent from the principal convent, and are in any city; and he, in the abſence of the archbiſhop beyond the ſea, is the perſon that governs the whole affairs of the convent. About two hundred years ago, having been diſſatisfied with their laſt archbiſhop, they choſe a ſuperior under the title of goumonos, which is the name they give to ſuperiors of convents, and they remained under this government for eighteen years. The members of the convent are prieſts, deacons, or lay-brothers; the latter are employed in ſuperintending, or ſerving about all domeſtic affairs. Their manner of living is very rigid, and kept more ſtrictly to than in any other convent; they never eat fleſh, and in lent, nothing that is the produce of fleſh, as cheeſe or the like; and they are permitted to eat oil and ſhell-fiſh only on Saturdays, Sundays, and feaſt days, in lent; no Greek being allowed to eat any other fiſh during that ſeaſon: and any one may conclude how coarſely they fare, when I hardly ſaw any other diſhes there than rice ill dreſſed with oil, vinegar, and onions, and ſometimes with onions and dried fiſh, the ſame ſort of fiſh dreſſed in a ſoup, dried horſe beans ſodden in water, ſallad, and cheeſe. They have two ſevere faſts, which as many as can obſerve; they eat nothing from Thurſday evening to Saturday in the afternoon, on Eaſter eve; and from Sunday evening to Aſh-Wedneſday in the afternoon.

The ſervice of the Greek church here is performed with much greater decency than ever I ſaw it in any other place, and, it is probable, moſt agreeable to the ancient

* The ſuperior of the convent they call Δίκαιος. The ſuperior they choſe in the place of an archbiſhop was called Ηγούμενος, the common title of thoſe who preſide over convents. The prieſts they call Ιερομόναχοι. The deacons Διάκονοι. The lay brothers Καλογέροι, which according to they pronunciation of γ, is Caloyeroi. Their meeting or chapter they call ἡ Σύναξις.

cuſtoms of the Greek church; for though the convent, as they ſay, has been twice rifled, and the monks obliged to fly, yet they ſoon returned again, ſo that there has been a conſtant ſucceſſion; and ſome years paſt they retired to Tor, not being able to ſupport the Arabs. They ought certainly to perform their offices well, for it is their whole employment. The offices are very long, but they ſhorten them by ſaying them very faſt, which one may conclude from their often ſaying Kyrie Eleyſon forty times without drawing breath. Their offices take up great part of their time. In lent they riſe at midnight, and perform certain devotions, celebrating the ſacrament only four times a week, from nine to eleven, when they dine. At other times they do not riſe at midnight, but begin to celebrate before day. They have ſervice at four in the afternoon, and when it is over, they ſup and go early to repoſe. Juſtinian ſent them a hundred vaſſals from the Red Sea, and as many more from Egypt, to ſerve the convent; they were formerly much increaſed, but they deſtroyed one another in ſome contentions they had, ſo that about the convent there are not forty families: there are of them at Tor and other parts, the Arabs not deſiring they ſhould be all together leſt they ſhould be too hard for them: theſe the convent ſupplies with bread. One is always within the convent, to take care of the large moſque, the Mahometans would have near their great church, and they have one or two more within their walls for ſome ſervices. Theſe vaſſals take care of their gardens, and do other affairs for them as they have occaſion.

When pilgrims arrive at the convent, a caloyer or lay-brother is appointed to attend on them, to prepare their proviſions in a place apart, which is ſerved in their chamber. They are ſhewn all the chapels and offices of the convent, the library, where there are a few manuſcripts, but I ſaw none that were rare. They have many Greek books of the firſt printing. The pilgrims commonly attend the ſervice of the church twice a day, and on ſome certain days they dine in the refectory with the monks; and ſoon after they arrive, being conducted from the church to the refectory, they perform the ceremony of waſhing the feet, as they do at Jeruſalem. If the pilgrim is in orders, a prieſt performs that ceremony; I had that honour done me by the ſuperior. One of the monks, after this ceremony is over, holds a baſin and urn to waſh the hands, and then ſprinkles the pilgrims with roſe water; if it is a lay perſon, one of the lay monks performs theſe ceremonies, the whole ſociety ſitting in the hall, and chanting hymns. They ſit at the table half a quarter of an hour before they riſe up to ſay grace; one of them reads at a deſk all the time of dinner, and a father regulates by a bell the portions he is to read. On the archbiſhop's table, at the upper end, was a covered plate with bread in it, and on each ſide two ſmall ſilver cups of water; one of the prieſts carried the plate round, all preſent taking a piece of bread. In like manner the cups were carried round, which are filled with wine when they have plenty; every one drinks a little out of them. After this they went and ſat on each ſide of a paſſage, at the upper end of which is the archbiſhop's chair. Here they remain ſome time and diſcourſe; every one taking a plate of wheat or peaſe out of baſkets that are placed there, and picking them clean; probably with an intention to inſinuate, that even their diverſions ought to be attended with ſome uſeful actions. We went to the archbiſhop's apartments, where coffee and other refreſhments were ſerved, and the book of benefactors was ſhewn; it being cuſtomary to give ſomething after this ceremony is performed.

On Palm Sunday they expoſed the relicts, and about noon I ſet out with a caloyer to go up the mountain. Being let down by the window, we aſcended up to the plain of St. Elias, that divides the ſummits of the two mountains. We viſited all the parts

of

of Horeb, and went up to the top of Mount Sinai, and came down again to the plain of St. Elias, and lay there in the chapel of that Saint. The next day we went along the valley, between the two hills to the weſt, and deſcended the ſteep hill to the convent of the martyrs. We after begun to aſcend the mountain of St. Catharine, which was a fatigue that laſted four hours. From the top I had a fine view all round, and deſcended to the convent of the martyrs, where we repoſed that night, after a day of great labour. The next day we went along the valley of Rephidim, and came to the convent of the apoſtles, in the valley of Melgah, and from it went over the hill to the weſt. We came to the convent of St. Coſmas and Damianus in a valley, where we ſaw all the remains of convents and hermitages. The next morning we returned into the plain, and ſaw ſeveral things in the way to the convent; and I went to Jebel Mouſeh, to the ſouth-eaſt of it, which is of grey granite; and was drawn up again into the convent. On Good Friday the relicts were again expoſed. The next day I roſe after midnight to ſee the ceremonies of the church, and ſet out again to go a ſecond time up Mount Sinai, which at firſt they made ſome difficulties of, being contrary to their uſual cuſtoms; but I had a deſire to go up another way, by which they ſay Moſes uſed to aſcend the mountain; it is called Derb Seritch; ſo I went to the top of Mount Sinai a ſecond time.

On Eaſter Sunday I roſe ſoon after midnight to ſee their ceremonies. All being over about day-break, we went to the archbiſhop's apartments, where they broke their ſevere faſt, by eating eggs boiled hard, and cheeſe; and coffee was ſerved round. The monks ſeemed extremely pleaſed that their Lent was over, were very chearful, ſung hymns in their chambers, and went to repoſe. We all dined together in the refectory about ten in the morning; and coffee being ſerved in the paſſage, I was invited to the ſuperior's room, and from thence we all went to paſs ſome time in the garden. They had aſked me if I would perform our ſervice on Eaſter-day in a chapel that is allotted for that purpoſe; there being one for the Roman Catholics, and, if I miſtake not, another for all other profeſſions.

As to the natural hiſtory of this country, there is little to be added to what I have already remarked. I ſaw few trees, except the acacia, which the Arabs here call cyale, and I believe is the ſame that is called ſount in Egypt; it is certain that they collect the gum acacia from it. Some parts of the deſert abound in ſmall ſhrubs. There are very few birds in this country, where there is ſo little food for them. I obſerved ſome flocks of large ſtorks with black wings, which were probably changing their climate and going to the north againſt the ſummer. Of wild beaſts, they have only a few tygers, or leopards, being a ſmall ſpotted ſort they call gatto-pardali, ſome antelopes, hares, wolves, and ahenas.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the Journey of the Children of Iſrael.*

TO the account of Mount Sinai, and that part of Arabia, I ſhall add ſomething concerning the journey of the children of Iſrael out of the land of Egypt.

There are four roads from Cairo to the north part of the Red Sea; one called Derb Ejenef is the fartheſt to the north, and continues a conſiderable way along the plain to the north, or north-north-eaſt, then aſcending between ſmall hills, it paſſes by the mountains called Hauhebi, and deſcends, as I was informed, from the north to Adjeroute, which is to the north-north-weſt of the Red Sea; though I have ſome reaſon to doubt, if it does not come into the common road to the weſt of Adjeroute, in the narrow paſs about Hamatibihara, where I was ſhewn a road coming in eaſt of the

road of the Hadjees or pilgrims. The ſecond road, called Derb Hadjar, aſcends up the hills to the ſouth from thoſe burial places near Cairo, called Keid Bey; goes on eaſt of theſe as on a ſort of a plain, having in many parts little hills on each ſide, and a range of hills at ſome diſtance to the ſouth, and at length going in between the hills, a little beyond a valley, called Tearo Said, paſſes a very narrow defilee, called Haraminteleh, and then coming into a ſort of open plain, having Mount Attakah on the ſouth, it leads to Adjeroute. At Tearo Said, a third road Derb-el-Hadjee (the way of the pilgrims) comes into the laſt, having gone north to the Birkè or lake, eight miles from Cairo; from which place it aſcends the low hills to the eaſt, and continues on them. The moſt ſouthern road is Derb Toueric, being ſouth of thoſe hills on which are the two laſt roads, and as I ſuppoſe, paſſes between the two ridges of mountains Attakah and Gewoubee, which are the two hills on the weſt of the Red Sea, next to Suez, and paſſes over the ſouth part of Mount Attakah, and ſo by the ſea ſhore leads to Suez, or directly to Adjeroute. It is moſt probable that the Iſraelites went by the firſt road Derb Ejenif, becauſe it comes out from the mountains neareſt to the wilderneſs of Etham or Shur, which appear to be the ſame from Exodus xv. 22. and Numbers xxxiii. 8. The firſt born were ſlain the night of the fourteenth of the month Abib, that is, the night before the day of the fourteenth, and they were thruſt out the morning of the fourteenth; and the people of Iſrael being probably gathered together to go away (according to Pharoah's promiſe) on the eaſt of the Nile, oppoſite to Memphis, that day they might go north, leaving the land of Rameſas; for I rather ſuppoſe it to be a country than any particular town, and it ſeems to be the country about Heliopolis, now called Matarea. And they came to Succoth, which might be about a village called Chankè, about five hours or ten miles north of Cairo, and near this place there is water of the canal, with which they might provide themſelves. We may ſuppoſe they ſet out the night after the fifteenth; they then encamped in Ethan, in the edge of the wilderneſs, that is in the edge of the wilderneſs of Etham; or it might be at a winter torrent called Etham, which might give name to the wilderneſs, and be at the edge of it. This muſt have been about the north of the Red Sea, and probably inclining to the north-eaſt of it. They were ordered to remove from Etham, and to turn again unto Pihahiroth, oppoſite to Baalzephon, Exodus xiv. 2. before it, before Migdol, Numbers xxxiii. 7. between Migdol and the ſea, before Baalzephon by the ſea, Exodus xiv. 2. and the Egyptians overtook them encamping by the ſea, beſide Pihahiroth, Exodus xiv. 9. They turned again to Pihahiroth, a place they had been at before, probably the old Cleopatris, ſomething nearer the deſcent from the mountains. Beſide, or on the ſide of this place they were encamping, it may be a little to the ſouth-ſouth-weſt, over againſt Baalzephon, which might be Arſinoe, and be ſo called from ſome extraordinary worſhip in it of the ſun or Baal. They were encamping by the ſea, probably to the weſt of it, before Migdol, and between it and the ſea. Migdol might be the ancient Heroopolis, which I ſuppoſe to have been where Adjeroute is; ſo that the Egyptians coming down the hill, in the road called Derb Ejenef, and ſeeing that they could ſhut up any retreat both to the north and weſt, Pharaoh might well ſay of them "They are entangled in the land, and the wilderneſs hath ſhut them in." We may ſuppoſe that the Iſraelites marched moſt part of the night; for it is ſaid the Egyptians came not near the Iſraelites all the night; and that the Lord cauſed the ſea to go back by a ſtrong eaſt wind all that night; and probably towards the morning the waters were divided, and the children of Iſrael went into the midſt of the ſea; and in the morning watch, the Lord troubled the hoſt of the Egyptians; and Moſes ſtretching out his hand, the waters came again and overwhelmed the

the Egyptians. It is probable that the Iſraelites went on the weſt ſide of the Red Sea, till they came to the aſcent over the ſouth part of Mount Attakah, in Derb Touerik; for ſuch a great number of people to paſs ſuch a road would take up much time; ſo here it is probable the waters were divided, and that they paſſed over to a point near the ſprings of Moſes, which makes out a great way into the ſea, within which the ſhips now lie at anchor. And the tradition in the country is, that the Iſraelites paſſed over where the ſhips anchor. The Red Sea lies here pretty near north-eaſt, and ſouth-weſt; and the Lord ſent a ſtrong eaſt wind all that night, by which he cauſed the ſea to go back; but then he alſo divided the waters, and made the ſea dry land. The waters might be ſaid to be on their right, if the ſea had retired by the natural cauſes of wind and tide; though it could not well be ſaid to be a wall to them on the right, as it could by no means be ſaid to be a wall to them on the left, if all the water was retired to the ſouth-weſt or to the right; but the waters ſtood on a heap, and were a wall to them on their right hand and on their left. The Iſraelites landing here, might drink of the waters of Ein Mouſeh (the ſprings of Moſes) which might from this have the name continued among the Jews by tradition, who might after viſit theſe places, and ſo it might become the common name when Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed. They then went three days journey into the wilderneſs of Etham, or Shur. The wilderneſs of Shur might be the ſouth part of the wilderneſs of Etham; for about ſix hours from the ſpring of Moſes, is a winter torrent called Sedur, and there is a hill to the eaſt higher than the reſt, called Kala Sedur (the fortreſs of Sedur) from which this wilderneſs might have its name. In theſe three days they found no water; but meeting with a ſpring of bitter waters, Moſes being ordered to throw a tree into them, they were made ſweet, and the place was called Marah. About four hours north of Corondel, and about ſixteen ſouth of the ſpring of Moſes, is a part of the mountain to the weſt called Le Marah, and towards the ſea is a ſalt well called Birhammer, ſo that this is probably the place; five or ſix hours a day being a ſufficient march with women and children, when they ſaw their enemies drowned, and were in no fear, and in ſearch of water, which they could not find. They removed from Marah, and came unto Elim, and in Elim were twelve fountains of water, and three-ſcore and ten palm-trees. About four hours ſouth of Le Marah is the winter torrent of Corondel, in a very narrow valley, full of tamariſk-trees, ſome palm-trees, and there is tolerable water about half a mile weſt of the road. Beyond this about half an hour, is the winter torrent called Dieh-Salmeh, and an hour or two further is the valley or torrent of Wouſſet, where there are ſeveral ſprings of water that are a little ſalt. I am inclined to think that one of them, but rather Corondel, is Elim, becauſe it is ſaid afterwards they removed from Elim, and encamped at the Red Sea; and the way from Corondel to go to the valley of Baharum is part of it near the ſea, where I was informed there was good water, and ſo probably the Iſraelites encamped there. If the Iſraelites had encamped at Tor, which many would have to be Elim, near the well of freſh water, which is no more than half a league from the ſea, and almoſt within the view of it, it would hardly have been ſaid that they went afterwards and encamped at the Red Sea; and the ſalt waters there, called the ſprings and baths of Moſes, are not a mile from the ſea. Suppoſing then Corondel to be Elim, it is probable they went this way by the ſea into a long valley (which may be the deſert of Sin), that extends away to Tor, and to the ſouth to the ſea, being about two or three leagues wide in ſome parts, and is between two ranges of hills, one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt, towards the ſea; and it is not improbable that the children of Iſrael ſhould encamp about Tor, where there is good water; and this might give occaſion for the name of thoſe ſprings. It

was

was in the wilderneſs of Sin that God gave them manna; from Tor one goes eaſt to the valley of Hebran, which is a winter torrent between high hills. There are ſeveral ſprings in it of excellent water, and I ſaw there two wells. This probably is Dophkah, where the Iſraelites encamped when they took their journey out of the wilderneſs of Sin, Numbers xxxiii. 12. From this valley the road is over the mountains to the eaſt, into the pleaſant valley of Bouerah, about half a mile broad, between high hills. There was water near it, but having failed, the Arabs have left thoſe parts. This probably is Aluſh, where they encamped when they departed from Dophkah, Numbers xxxiii. 13. From this place the road is over a height between the mountains, and leads into the valley of Rahah, part of the ſuppoſed deſert of Sinai. From the deſert of Sinai, they went into the deſert of Zin, which ſeems to be a general appellation for a great extent of deſert and hills; and Kadeſh and Paran are uſed promiſcuouſly for the ſame deſert, Numbers x. 12. Numbers xx. 1. Numbers xxxiii. 36.; but notwithſtanding it is probable that different parts of it were called more eſpecially by theſe names. Paran ſeems to have been to the ſouth, about the hill they now call Pharan, and a winter torrent of the ſame name, which are to the ſouth-weſt. To this part the Iſraelites went, when they came to the deſert of Sinai; and when they returned from Ezion-geber into the deſert of Zin, we find them at Kadeſh, which ſeems to have been a particular part of the deſert of Paran to the eaſt, Numbers xiii. 26. where Moſes ſtruck a rock a ſecond time, and the water flowed out. This is ſuppoſed to be eight hours north or north-north-weſt of Mount Sinai; and to this part the ſpies returned from viewing the promiſed land. It is probable, Jebel Te is Mount Hor, which extends near to Elana, ſuppoſed to be Ailath, to the ſouth-eaſt of which Ezion-geber ſeems to have been, the plains of that place being mentioned after thoſe of Ailath, when the children of Iſrael journeyed towards the promiſed land; and when they turned back again, it is ſaid that they came into the wilderneſs of Zin, which is Kadeſh, as probably all the deſert had that name to the weſt of the eaſtern gulf of the Red Sea. It is then ſaid they removed from Kadeſh, and pitched in Mount Hor. This ſeems to be in their return again towards the promiſed land *, ſo that Mount Hor muſt have been near Kadeſh, and near Ezion-geber. Mount Seir alſo is mentioned, and their encompaſſing that mountain, that is going to the weſt, ſouth, and eaſt of it; and I think it may be doubted whether this was a general denomination for ſeveral mountains, or one ridge of mountains; and if the latter, whether it might not be the ſame as Mount Hor, ſo called from the Horims, who were the firſt inhabitants of it, and were ſucceeded by the children of Eſau †, who coming there, it might have from him the name of Seir, which ſignifies hairy, and ſo be called ſometimes Hor, and at other times Seir.

CHAP. V. — *From Mount Sinai to Suez, Grand Cairo, Roſetto, and Alexandria.*

ON Eaſter Sunday in the evening, I was deſired to meet the fathers in the great church of the convent of Mount Sinai, where they begun a form of chanting and praying for our ſafe journey to Cairo, repeating the ſame ceremony all round the ſix and twenty chapels in the convent. The ſuperior invited me to ſup at his chamber, and preſented me with views of the convent; this being a certain form, they go through with all pilgrims, the ſuperior ſupplying the place of the archbiſhop. I made him, as uſual, a preſent in money, and to the prieſts, deacons, officers, and to all the convent, a ſmall ſum, viſiting many of them; and ſeveral came to ſee me, and brought me pre-

* Deuteronom. ii. 8.

† Deuteronom. ii. 12.

ſents

ſents of natural curioſities of the Red Sea, and of the country about, as they obſerved I made collections in that way. The next day, the twenty-third of April, after having been at the church and the chapel of the holy buſh, the ſuperior and many of the convent went with me to the window, where I took leave of them, was let down, and began my journey towards Cairo. We went only two hours that day, the Arabs not having every thing ready for their camels. On the 24th we went in the ſame way we came. We ſoon deſcended the valley where they ſay the convent was firſt deſigned, and turning to the weſt in the other valley we came in, after travelling about a mile, we turned out of that road to the north, aſcending the ſandy valleys between very low hills, called Jebel Leſany. I ſaw the houſes the Arabs had built for their corn, but they had left the place for want of water. We came into a large plain called Waad Aie, from whence the road goes to the convent of Paran. They told me that the part of the deſert towards the convent was very much infeſted with a large yellow hornet, called dembeh, that ſtings the beaſts as well as men, and cauſes a very troubleſome ſwelling for five or ſix days, if they do not apply a white earth and vinegar. Poſſibly the village of Pharan, mentioned by Ptolemy, might be in this place. Near it is the ſmall high hill of Pharan, or Paran, which is ſo often mentioned in the old teſtament, that we may conclude the children of Iſrael encamped there for a conſiderable time; ſo that in this great promontory between the two gulfs, Sarracene ſeems to have been to the weſt and north, the Pharamitæ to the eaſt and ſouth, and poſſibly Munichiatis might be in the middle between them. Purſuing our journey, we paſſed by a hill called Laiſh; and in the evening a prieſt of the convent going to Cairo overtook us. On the twenty-fifth we paſſed through the valley of Bareach, where I ſaw two or three inſcriptions, and there was rain water preſerved in ciſterns. Near this place, we came into the road we left going to Tor; four or five Arabs joined company with us, and we were moleſted by one who pretended to demand a fine becauſe three perſons, as he thought, came together from the convent; for the Arabs have a law that if three camels depart at the ſame time, the convent ſhall be obliged to pay thirty piaſters; which I ſuppoſe is deſigned to prevent any one Arab with ſeveral camels, monopolizing the whole buſineſs of conveying the monks. This day we had a hamſeen wind, but it was not very hot, as it did not come from the ſouth-weſt. On the twenty-ſixth we came to Jebel Te, which, as I obſerved, may be Mount Hor, where Aaron died. Paſſing along the valley to the weſtward, which is to the ſouth of Mount Te, I ſaw a few letters cut on a ſtone, and the figures of two perſons on horſeback; and I had ſeen ſuch a one alſo in the valley of Hebran. On the twenty-ſeventh we came to Corondel, where having unloaded the camels, I went on one of them, with two Arabs, to Pharaoh's baths (Hamam Pharaone), of which I have given an account, and returned again to the caravan before night. On the twenty-ninth in the morning, there was a very thick fog, which I had rarely ſeen in theſe countries; and paſſing by the fountains of Moſes in the morning, found the waters warm. We arrived at the ferry of Suez, and as it was very hot, I pitched my tent, and the ſheik of Naba and ſeveral Arabs came under the ſhelter of it, and took the refreſhments of coffee and tobacco. A Tartar of the paſha's, who was there about the affairs of the cuſtom-houſe, and was acquainted with my interpreter, came over with a boat to meet us, and carried us to the other ſide. I was under a neceſſity of ſtaying in Suez ſome days, to wait for a caravan, and found the vermin ſo troubleſome, that I was obliged to lie on the top of the houſe, on the terrace, though the dews fell very plentifully; but this was not all, for I was forced to leave my room early in the afternoon, and ſit on the terrace, to avoid being annoyed; for though the bugs uſually come out only by night, yet I obſerved here that they be-

gun their walks by day. Being left at Suez to take care of myſelf, the caimacam took me under his protection, for I had occaſion to apply to him, and the caravan being to depart, I joined company with him, he having been ſo obliging as to procure me camels, and to deſire me to ſend my things to his houſe; all which favours I ſtood in much need of. On the eighth of May, in thé evening, we lay with the caravan without the town, and on the ninth we ſet out an hour before ſun-riſe. At the firſt entrance into the pilgrims road (Derb-el-Hadjee) to the right of the narrow way between the low hills, I ſaw a ſort of a foſſee towards the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt; which poſſibly may be the remains of the canal that went to the Red Sea. We lay by four hours, about the middle of the day, and afterwards paſſed by Der-el-Hammel, where there is a tree covered all over with rags, which the pilgrims of Mecca throw on it out of ſome ſuperſtition. This is the place where the caravan for Mecca ſtops the firſt night, after they leave the encampment at the lake. We did not ſtop till two in the morning on the tenth, and went on again about ſun-riſe; two hours before we came to the lake of the pilgrims, we paſſed by Bir-el-Hammer, where they were ſinking a well, the old one having been filled up. The caravan from Mecca had lately paſſed by in their return to Cairo, and we ſaw ſome dead bodies lie ſtripped in the road; theſe were people that being ſick and fatigued, and ſtaying behind, died in the road; and thoſe who might paſs afterwards, had the avarice to ſtrip them, but not the charity to put them into the ground. About noon we arrived at the lake from which the Mecca caravan ſets out. I left my interpreter with my baggage, and procuring an aſs, went to Cairo with the caimacam and his father. As we paſſed by Sibillallam, the little children brought us cups of water to drink, in order to get ſome charity.

I arrived at Cairo, moſt exceſſively fatigued and out of order by the length of the journey, and the great quantity of water I drank to quench my thirſt, it being very hot. I ſtaid about three weeks at Cairo to refreſh myſelf, and as ſoon as I was a little recovered, I took leave of my friends, from whom I had received very great civilities during my long ſtay in Egypt; having been in theſe countries, from the time I firſt landed to the time I departed, every month in the year except Auguſt.

On the fourth of June in the evening, many of my friends being ſo kind as to accompany me to the boat, I departed for Roſetto. When we came into the Roſetto branch our boat was often aground; the Nile being now at loweſt, and they expected every day to ſee it begin to riſe. I obſerved nothing particular in this voyage, only two canals, of the courſe of which I got the beſt information I could. The firſt is called Towrat Nadir, which paſſes through the country called Habib to the north, and Menoufieh to the ſouth, the city of Menouf being on the north ſide of this canal. The other canal is El-Foraſtac, which they told me croſſed the Delta, north of Mahalla, and runs into the Damiata branch, which muſt be underſtood by the communication it has with other canals. I was informed that about Faſara they have a lake where they gather much ſalt. We arrived at Roſetto early on the ninth, and I went to the vice-conſul's houſe, where I ſtaid till the twenty-ſecond, to have an account that the houſes were opened at Alexandria, after it was free from the plague. I ſet out in the evening in a chaiſe, and came to the madea, or ferry. We repoſed a while at the cáne, and about midnight croſſed the ferry, over the mouth of the old Canopic branch. I was informed that the water here is freſh at the time of the high Nile, when doubtleſs it overflows the canals that are choaked up; this lake not having any communication with the canal of Alexandria: I came to that city, and reviewed almoſt every thing I had ſeen before, and on the third of July embarked on board an Engliſh ſhip for the iſle of Candia, the ancient Crete.

BOOK

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An Arabian Summer House upon Antique Fragments, on the Canal of Menouf.

BOOK IV.

OF THE GOVERNMENT, CUSTOMS, AND NATURAL HISTORY OF EGYPT.

CHAP. I. — *Of the Government of Egypt.*

EGYPT is divided into three parts; Upper, Lower, and Middle Egypt. Theſe are again ſubdivided into provinces, governed either by ſangiaks, called alſo beys, or by caſhifs. Thoſe that are under the former are called ſangialics; but where any are dependent on a ſangiak, and are governed by a caſhif, one that is not a bey, they are called caſhiflics.

A ſangiak is a governor, under whoſe ſtandard or ſangiak all the military men of the province were obliged to rank themſelves, whenever they were pleaſed to ſummon them.

The preſent diviſion of the country, according as it is conſidered in the divan, is the ancient diviſion, being formerly divided into Delta below, the Thebaid above, and Heptanomis in the middle part, ſo called from conſiſting of ſeven provinces. But travellers commonly divide it into Upper and Lower Egypt. Lower Egypt is all the country ſouth of Cairo, in which there are ſix ſangialics or caſhiflics; two of them in Delta are Garbieh to the north-weſt, and Menoufieh to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt. On the weſt is Baheira, under which is the caſhiflic of Terrane. To the eaſt are Baalbeis, and Manſoura, which I think is called Dequahaliè, and I have ſince been informed Kalioub is a ſixth.

In Middle Egypt on the eaſt is only Atfieh. On the weſt are Gize, Faiume, Beneſuief, Minio, and as it is ſaid, Archemounain and Manfalouth, though I apprehend the latter is under the bey of Girge; and if ſo, muſt be reckoned a part of Upper Egypt, and the other belongs to Mecca, and ſo is in a manner a diſtinct ſort of principality from the other government. The firſt I mentioned, Gize, always belongs to the tefterdar, or lord high treaſurer of Egypt.

In Upper Egypt there were formerly twenty-four provinces, but many of them are now ſwallowed up by Arab ſheiks, ſo that on the weſt ſide I could hear of none but Girge, Eſne, and Manfalouth, though Aboutig, Tome, Hou, and alſo Bardis, Furſhout, and Badjoura, have been mentioned as ſuch; which latter, and I ſuppoſe moſt of the others, have of late years come under the government of Arab ſheiks. On the eaſt ſide is Sciout, and I think Ibrim to the eaſt and weſt. Eloua alſo is a caſhiflic, which is the moſt ſouthern Oaſis, where I have heard, they have ſome particular laws and cuſtoms; one eſpecially, that a ſtranger cannot ſtay there above three days. Akmim, Kenna, Cous, and Luxerein, have been alſo reckoned as caſhiflics, which now ſeem to be loſt under the Arab government; the greater part of that country being under theſe five Arabian ſheiks: on the weſt the ſheik of Aboutig, who alſo has part of his territory on the eaſt; the ſheik of Bardis, near Girge, who has a very ſmall territory there, and a larger about Cous and Luxerein; the ſheik of Furſhout, whoſe territory extends on the weſt, near as far as the cataracts, and has alſo a country on the eaſt, beyond that of the ſheik of Bardis; on the eaſt the Emir of Akmim, who has a large country alſo on the weſt; a ſheik who reſides at Elbanaut, and has a ſmall territory about Kepht, and is the brother of the ſheik of Furſhout; and then the country before mentioned of the ſheik of Bardis. The country on the

eaſt is moſtly in the poſſeſſion of Arabs that are not under any regular government, ſo that as I obſerved, there is but one province under a caſhif, as well as I could be informed, which is Sciout; and the caſhif of Ibrim, both on the eaſt and weſt above the firſt cataract. Theſe Arab ſheiks are ſucceeded by their ſons, but they muſt be confirmed by the paſha, who on that account receives very great ſums on the death of a ſheik, and delays confirming the next heir till the money is depoſited; and in this interval, the relations of the ſheik are ſometimes carrying on intrigues to ſupplant one another. But it is ſaid that the paſha muſt confirm ſuch a perſon as is agreeable to the divan and country.

All Egypt, on the part of the Grand Signior, is governed by a paſha, who having in reality but very little power, his buſineſs ſeems chiefly to conſiſt in communicating to his divan of beys, and to the divans of the ſeveral military ogiaks, that is, their bodies, the orders of the Grand Signior; and to ſee that they be executed by the proper officers. If he farms the country of the Grand Signior, the fines belong to him that are paid when any life drops on the lands; for originally all the lands of Egypt belonged to the Grand Signior, and the Porte looks on them at this time as their own. But the Grand Signior's power being loſt, they now go to the next heir, who muſt be inveſted by the paſha, and he is glad to compound for a ſmall ſum, with regard to the value of the lands. The paſha, in order to execute his office properly, muſt keep up as good an intereſt as poſſible with the perſons of the greateſt power, eſpecially with one man, who happens to be in greateſt credit, and with the leading men of the military bodies, to watch their deſigns; and if he finds them prejudicial to the Porte, to foment diviſions amongſt them, and if he cannot obtain his ends, however to make the beſt party he can, and be ever laying ſchemes to bring about his deſigns. He muſt find out the propereſt means to cut off thoſe he perceives are too aſpiring, though it will certainly end in his own depoſition, about which he need not be very ſolicitous, as his perſon is always held ſacred, and as his removal will be a ſure ſtep to a more profitable employment. As to the orders of the Grand Signior, his buſineſs is not very great, becauſe they will not ſuffer any orders to be executed contrary to their intereſt; and therefore very few are ſent that are diſagreeable to them. If he has a good intereſt with the perſon in chief credit, and with the leading men of the military bodies, and they attempt nothing againſt the Porte, and the Porte leaves every thing without innovations, the office of paſha is very eaſy. If he is to create diviſions, he and his caia ought to be men of parts to manage intrigue, and to employ fit inſtruments to bring about their ends; and if it is neceſſary to cut off ſome leading men, money muſt be well and liberally applied, to engage perſons leaſt ſuſpected, to act with the utmoſt ſecrecy and treachery. And it ſometimes happens that when a paſha has cut off one party, he manages ſo as to cut off the leading men of that very oppoſite party, who aſſiſted him to deſtroy the other.

If one might conjecture at the original of a ſheik bellet, or head of the city, who is appointed by the paſha, one may imagine either that he anſwers to ſuch an officer of the Arabs, during the Mamaluke government; or that the people at ſome time or other might require the Porte to nominate ſuch a bey, as might be agreeable to them, to be their head, and take care of their intereſts; a perſon himſelf, if in credit, of the greateſt intereſt, and is then in reality, lord over all the land of Egypt; and he acts with the greateſt prudence, when he makes himſelf eſteemed and revered by the other leading men, keeps up a very good correſpondence with the Porte, prevents any innovations that may be attempted contrary to the intereſt of it, takes care that they ſend no orders that may encroach on the liberties the country enjoys, and if

any tumults happen to riſe againſt the orders of the Porte, to endeavour to palliate them as well as poſſible, at Conſtantinople, that no more may be heard of them; and in general to take care that nothing be done either at home or abroad that relates to his country without being communicated to him, or without his advice. But in reality, all his power depends on maintaining his credit, and not barely on his office; for the government of Egypt is of ſuch a nature, that other perſons have often the greateſt influence; ſometimes a caia of the janizaries or azabs, and even ſometimes one of their meaneſt officers, an oda baſha; and whoever by his parts and abilities can gain ſuch authority, and make himſelf the idol of the people, to his levee all the great men go, and whatever he ſays is a law with them.

As Upper Egypt is under ſuch powerful Arabian ſheiks, ſo it is neceſſary to ſend a ſangiak to govern that country, and to collect the tributes due from them, and from the caſhifs under him. This governor reſides at Girge, with his officers, almoſt in as much ſtate as a paſha, has his divan; and detachments from the military bodies reſide there. He is named yearly by the divan at Cairo, but commonly continues in for three years.

Hiſtorians give us an account, that Sultan Selim utterly deſtroyed the Mamalukes, when he conquered Egypt. He might leave them the ſame form of government they had before, but probably it was only a ſhadow of a government: as he ſeems to have introduced the government of provinces, as in other parts of his dominions, ſo it is probable that he made beys of his own creatures, and that caſhifs were ſent into all parts that were attached to him, and had no intereſt in the country. It is poſſible theſe beys might come in length of time to be ſucceeded by their ſlaves they had advanced to offices; and ſo the beys at length might all have been ſlaves. And thus it might approach nearer to the Mamaluke government; notwithſtanding the beys at firſt ſeem not to have had any great power; but the military bodies, particularly the janizaries and azabs, growing powerful, might begin to attempt ſome innovations in the government; for in a liſt of paſhas, we find every thing went on very quietly till the year 1602, when a paſha was maſſacred; and twenty-eight years after, the military bodies depoſed a paſha, which is the only inſtance of the kind, from the time of Sultan Selim to the year 1673; though it is ſaid of late years, they have often been obliged by the ſoldiery to deſcend from the caſtle; and it is ſaid by their capitulations with Sultan Selim, they have a power to remove the paſha.

It is probable that the Porte perceiving the military bodies grew too powerful, were well pleaſed to ſell the villages to the leading men among them; whereas formerly they would not purchaſe, that they might not ſubject themſelves to the beys, to whom they now pay court; the beys, as governors of the provinces, having an abſolute power over their villages. And now the Porte can manage better; for the power being in the hands of the beys, if they grow dangerous, it is more eaſy to cut them off, without creating any diſturbances among the people; whereas any injury offered to a leading man among the military bodies, might ſtir up the reſentment of the whole body, and be of dangerous conſequence. The preſent ſucceſſion of the beys, as they are not entirely attached to the Porte, is better than if it was hereditary, for the haſnadar or treaſurer of a bey, or ſome other great officer, or caſhif, that was ſlave to the deceaſed bey, marrying the widow, is obliged to give up a great part of the eſtate to make himſelf friends, and ſecure his ſucceſſion; which keeps very great eſtates from ſettling in one perſon. But the Porte ſeems to have been much miſtaken in their meaſures to ſecure the ſubjection of Egypt; one great mean would have been to have conſtantly changed the military bodies every year, and not let them ſettle and have a

ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion of natives of the country; and then to have had beys always Turks and creatures of their own; and chiefly to have ſtrictly prohibited the importation of ſlaves into Egypt, they being the ſtrength of the preſent government againſt the Porte; for a great man having given his ſlaves liberty, they are firſt made caimacams, afterwards caſhifs, and then begin to purchaſe other ſlaves; and at length to give them liberty, and all are dependent on the firſt great maſter. And the Porte is ſo ſenſible they ought to have a greater influence over the military bodies, that they have frequently attempted to ſend an aga of the janizaries yearly from Conſtantinople, in order to have an abſolute power over the country; but both the military bodies and the beys have always oppoſed it.

The paſha has a caia, a bey pro tempore by his office, who is his prime miniſter, and generally holds the divan; the paſha, like the Grand Signior, ſitting behind a lattice in a room at the end of the divan, rarely aſſiſting himſelf, unleſs it be on any extraordinary occaſion; as reading ſome order from the Porte or the like. One of the great officers that always attends the paſha when he goes out, is the dragoman aga, who is not only an interpreter, but more eſpecially acts as maſter of the ceremonies. The paſha has, like the Grand Signior, his chouſes, ſhatirs, boſtangees, and a horſe guard of Tartars, on whom he would chiefly depend, both for his ſafety, if at any time there were any danger, and alſo in ſending all his diſpatches.

The emir hadge, or prince of the pilgrims that go to Mecca, is named yearly from Conſtantinople, and generally continues in the office two years, to make amends for the great expence he is at the firſt year for his equipage; but if he is a perſon of capacity, and has an intereſt at the Porte, he may be continued longer, though rarely more than ſix years; for if they conduct the caravan ſeven years, the Grand Signior preſents them with a collar of gold; and it is ſaid that their perſons are eſteemed ſacred, and they cannot be publicly cut off. This officer has command over the eſtates that belong to Mecca, and ſends his ſardars to govern them. The perquiſites of his office, beſides what he is allowed by the Porte, conſiſt in having a tenth of the effects of all pilgrims who die in the journey. And if this great officer behaves himſelf well during his adminiſtration, it procures him the general eſteem and affection of the whole country.

The tefterdar or lord high treaſurer of the tribute paid out of the lands to the Grand Signior, is named for a year by the Porte, but is generally continued in for many years. This office is ſometimes given to one of the pooreſt beys, to enable him to ſupport his dignity; and frequently to a quiet bey, who will enter into no intrigues; for one party would not care that a ſtirring man of the oppoſite party ſhould be inveſted with this office, which is of great dignity.

Cairo is under the guard of the janizaries. Old Cairo is guarded by a bey who reſides there, and is changed every month; ſo likewiſe is the country north of Cairo, called Adalia; and the azabs have the charge of the country round the city. An officer patroles about the city, more eſpecially by night, who is called the walla, anſwering to the Turkiſh officer called ſoubaſha; he takes up all perſons he finds committing any diſorders, or that cannot give an account of themſelves, or that walk in the ſtreets at irregular hours, and often has their heads cut off on the ſpot, if they are not under the protection of the janizaries, or of any of the military bodies. As he is the terror of rogues, ſo for preſents made to him, he is often their protector; and without thoſe preſents they are ſure to be cut off; and to him the great men ſend for any villains that have rendered themſelves obnoxious to them, and they are ſure to have them delivered. Another officer is the meteſſib, who has the care of all weights and meaſures, and to ſee that every thing is made juſtly according to them.

There is a caimacam in every great village, who is under the caſhif, and may have eight or ten, or more ſmall villages under him, each of which have in them a ſheik-bellet, either a native Egyptian, or an Arab, where the Arabs are ſettled; and theſe caimacams, as well as the caſhif, have to manage with the ſheik Arabs, who in many parts, have the real power; and the caſhif governs by making a leading ſheik Arab his friend by preſents and management. All the annual officers are appointed by the divan, on the 29th day of Auguſt, being the firſt day of the Coptic year; and the chief buſineſs of all theſe governors, beſides keeping the country in order, is to get in the money for the Grand Signior, and more eſpecially for themſelves.

CHAP. II.—*Of the Military Bodies in Egypt.*

THERE are five bodies of ſpahis, or horſe, in Egypt; the two principal are the chaouſes and the muteferrika, who were originally the guards of the Sultans of Egypt, and their leaders were his two viziers, that always accompanied him; the chouſler-caiaſi on his right hand, and the muteferrika-baſhee on his left, and now they always go out with the paſha. The body of chaouſes ſeem originally to have been the guard out of which the Sultan uſed to ſend perſons to execute his orders; for the Grand Signior has a body of chaouſes for that purpoſe, but they are not reckoned among the ſpahis. The muteferrika are in themſelves of the greateſt dignity, which that word implies, ſignifying the choſen people; being generally perſons of ſome diſtinction, and the Grand Signior has a guard of this name, that are not in the body of the ſpahis. Here they are ſent to garriſon caſtles; and are at preſent in the caſtles of Adjeroute and Yembo, in the way to Mecca. It is not improbable that they begun to ſend them into theſe garriſons, when the Circaſſian Mamalukes or ſlaves had drove out the firſt Mamaluke ſucceſſion of Kings, which were of the Turcoman ſlaves called Bahariah, who originally were ſent to guard the fortreſſes on the ſea coaſt, as the Circaſſians were ſent to the inland garriſons, and were alſo the guards of the ſeraglio of the Sultans. Theſe Circaſſians ſeem to have been originally the third body of ſpahis, called Cercaſi, the other two are the Giomelu and the Tufecſi. Theſe three laſt have at their head each of them an aga, and when they have paſſed through that office, they are called ictiars or actiars, which in all the military bodies, ſignifies ſuch officers as have paſſed through all the degrees of offices of their reſpective bodies. Theſe compoſe the council of their divan; and a ſtep to this office is firſt to be made a ſerbajee, or captain. They hold their divan in the houſe of their aga, but their bodies are of little intereſt. When the divan of the janizaries or azabs would have any thing done, they ſend a chous to the paſha, to have an order for it, which muſt not be denied. The order is brought to the caia in charge, who gives it to the aga, to put it in execution; and the baſchous of the janizaries always aſſiſts at the paſha's divan. The ſlaves of the officers of the military bodies, when they give them their liberty by ordering them to let their beards grow, become members of that body, and are advanced; and ſo it is really a Mamaluke government through every part; but the ſlaves are by no means a deſpicable people, they are the faireſt and moſt promiſing Chriſtian children of Georgia, taken for the tribute, brought here to be ſold, and become Mahometans. They are well clothed and fed, taught to throw the dart, and ſhoot with great dexterity; and almoſt every one of them has a ſervant to take care of his horſe, to wait on him, and attend him on foot, near his horſe, when he goes out. And to ſay the truth, they are in the hands of very kind maſters, and are as obſervant of them; for of them they are to expect their liberty, their advancement, and every thing; ſo that a ſlave behaves

behaves himſelf as one that is to become a governor of towns and provinces; and if he has more ambitious views, as one that may come to ſucceed his maſter; and this, as I obſerved, is the ſtrength of the preſent government againſt the Grand Signior.

What has transferred the power, in a great meaſure, from the two military bodies of the infantry to the beys, as I obſerved, is the leaders of thoſe bodies purchaſing lands of the Grand Signior, which obliges them to be ſubmiſſive to the beys, that they may not ruin their villages, whereas formerly the military bodies were rich, had a treaſure, and an eſtate moſtly in Cairo, as they have at preſent; but the revenues of it the divan divide among themſelves. And when the public body was rich, each particular was poor, and no one would purchaſe villages, that he might not be ſubject to the beys, to whoſe houſes, at that time, they would not go; and this was what ſecured their power, whereas now they have loſt that influence, and the liberty they enjoyed, by ſubjecting themſelves. At the time indeed when I was in Egypt, they had a conſiderable ſhare of power, occaſioned by a wrong policy in the leading man, who, at the ſame time that they paid court to him, and the other beys, thought proper to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the leading caia among the janizaries, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf.

By this a ſheik bellet may continue ſomething longer in credit; but it has been found that at length he loſes his power, though he maintains his ſtation; there being no other true foundation for authority in theſe countries, but a fear which approaches ſomething towards a ſervile dread of the perſon that commands.

As the military bodies, eſpecially the foot, which are the janizaries, and azabs, have ſo great a ſhare in the government, I ſhall give a more particular account of them; for the five bodies of ſpahis are little conſidered, but the two bodies of foot, the janizaries and azabs, have a great influence in all affairs. The janizaries (jenit-cheri) which word ſignifies the new band, conſiſt of a certain number of companies called odas or chambers, over each of which there is a head called odabaſhee. Theſe officers in proceſſion, march with caoukes, or high ſtiff turbans, and a ſhield ſlung behind them; and as the janizaries have the guard of the city, from this office, thoſe that are thought fit to be advanced, are put into an office called boabodabaſhee, whoſe buſineſs it is to walk every day about the principal parts of the city with many janizaries to attend him, to keep order, and to ſee that all things are regular, even to the dreſs. This office is for three months; he is after advanced to be a ſerach, who is a ſervant that holds the ſtirrup of the caia of the janizaries in charge, attends him when he goes out on horſeback, and ſerves him as a meſſenger on all occaſions, and has ever after the title of chous. After he has paſſed through this office, he is advanced to the ſame office under the aga of the janizaries. He may afterwards be choſen into the number of chouſes, or meſſengers of the divan of the janizaries, and is called cuchuk, or little chous. There is no fixed time for continuing in theſe offices; but as a new chous is made, the others advance a ſtep higher. The next degree is alloy chous, that is, the chous of the ceremonies, who has the care and direction of all proceſſions. From this office he is removed to be petelma, which is ſomewhat in nature of a procurator to the whole body, having the care of their effects; and when any one dies under the protection of this body, he ſeals up their houſes, to ſecure the tenth part, which is due to them out of the effects. After this office he comes to be bas-chous, or head-chous, and enters into the divan, or council of the janizaries, and ſo remains in the divan, with the body of the chouſes. He muſt then either go to the war, or with the caravan to Mecca, or with the treaſure to Conſtantinople, and then he is made waught caiaſi, or caia for the time being, that is, for a year, who is the judge in all affairs that

that relate to the body; but as there are frequently four or five chouſes made in a year, ſo a chous waits a long time before he is advanced to this dignity, as they take it according to their ſeniority. When he has paſſed through this office, he is in the body of caias, and takes his place as the youngeſt, below the reſt. The office of caia is properly a deputy or ſteward, one that acts for a perſon or body. The chouſes are like purſuivants at arms, and being always ſent by the body, approach nearer the nature of ambaſſadors or envoys; their perſons are held very ſacred, and they are people of great authority; and yet thoſe in office are always clothed in black, riding on aſſes, and have a particular broad turban, except the bas-chous, who mounts a horſe.

The janitzar aga, or general of the janizaries, is choſen by the divan of janizaries, out of what body they pleaſe of the ſpahis or horſe, but moſt commonly out of the muteferrika: he has no place in the divan, and the bas caia holds his ſtirrup when he mounts. He executes all orders of the divan that belong to his office; as in dangerous times, he patroles once a day about the city, and publiſhes any orders they think fit ſhould be known; and when he is ſent out to guard the city, in time of tumults, or when any revolution is apprehended, he is at ſuch times inveſted with the whole power or authority of the body of janizaries, can cut off whom he pleaſes, without giving any account, or being anſwerable to any one, except that he muſt demand of their reſpective military bodies, ſuch of the ſoldiery as have rendered themſelves obnoxious. He is always, in theſe caſes, attended by a chous from each body of the foot; but as ſoon as he returns to his reſidence in the caſtle, his power ceaſes. He ought to be put in, as at Conſtantinople, by the Grand Signior; and it ſeems to be an uſurpation for their own body to nominate him. He is indeed appointed and inveſted with that office by the paſha; but he is obliged to take ſuch a perſon as their own body thinks proper. The beys have, it is true, ſometimes interfered, and managed ſo as to get one of their creatures into this office. In Conſtantinople they have ſerbajees over every chamber; but here a ſerbajee is only an honorary thing, like a brevet colonel. When any detachment is ſent to war, or on any other affair, they are under the command of a ſardar, taken from the caias, whoſe office is at an end on his return. He is as a colonel of a detached body; the name being derived from the Perſian word ſar, which ſignifies a head or chief. He has his deputy, called jëmac, and two ſabederiks, or ſecretaries. This body, thus detached, is called a bouluke; but the whole body of janizaries in general, and their divan, is called the ogiak of the janizaries. Both theſe and the azabs have their divan at the caſtle, at their reſpective gates, called the gates of the janizaries, and of the azabs.

Azab ſignifies an unmarried perſon, and was a new recruit of young ſingle men added to the janizaries, and became a diſtinct body. They have been great rivals with the janizaries in Egypt, and ſometimes the azabs have got the better, as in the tumult in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen; but now the janizaries have the upper hand, notwithſtanding ſome of the caias of the azabs are men of great intereſt. Their inſtitution and officers are the ſame as thoſe deſcribed of the janizaries; only from odabaſhees they are made ſerbajees, and from that office caias, and come into the divan; whereas if they go through thoſe other offices of ſeraches and chouſes, they never are advanced to be caias, nor have they the office of boabodabaſhee, which regards the government of the city, with which they have nothing to do. On the contrary, among the janizaries, when any one is made a ſerbajee, it is laying him aſide, and he is no further advanced.

Theſe two bodies are the great protectors of the people, and by their waught caia, all things regarding thoſe under their protection, are judged, and almoſt all the people are incorporated into one or other of them. And if they apprehend that they are wronged by one body, they fly to the protection of the other, and become a member of it, which often occaſions great broils. Thus they make themſelves independent of the paſha, and every body; have their bas-chous always in the divan of the paſha; and, if occaſion requires, their bas-caia, to oppoſe any thing as they think proper. And when any orders are ſent to little divans from the Grand Signior by means of the paſha, if they are diſpleaſing to them, they return them unexecuted. And theſe two bodies have uſurped a power of depoſing the paſha, by ſending a bas-chous from each body, who, turning up the corner of his carpet, pronounces theſe words, In Paſha; that is, Deſcend, Paſha: and if he aſks the reaſon, they tell him. And then he deſcends, an honourable priſoner to a houſe prepared for him, and the beys name a caimacam out of their own body to govern, until the Grand Signior ſends another paſha. And when the paſha is out of place, they always oblige him to pay the expences they were at on account of his public entry. There is this difference between the tumults here and thoſe at Conſtantinople, that the latter are commonly begun by ſome reſolute fellows among the janizaries, whereas here the mob is generally raiſed by ſome great man, who envies one that is a rival to him; for as long as the Cairiotes are poor and weakened by former diviſions, they are quiet, but when they grow rich and great, they envy one another, and ſo fall into diviſions; which is only avoided by a prudent perſon's having the ſway, who either makes all the other great men his friends, and adjuſts all differences between them, or rather has ſufficient power to make every body fear him.

The janizaries in Conſtantinople have no divan, but the janitzer aga enters the great divan, and receives his orders from the Grand Vizier; and moreover they have not the body of azabs in Conſtantinople. The janizaries alſo here have different offices, by which they riſe to the higheſt degree; and every janizary has a great power, which is uſurped; and if they find any roguery among the common people, they give them the baſtinado, without any further ceremony, and there is no remedy for thoſe who have no money; and when they are going to war, they are lords of the property of every one; inſomuch that a ſtop is put to all trade, the ſhops are ſhut, and there is no ſecurity but in keeping out of the way; for of all the ſoldiers in the Grand Signior's dominions, thoſe of Cairo are moſt inſolent and injurious. Egypt is obliged to furniſh the Grand Signior with three thouſand ſoldiers every three years, if he demands them; twelve hundred janizaries, nine hundred azabs, and nine hundred ſpahi; or if the Grand Signior ſends them back, he can demand a freſh ſupply every year.

CHAP. III.—*Of the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, Public Revenues, Trade and Manufactures of Egypt.*

JUSTICE is adminiſtered in Egypt almoſt in the ſame manner as in other parts of Turkey. A cadiliſkier, like a lord high chancellor, is ſent yearly from Conſtantinople to Grand Cairo, to whom they may appeal from the cadis; and many cauſes of importance in Cairo go immediately before him. He has his deputy, called nakib, and his houſe is the place of juſtice. There are in Cairo alſo eight cadis in different parts, and in every ward there is an officer called kabani, who is ſomething like a public

notary; for by him all obligations that are valid are drawn. He is likewiſe a public weigh-maſter, by whom every thing ought to be weighed.

The city is divided into as many parts almoſt as ſtreets, which diviſions have gates to them, kept by porters, who ſhut them up at night; and to every ſtreet where Chriſtians or Jews live, there is a guard of janizaries, who were firſt appointed to prevent the ſelling of ſpirituous liquors. A cadi is ſent yearly from Conſtantinople to Alexandri, Roſetto, Damiata, and Gize; but the cadiliſkier ſends them from Cairo to moſt other towns; for the law is much ſtudied here; which is written in the pureſt language, ſuch as is ſpoken at Damaſcus, for that is eſteemed the beſt. They have a ſaying, "That the law cuts the ſword, but the ſword cannot cut the law;" for the Grand Signior himſelf cannot take off a perſon of the law. But if any great man in that profeſſion has rendered himſelf obnoxious, he orders him a horſe's tail, by which he is made a paſha, or general, and then he can ſend him a bow ſtring; but executions of that kind are never ordered in Egypt, leſt the people ſhould take part with the offender, who is commanded to ſome other place to wait his puniſhment. As the Mahometan faith is divided into ſpeculative and practical, they ſtudy the latter, as it relates to their morals and their laws; and go through much the ſame courſe of ſtudy to be officers of their religion, and of their law; only the moſt able men apply to the latter, and more particularly direct their ſtudies to the knowledge of the law. But it is to be obſerved, that in Egypt many cauſes are carried before leading men, who abſolutely decide, even againſt the ſentence of the magiſtrate; and there is no appeal to be had from them; and when they do apply to the cadi, an intereſt is often made by leading men, that is not to be reſiſted. However, one thing is much to be admired, as to the manner of adminiſtering juſtice, that all cauſes are immediately decided as ſoon as they are brought before them.

The religious perſons who have the care of the moſques here, are called ſheiks, in Turkiſh they are called imam, which is alſo an Arab word, ſignifying, as well as ſheik, a head or chief: they have more or fewer to one moſque, according to its ſize and revenues; one is head over the reſt, who anſwers to a pariſh prieſt; under him there are hogis, (readers) and thoſe who cry out To prayers; but in ſmall moſques the ſheik does all himſelf. In ſuch it is their buſineſs to open the moſque, to cry To prayers, and to begin their ſhort devotions at the head of the congregation, who ſtand rank and file in great order, and make all their motions together; they alſo generally make an harangue to the people every Friday. I have been told ſome ſheiks have been advanced to be cadis, and cadis are ſometimes, when unfit for buſineſs, made ſheiks of moſques, if they deſire it, that is, if they have not ſaved fortunes; for here the cadis, that are put in by the cadiliſkier, remain in their office many years.

The relations of Mahomet, called in Arabic, ſherif or noble, by the Turks, emir or prince, have the privilege of being exempt from appearing before any judge but their own head, who is himſelf a relation of Mahomet, and is called neckib-el-eſheraf; and they are ſo much eſteemed, that though any one of the military bodies will puniſh them, if guilty of any miſdemeanor, yet they firſt take off their green turbant, out of reſpect to their character, and then ſubject them to puniſhment as well as any others; and this is done even when they are puniſhed by their own magiſtrate.

The revenues of the Grand Signior, in Egypt, conſiſt of three branches, which ariſe from the lands, the cuſtoms, and the poll-tax on Chriſtians and Jews. The immenſe riches of the Grand Signior may be eaſily collected, if one conſiders that he is abſolute lord of all the lands in his dominions; notwithſtanding the bad government, all the riches center in the Grand Signior; for the little officers oppreſs the people; the great

officers ſqueeze them; and out of Egypt, the paſha all the people under him; the paſha himſelf becomes a prey to the great people of the Porte; and the Grand Signior at laſt ſeizes the riches of the great officers about him.

All the villages in Egypt pay a certain yearly rent to the Grand Signior, which is fixed; and this is the Haſna or treaſure, that is ſent every year to Conſtantinople. How eaſy the rent is, may be concluded from the ſum which is raiſed, which amounts only to ſix thouſand purſes, each of twenty-five thouſand medines, which is about eighty pounds ſterling; out of this, corn, flour, oil, and the like are ſent yearly to Mecca, and twelve thouſand ſoldiers are paid, which reduces the treaſure to twelve hundred purſes; out of which they alſo deduct from fifty to two hundred purſes, according to the pretences they can make, which are moſtly with regard to the conveyance of the water of the Nile to their lands; as in opening and cleaning ſome great common canals, and repairing ſome walls that ſerve for keeping up, or turning the waters; and five hundred dollars a month is paid to the beys. They alſo deduct for the repairs of all caſtles; and great ſtores of ſugar and ſhirbets for the uſe of the ſeraglio, and cordage for the arſenal, are ſent yearly out of this ſum; ſo that though a bey and ſeveral hundred men go every year to guard this treaſure to Conſtantinople, it does not commonly amount to more than two hundred purſes in ſpecie. This treaſure was uſually ſent by ſea, but being once taken by the Florentines, they have ſince gone by land, taking the other treaſures in the way at Damaſcus and other places; it goes under the conduct of a bey, and a detachment from each of the military bodies. They return by ſea, with the fleet of Alexandria, and have uſurped a privilege of bringing what merchandiſe they pleaſe cuſtom free.

It ſeems as if Egypt was formerly divided into timars, or knights fees, that is, lands granted for life, on condition of furniſhing ſo many men for the war, who were obliged to rank themſelves under the ſangiaks or banners of their province, from whence came the title of ſangiak, for a governor of a province; but I cannot now find any thing of this, and it may be that the extraordinary advance the country gives to the three thouſand ſoldiers ſent once in three years, if the Grand Signior commands them, is in lieu of it. Theſe lands are ſold during life, at a fixed rent, and the money ariſing from the ſales is commonly given to the paſha, who pays to the Porte about eight hundred purſes a year for it; but much roguery is practiſed in this, for a great man buys them in the name of a ſlave, and he has two or more ſlaves of that name, and often pretends when one dies, that the village was bought in the name of the other. There are lands that belong to Mecca, the revenue of which is received by the kiſler-aga or black eunuch, who ſends a deputy here to manage the revenues of thoſe eſtates, which are moſtly paid in corn, ſent to ſupply the country of Mecca. And as to the Grand Signior's rents or tribute, if the Nile does not riſe to ſixteen pikes, when the canal at Cairo is cut, they are not ſent; becauſe the conſequence of it would be a want of every thing throughout the land of Egypt, and occaſion a famine.

The ſecond branch of the Grand Signior's revenues, are the cuſtoms of Egypt. The Ogiak of the janizaries farm all the cuſtoms of the paſha, who takes them of the Grand Signior; and when I was in Egypt, the Grand Signior ſending a perſon to take it out of their hands, they managed ſo that it had no effect. The cuſtoms are taken by the janizaries at a fixed price, but they are often obliged to make an extraordinary preſent to the paſha. They let them commonly to Jews, but Damiata has been generally in the hands of Chriſtians.

The cuſtoms of Damiata are let for four hundred purſes, and may yield five or ſix hundred; the cuſtoms of Alexandria, for two hundred and eighty purſes, and produce about four hundred to the farmer. The cuſtoms of Bulac the port of Cairo, and of things landed from Upper Egypt at Old Cairo, are likewiſe farmed; the cuſtoms of Suez may be worth eight hundred purſes, being about twenty-ſeven ſhillings on every bale of coffee; theſe the paſha keeps in his own hands, as likewiſe the merchandiſes brought from Mecca, which is about half a guinea on every camel. Thoſe of Upper Egypt are given to the bey there; theſe cuſtoms ariſe from a duty of ten per cent. on all goods imported, and ſeven more when they come to Cairo, but the Engliſh and French pay only three per cent., inſtead of ſeventeen, which is ſettled by treaties with the Porte. The Swedes alſo have lately obtained an order for the ſame purpoſe. The Venetians and Dutch, by reaſon of ſome debts contracted here, did not ſend conſuls, and had loſt their privilege, but the Venetians have lately regained theirs. All perſons pay three per cent. for goods exported.

The other branch of the Grand Signior's revenue in Egypt is the poll-tax on the Chriſtians and Jews, called the harach; this, till within a few years, was in the hands of the janizaries, who gave eighty purſes a year for it; but an harach-aga being ſent from Conſtantinople, by applying a great ſum of money to the leading men, he got poſſeſſion of the harach or poll-tax; and it is ſaid, he makes of it, for the Grand Signior, eight hundred purſes. Before this, the Chriſtians paid but a trifle, by capitulation with Sultan Selim, the ſum being only two dollars and three quarters a head; and this capitulation the Coptis ſay they have in their own hands. The great men conſented to this, not thinking that it would any way interfere with their intereſts, nor conſidering that it would drain the kingdom of ſo much more money every year; for now they pay according to their ſubſtance, either two dollars and three quarters, or five and a half, or eleven, each dollar being about half a crown, for which a certain number of papers are ſent yearly from Conſtantinople, as to other parts; which muſt be either returned, or the money anſwering to the ſums contained in them; which papers are given to thoſe who pay the tribute, and are their acquittances. The perſons that pay are only men, after they arrive at the age of ſixteen.

As to the trade of Egypt, that which is within itſelf conſiſts in ſupplying the lower parts from above, with corn, all ſorts of pulſe and dates; and the upper parts from Delta, with rice and ſalt, and from Cairo, all kinds of things imported into Egypt; as Upper Egypt has no commerce by the ſea, or any other parts that can ſupply them with ſuch things. Before the way was found to the Eaſt Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, Egypt had a great trade, by landing all Indian and Perſian goods at Coſſir on the Red Sea, bringing them to Kept four days by land, and then carrying them to Alexandria, whence they were diſtributed all over Europe by the Venetians, which was the great riches of that ſtate, which has ever ſince declined. Indian linens, muſlins, calicoes, and china-ware are dearer here than they are in England, being brought a great part of the way by land. The exportation of coffee and rice out of Egypt into any parts out of Turkey, is prohibited, but preſents make all thoſe things eaſy; many ſorts of Indian drugs are exported to Europe, and ſome of the growth of this country, which are ſenna, caſſia, a little coloquintida, and a red dye called ſaffranoun. They ſend flax to Leghorn, and all over Turkey, and cottons to Marſeilles. The import is Engliſh, French, and Venetian cloth; ſilks from Leghorn and Venice, ſome drugs and dyes, tin from England, lead and marble blocks from Leghorn, many ſorts of ſmall wares from France, Venice, and Conſtantinople, and from the latter furs, and all ſorts of copper veſſels and plates, which are much uſed, being tinned over.

And

And from Salonica, they bring all their iron in Turkiſh ſhips, that it may not be carried out of Turkey, which is ſtrictly prohibited; and they bring carpets from Aſia Minor, and many things of the woollen manufacture from Barbary, and raw ſilks from Syria. They alſo inport coral and amber, to be ſent to Mecca for toys and ornaments. The manufactures of Egypt are moſtly ſpent among themſelves, except linens, of which there are great quantities ſent to France, Italy, Algiers, and all over Turkey. Their manufactures conſiſt chiefly of three branches, the linen, woollen, and ſilk. The woollen is of un-napped carpets, uſed moſtly for the ſeats of divans, or ſophas; all made with broad ſtripes, of different colours, and little other variety. Theſe are made at Beneſuief, towards Upper Egypt, as before obſerved. The raw ſilk is brought to Damiata from Syria: they make of it large handkerchiefs for womens veils, and a very rich ſort of handkerchief worked with gold, and in flowers of ſeveral colours, uſed likewiſe on many occaſions by the ladies, to throw over preſents they ſend to one another; and ſometimes they make cuſhions and coverings of this ſort for the ſophas, which are very coſtly. In Cairo they manufacture great variety of ſattinets and taffetas, many in imitation of thoſe of India, but none of them very good.

The Delta and other parts of Egypt produce a great quantity of flax; they do not ſpin it with a wheel, but letting the ſpindle hang down, they draw out the thread from the diſtaff. Egypt is not now remarkable for its fine linen; which ſeems to be owing to the little uſe they have for it, becauſe the people of condition wear a ſort of muſlin, which is much properer for ſo hot a climate. What linen they make for wear is exceedingly cheap, and becomes white; it is manufactured chiefly at Roſetto, where they alſo make many ſtriped linens, uſed moſtly about beds, as a defence againſt gnats at night. They alſo make of this ſort at Cairo and Faiume; and at the latter great quantities of ſackcloth brought to Cairo. At Imbabe, oppoſite to Cairo, and the villages about it, they make a coarſe ſtrong linen uſed for ſheets. They have alſo a great manufacture of linens at Sciout, in Upper Egypt; but the very beſt linen that is made is about Mahalla in Delta, and Damiata, eſpecially the latter: it is uſed for napkins and towels, and long narrow clothes thrown round the diſh at eating, to be uſed by the gueſts. It is a plain well-woven linen, though not fine; but being worked with a ſtriped ſilk border, ſells dear.

The Turks have chiefly a genius for merchandiſe, ſo that moſt arts that require ingenuity are here generally in the hands of Chriſtians; particularly the ſilver-ſmiths and jewellers, in all parts, which is a great trade here, by reaſon of the ornaments of the women, and of the trappings of their horſes; but they can uſe no plate in their houſes, nor can the Mahometan men wear a gold ring, according to their law, unleſs they give a tenth of what they are worth to the poor, of which there are hardly any inſtances. But it has been ſaid that ſome have thought to evade this law by holding out in their hands a ſum of money, for the tenth of what they are worth, to the poor, and aſking them what they would take for it; and ſo compound with them. The women are very coſtly in their golden bracelets, and other ornaments of gold and jewels; becauſe throughout Turkey, as I have been informed, if there are children, a woman by the law, after her huſband's death, (unleſs particular donations are made) has nothing but her apparel, which is often ſold with her jewels and ornaments of gold, to maintain the poor widow. They have here very curious lattices for their windows; which when made with the utmoſt art are very coſtly. And before their moſque windows, they have of this ſort made of iron and braſs, in the moſt perfect manner, being all of round bars let into one another, ſo as to be divided into many ſmall ſquares, and they are embelliſhed with very proper ornaments; but theſe ſeem to be remains of the works

works under the Mamaluke government, when they were very magnificent in their architecture. The Egyptian pebbles are wrought here, and poliſhed in great perfection. for handles of knives and ſnuff-boxes; and they cannot do it ſo cheap in any other parts, It is done in the ſame manner as they work precious ſtones, with a wheel, and the buſineſs is in the hands of one Jew. They make alſo red leather at Cairo; but the beſt is prepared at Alexandria, which does not come up to the perfection of the Morocco leather, which is of a brighter red. For all arts, they are reckoned much inferior here to what they are in Conſtantinople, which makes every thing eſteemed that comes from that place. Egypt is famous for Sal Armoniac, which they export, and for hatching chickens in ovens, of which I ſhall give an account in the laſt book.

The money that paſſes in Egypt is burbers, medines, ſequins, and ſeveral ſorts of foreign coins, moſtly Spaniſh. The burber is a thick piece of copper about as broad as a ſix-pence; twelve of them make a medine, which is of iron ſilvered over, about as big as a ſilver three-pence. Three aſpers make alſo a medine, a coin of the ſame kind, but they are not made here. They coin two ſorts of ſequins, one of one hundred and forty-ſix medines, called a funduclee, and a new coin of a hundred and ten medines, called a zumaboob. They have alſo Barbary ſequins of different value. The baſe money of Conſtantinople does not paſs here. A purſe is twenty five thouſand medines; but in other parts of Turkey, it is only twenty thouſand: and where they ſpeak of great ſums, they always compute by purſes.

The ſmalleſt weight is a grain, four of which make a carat, uſed for weighing diamonds. They have alſo a weight for pearls, called a metacal, which conſiſts of a carat and a half, or two carats. Sixteen carats make a dram, twelve drams an ounce, twelve ounces a rotolo, three rotolos an oke, and from one hundred to a hundred and fifty rotolos a cantar, or quintal, according to the goods they weigh. The rotolo of Alexandria is three hundred and ten drams; the Engliſh pound weight is about two drams more than the common rotolo. Two hundred and ten okes make an adeb of rice of Damiata, one hundred and fifty at Roſetto, which is the meaſure for corn, except that it is double in Upper Egypt. In other parts of Turkey, ſix okes make a batman, and forty batmans a load; (as I ſuppoſe it muſt be,) for a camel, which is about ſeven hundred and twenty pounds; though in Egypt there are camels that will carry a thouſand weight.

They have two meaſures called pikes, the larger is called the pike of Conſtantinople, and is about twenty-ſeven Engliſh inches. They meaſure all foreign goods with it, except ſuch as are made of flax and cotton, for which they uſe the ſmall pike, called Pike Belledy, or, The pike of the country, becauſe they meaſure with it all the manufactures of the country. This pike, as I was informed, conſiſts of about twenty-four inches, Engliſh meaſure.

One great caravan that arrives at Cairo, is of thoſe blacks who come from the country near the Iſle of Pheaſants, and paſs through Fez, Morocco, and Tripoly, and are about eight months on the journey. What they bring is chiefly gold duſt. Caravans alſo come from Tunis and Algiers. Another caravan is of Berberins from Sennar, who bring the goods of Ethiopia, and of ſeveral parts of Africa, as black ſlaves, gold duſt, elephants teeth, gums, oſtrich feathers, muſk, ambergris, and ebony.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the State of Religion in Egypt, its Inhabitants, their Policy.*

AS to the ſtate of religion in Egypt, the Coptic is that of the native Chriſtians of the country. There are many Greeks in Cairo and Damiata, but very few in Alexandria and Roſetto; and in the other parts of Egypt, only ſome merchants in the principal towns.

towns. There are very few Armenians in Cairo; but they have a church there given them by the Coptis, in lieu of a chapel they yielded to them in the church of The holy ſepulchre at Jeruſalem. The Chriſtian religion would be at a very low ebb, if the people did not find it convenient to have Copti ſtewards of their eſtates, who are well acquainted with all affairs, are very dextrous at keeping accounts, which they do in a ſort of Coptic characters underſtood by no body elſe; and one reaſon why they make uſe of them may be, that theſe people are more under their command, and they may have them more in their power, in caſe of any breach of truſt. Theſe ſtewards, in every village, are a ſort of lords, and are protectors of the Chriſtians in it.

The Coptis, of all the Eaſterns, ſeem to be the moſt irreverent and careleſs in their devotions. The night before Sundays and feſtivals, they ſpend in their churches, and the holy day in ſauntering about, and ſitting under their walls in winter, and under ſhady trees in ſummer. They ſeem to think that their whole religion conſiſts in repeating their long ſervices, though without the leaſt devotion, and in ſtrictly obſerving their numerous faſts. If we except the convents of the deſerts of St. Macarius and St. Antony, and one at Eſne, the convents are inhabited only by one or two married prieſts; but the patriarch muſt be a man that never has been married, and is taken out of one of thoſe convents. They are all exceedingly ignorant, both prieſts and people: the former perform the ſervice in the Coptic language, by rote, of which they generally underſtand very little; but they have books of their liturgy, with the Arabic interpretation. It would make a volume to give an account of all the particular rites of the Alexandrian church.

Strabo* mentions two extraordinary cuſtoms among the Egyptians, which the Coptis obſerve when their children are about ten years of age; but neither of them is a religious rite, and they give ſome reaſons for this practice. The Mahometans likewiſe in upper Egypt, whom we may ſuppoſe to be original natives of the country, and conſequently their anceſtors Chriſtians, obſerve both theſe cuſtoms; and by this ſeem to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that are not true Egyptians. The Coptis bear an implacable hatred towards the Greeks, ever ſince the famous affair of preſſing them to receive the council of Chalcedon; and when the Greeks got the upper hand, it is ſaid they treated them with great rigour. They have alſo generally as little regard for the Europeans, which proceeds, in a great meaſure, from an endeavour in thoſe of the church of Rome to make converts of them. And they rarely diſtinguiſh between thoſe of different religions, but include all under the name of Franks. The Jews have one particular cuſtom here: as they were afraid in the times of Paganiſm, to drink wine offered to idols, it was uſual to have all the wine they drank made by their own people, and ſealed up to be ſent to them; and this cuſtom they ſtill obſerve in all the eaſtern parts. They have thirty-ſix ſynagogues in Cairo, and one in old Cairo, in which they ſay the prophet Jeremiah was, as obſerved before. There is a particular ſect among them who live by themſelves, and have a ſeparate ſynagogue; and as the other Jews are remarkable for their eyes, ſo they obſerve theſe are for their large noſes. They are the ancient Eſſenes, and have now the name of Charaims, from Mekra, the name by which they call the five books of Moſes; which they ſtrictly obſerve, according to the letter, not receiving any written traditions. It is ſaid that the others would join with them, but not having obſerved the exact rules of the law, with regard to divorces, they think that they live in adultery.

* Τῶν δὲ τῶν ζηλεμένων μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς, τὸ παῖδα τρέφειν τὰ γεννώμενα παιδία. Καὶ τὸ περιτέμνειν, καὶ τὰ θήλεα ἐκλείπειν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 824.

The

The Mahometan inhabitants of Egypt are either original natives, in the villages called Filaws, or they are of the Arab race. The latter are of two ſorts. Thoſe from the eaſt, moſtly on the eaſtern ſide of the river, and thoſe of the weſt, called Mugrabi, or weſtern people, who have come from the parts of Barbary, have different manners and cuſtoms from the others, and are rather worſe. Many of the Arabs are ſettled in villages, and are honeſt people, eſpecially in Upper Egypt. Thoſe who live under tents are called Bedoui, ſubſiſting moſtly by the cattle they graze, which are chiefly camels and goats, that feed on ſmall ſhrubs. Theſe, for the moſt part, live on either ſide of the Delta, and are alſo much about Mecca.

The natives of Egypt are now a ſlothful people, and delight in ſitting ſtill, hearing tales, and indeed ſeem always to have been more fit for the quiet life, than for any active ſcenes: and this idle manner of living is probably one great reaſon of the fruitfulneſs of their invention, with regard to their ancient Heathen religion, and of their making ſo many extravant fables; out of which the Greeks might take ſome of the moſt beautiful, as a foundation for their religion and poetry, and ſo they paſſed to the Romans. This indolence may be owing to the great heat of the country, that enervates them, and inclines them to the unactive life. They are alſo malicious and envious to a great degree, which keeps them from uniting and ſetting up for themſelves; and though they are very ignorant, yet they have a natural cunning and artifice as well as falſehood, and this makes them always ſuſpicious of travellers, that they want to find treaſures, and as they ſee they do not actually find them, they imagine they can by magic art draw away the money, which they think may lie hid in the earth, being ſo ignorant that they cannot otherwiſe conceive why they ſhould come ſo far to ſee ruins: which notion of theirs often occaſions a traveller much trouble, and ſometimes prevents his ſeeing every thing as he would; they have, however, learnt from the Arabs hoſpitality, and ſomething of that ſtrict virtue of fidelity, in ſtanding by thoſe that are under their protection. The people of the country are moſtly employed in tilling the ground, which is not attended with much labour; but the bringing water to it is often very troubleſome. The Arabs love plunder, and the roving ſort of life this diſpoſition leads them to. The buſineſs of attending cattle ſeems moſt ſuited to their genius; they have good horſes, and manage them and their pikes with much addreſs; thoſe on foot uſe poles, with which they fence off the ſpear, with great art.

Another ſort of people are thoſe they call Turks, in diſtinction from the natives of the country and the Arabs; being thoſe who are ſent by the Grand Signior, and the ſlaves, and the governing part that are taken from among them, and their deſcendants, and all in general of foreign extraction; theſe are moſt covetous of money and deſirous of power, and withal moſt ſubtle and ingenious in carrying on any affair to obtain their ends, moſt ſurpriſing things having been managed and brought about by them in Cairo, with the utmoſt policy and ſecrecy; and theſe diſtinguiſh themſelves from the others by what is ſtrictly the Turkiſh dreſs.

Among the Mahometans, the derviſhes are a very particular ſort of people, they may be reckoned of two or three kinds; thoſe that are in convents are in a manner a religious order, and live retired, though I ſuppoſe there are of theſe who travel with ſome credit, and return to their convents. Some take on them this character, and live with their families and follow their trades; ſuch are the dancing derviſhes at Damaſcus, who come once or twice a week to the little convent that is uninhabited, and perform their extraordinary exerciſes; theſe alſo ſeem to be good people; but there is a third ſort that travel about the country and beg, or rather oblige every body to give; for when they ſound their horn, they muſt be regarded, ſomething muſt be given them,

and it is ſaid they are very bad men; the two former, and I believe theſe alſo, wear an octagonal badge of white alabaſter with a greeniſh caſt, before on their girdles, and they wear a high ſtiff cap without any thing round it. The Turcomen wear the ſame, a little more pointed, but with a white ſaſh about it. In Egypt there are few, except thoſe that live in convents, and of them only one houſe near Cairo.

Having mentioned the refined policy or rather cunning of the governing part of the Egyptians, I ſhall give ſome inſtances of it: it is chiefly employed in bringing about their ends of deſtroying one another, when they are divided into parties; for as there are more factions in Egypt than in other parts of Turkey, ſo there are more inſtances of it here. The manner in which they paſs their time, without reading or much buſineſs, without any curioſity but what relates to their affairs, is the great reaſon of it; for they think much, and their thoughts are always employed about their particular intereſts. The paſhas commonly join with that party under-hand which they judge is moſt likely to get the better, unleſs when they ſet themſelves to deſtroy the ſtrongeſt party, which they think may endanger the Grand Signior's government in Egypt. I ſhall mention ſome particulars, without inſerting the ſeveral names, which would be of very little import to the reader in this place. Not many years ago, a paſha being deſirous to take off a bey, and apprehending that he would refuſe the coffee brought to him, directed the ſlave that was to bring the coffee, at the ſame time as another was to bring the coffee to the paſha, to make a falſe ſtep and let fall the coffee of the bey, who following the directions he had received, the paſha deſired the bey to take his coffee, which being a particular honour, the bey could not refuſe it; and drank the coffee without ſuſpicion, which had poiſon purpoſely put into it.

About ſeven or eight years ago, a deſign was formed by the weaker party to deſtroy their enemies, who had raiſed themſelves to a moſt exorbitant degree of power: the ſcheme had been long laid, and above forty perſons in the ſecret, many of whom were ſlaves; but an opportunity was wanted, as they could not get the perſons all together, againſt whom it was deſigned. At length the day came, when all the great perſons were together, and the ſlaves bringing in the coffee or ſhirbet all at the ſame time, according to the uſual cuſtom, whilſt they were drinking it, each ſlave drew out his weapon and ſtabbed his man; ſome few of them indeed, marked out for deſtruction, got off wounded, without being killed. They took off likewiſe a head of a party by another ſtratagem: it was known that this bey was very deſirous to have one of his enemies taken; the plot was therefore laid that they ſhould bring in a man before the bey, ſo diſguiſed, that he ſhould not diſtinguiſh who he was, crying out, that all his enemies might be as that man, taking care to have the bey inſtructed whom they were bringing to him. They had the policy as they paſſed, to draw out the bolt of their particular ſort of locks, in ſuch manner as that no body might be able to ſhut the doors and lock them, either after they had done their buſineſs, or in caſe of any miſcarriage. The perſon was brought in with his hands behind him, as if tied, and a napkin put over his head, as malefactors commonly have, and by a perſon dreſſed like the patroling officer who takes up ſuch people: when he was brought into the room, the bey aſked which was the fellow, when the pretended priſoner preſented a piſtol in each hand, ſaying here he is, and ſhot the bey dead, who was ſitting on the ſopha in the corner of the room, as the great men uſually place themſelves.

When I was in Egypt a paſha was named, who had often conducted the caravan from Damaſcus to Mecca; and having there contracted a friendſhip with a bey of Egypt, who had

had the care of the caravan from Grand Cairo, it was ſaid, that he had deſired the bey, in caſe he ſhould ever be appointed paſha of Egypt, to endeavour to uſe all the means he could to prevent his coming, it being a paſhalic, though of much honour, yet of great expence and little profit. It is ſaid, when the Grand Signior's order was read in the divan, appointing this perſon paſha, this bey, his friend, had contrived that they ſhould aſk who this paſha was, if it was ſuch a one, a man of no family, a country man, a ſilaw, and that they would not have ſuch a perſon come as their paſha. Whether this report was falſe, or whether the ſtratagem did not ſucceed, I cannot ſay, for this paſha came ſoon after, and was depoſed on this occaſion: the bey he had contracted a friendſhip with, was of the faction that had been almoſt deſtroyed; and there was reaſon to think that the paſha was in the ſecret of a deſign to cut off the great men that were uppermoſt, who were to be aſſaſſinated going to the divan. To the firſt great man that came, the perſons employed offered a petition as he went along the ſtreet on horſe-back, and continued holding and kiſſing his hand whilſt he was reading it, preſſing not to be refuſed, who taking more than ordinary notice of their earneſtneſs, going to withdraw his hand, they dragged him off his horſe and murdered him. The party that was to have been deſtroyed drew up ſome writing relating to this affair, and carried it to the paſha to ſign it; they looked upon his refuſal as a proof that he was at the bottom of it; it is ſaid alſo that his caia betrayed him, and therefore they immediately depoſed him.

I ſhall mention only one inſtance more of their policy, of a private nature. A Mahometan of Cairo deſired to borrow a conſiderable ſum of money of a merchant, who refuſing to lend it, he prevailed with his friend, a chous (a ſort of meſſengers, as already obſerved, who are ſent about affairs, and whoſe character is eſteemed very ſacred,) to go to the houſe of the merchant, who coming to the chous to kiſs his hand, the chous took occaſion to ſhake off his own large cap as he was coming in, and immediately pretended that the merchant had beat it off; upon which he thought proper, not only to advance the money, but to give a much greater ſum to compromiſe the affair.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Education, Cuſtoms, Dreſs, and modern Architecture of Egypt; and of the Caravan to Mecca.*

THE education in Egypt is ſeldom more than to read and write, which the Coptis generally learn, and their manner of keeping accounts; but the Arabs and native Mahometans very rarely can read, except thoſe that have been bred up to the law, or ſome employ. The beſt education is among the ſlaves, who underſtand Arabic and Turkiſh, and often write both, and go through their exerciſes conſtantly; to ride, ſhoot, and throw the dart well, being eſteemed great accompliſhments. The belief of predeſtination is very ſtrongly rooted in them, eſpecially in thoſe who are properly Turks, which often inſpires them with very great courage, and quiets them in an extraordinary manner, when they are thrown from the heighth of power into the moſt miſerable condition, in which circumſtances they ſay, it is the will of God, and bleſs God; and indeed they behave rather better in adverſity than proſperity; though when they are in high ſtations, they carry themſelves with much becoming gravity; and when they do a favour, it is with a very gracious countenance; but the love of money is ſo rooted in them, that nothing is to be done without bribery; and it is an affront to come into the preſence of a great man, where a favour is to be aſked, without a preſent, or having it

ſignified to him that ſomething is deſigned. The ſame notion of predeſtination makes them uſe no precautions againſt the plague; but they even go and help to bury the bodies of thoſe that die of it, which is reckoned a very great charity, though it is ſaid there is no infection in a dead body.

They think the greateſt villainies are expiated, when once they waſh their hands and feet. This is their preparation to go to prayers, which all the polite people conſtantly do; for the outward appearance of religion is in faſhion among them, and it is looked on as genteel to ſay their prayers in any place at the uſual hours. Their prayers are very ſhort, and repeated five times a day; but they may perform all theſe devotions at one time. They always pray on a carpet or cloth, to avoid touching any thing that is unclean. They pray in the moſt public places wherever they are; and when they are in a viſit, will call for water to waſh their hands and feet, and ſo perform their devotions. The Arabs that live in tents are ſeldom ſeen to pray.

Reſignation to the will of God, and perhaps no great affection for their relations, is the cauſe that they lament very little for them, and ſoon forget the loſs of them, unleſs it be of their children; for they are very fond to have children, and are affectionate towards them. Thoſe who are properly Turks here commonly marry ſlaves of Circaſſia, Georgia, and other countries, who exceed the natives of the country in beauty. Their words paſs for nothing, either in relations, promiſes, or profeſſions of friendſhip. The uſe of laudanum, ſo much in vogue formerly, is ſucceeded by drinking chiefly ſtrong waters, which they take plentifully at their meals; though a great many will not drink, but they uſe heating things to cheer them. The perſons who drink are chiefly the ſoldiery and great men; but it would be reckoned ſcandalous in people of buſineſs. The Arabs indeed do not drink, or very rarely; and the common people pound the leaves of green hemp, make a ball of it, and ſwallow it down, to make them chearful. And a compoſition is made of the buds of hemp, before they flower, which has the ſame intoxicating quality as laudanum, and is called aphioum, or opium, which ſignifies any thing that ſtupifies or intoxicates. A vice the Turks are remarkable for, is not practiſed among the Arabs, or true Egyptians.

They have a great notion of the magic art, have books about it, and think there is much virtue in taliſmans and charms; but particularly are ſtrongly poſſeſſed with an opinion of the evil eye. And when a child is commended, except you give it ſome bleſſing, if they are not very well aſſured of your good will, they uſe charms againſt the evil eye; and particularly when they think any ill ſucceſs attends them on account of an evil eye, they throw ſalt into the fire.

The meaneſt Mahometan thinks himſelf above any Chriſtian; and where there is no dependency, they put themſelves on a rank with them, and ſeldom preſerve any tolerable good manners, eſpecially the Turks. The Arabs and people of the country are civil enough, and ſhew it in their way, by coming and ſitting about you; though they are troubleſome, by being too obſerving, curious, and inquiſitive. The Turks alſo will be very civil, either to get preſents, or to find out your deſigns and inclinations, in which they are very artful; but where there is any dependency among one another, they obſerve a great decorum, all riſing up when a ſuperior comes in. And in a regular meeting in the military divans, as I have been told, the inferior takes up the papouches of the ſuperior, and ſets them by him, and after receives the ſame regards from his inferior: and, as I have been informed, a ſuperior of great dignity holds the ſtirrup to a ſuperior that is ſtill greater, when he mounts; as a two-tailed vizier holds the ſtirrup to one that has three tails. The way of ſaluting as you approach, or paſs,

is by ſtretching out the right hand, and bringing it to the breaſt, and a little inclining the head. The extraordinary ſalute is kiſſing the hand, and then putting it to the head. And when a viſit is paid to a ſuperior, his hand is kiſſed; and if he is very much ſuperior, they kiſs the hem of the garment. The Arab ſalutation is by joining hands, and often bowing the head to the ſide of the head of the perſon ſaluted, aſking him how he does, if he is well, and bidding him peace ſeveral times. But a Mahometan will not ſay peace to a Chriſtian, which is the uſual ſalute one towards another. When they take any thing either from the hands of a ſuperior, or that is ſent from a ſuperior, they kiſs it, and, as the higheſt reſpect, put it to their foreheads; and if you demand any thing that relates to a ſervice or protection of you, when they promiſe it, they put their hands up to their turbans, as much as to ſay, Be it on their heads; which they alſo ſometimes ſay; for nothing can be imagined finer than the Arab manner of expreſſing civility or friendſhip; and if the news only is told of any one's death, they always ſay, May your head be ſafe. And on ſome particular occaſions, to a great man in times of confuſion, when any of his enemies are taken or dead, they compliment him by wiſhing that all his enemies may be as he is. Among the Coptis, in public company, a ſon does not ſit before his father, or any ſuperior relation, without being ordered to ſit more than once: and there is great reaſon why ſuperiors ſhould keep inferiors thus at a diſtance, and exact ſo much reſpect of them, eſpecially with regard to civil governors; as the people are of ſuch ſlaviſh minds, that they muſt be kept under; and if any liberty is given, they immediately aſſume too much.

When the Turks eat, a little round or octagon ſtool, is ſet on the ſopha, on a coloured cloth laid on the ground: round it they throw a long cloth, to be put in the laps of the gueſts; and with thoſe of condition, a napkin is given to every one when he waſhes, as they always do before they eat. This they likewiſe lay before them, and wipe with it when they waſh after dinner. On the ſtool they put a copper diſh tinned over, from three to ſix feet diameter, which is as a table; all their diſhes and veſſels being copper tinned over, inſide and out. Round this diſh they put bread, ſmall diſhes of pickles, ſalads, and the like; and then they bring two or three large diſhes, in two or three courſes. None but the common people eat beef, and the fleſh of the buffalo, as they have a notion that it is not eaſy of digeſtion. It is ſaid in the hot hamſeen ſeaſon in the month of April and May, they eat, for the moſt part, nothing but diſhes made of pulſe and herbs, and alſo fiſh, as being eaſier of digeſtion; the great heats taking away their appetite for all ſorts of meat. The Coptis, as well as the Turks, abſtain from ſwines fleſh. The moſt vulgar people make a ſort of beer of barley, without being malted; and they put ſomething in it to make it intoxicate, and call it bouzy: they make it ferment; it is thick and ſour, and will not keep longer than three or four days. It appears from Herodotus, that the Egyptians uſed ſome ſort of beer in his time, which he calls wine made of barley *. If they do not drink wine, they ſeldom drink whilſt they are eating. They either ſit croſs-legged, or kneel, and make uſe only of the right hand, not uſing knives or forks, but tear the meat with the hand; and the maſter of the houſe often takes pieces in his hand, and throws them to the gueſts, that he would pay an extraordinary compliment to. Immediately after eating, coffee is brought. This is the Turkiſh manner; their diſhes conſiſting of pilaw, ſoups, dulma, which is any vegetable ſtuffed with forced meat; as cucumbers, onions, cawl leaves, ſtewed diſhes, ſweet ragoos, pieces of meat cut ſmall and roaſted, and ſeveral other things. All is taken out and eaten by the inferior ſervants; not by the ſlaves, who

* Οἶνῳ δ' ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρεωνται. Herodotus, ii. c. 77.

have

have a dinner prepared for them of more ordinary diſhes, in another room. With the Arabs and people of the country, either a round ſkin is laid on the ground for a ſmall company, or large coarſe woollen cloths for a great number, ſpread all over the room, and about ten diſhes repeated ſix or ſeven times over, laid round at a great feaſt, and whole ſheep and lambs boiled and roaſted in the middle. When one company has done, another ſits round, even to the meaneſt, till all is conſumed. And an Arab Prince will often dine in the ſtreet, before his door, and call to all that paſs, even beggars, in the uſual expreſſion, Biſimillah, that is, in the name of God; who come and ſit down, and when they have done, give their hamdellilah, that is, God be praiſed. For the Arabs are great levellers, put every body on a footing with them; and it is by ſuch generoſity and hoſpitality that they maintain their intereſt; but the middling people among them, and the Coptis, live but poorly. I have often ſat down with them, only to bread, raw onions, and a ſeed pounded and put in oil, which they call ſerich, produced by an herb called ſimſim, into which they dip their bread, that is made as often as they eat, in very thin cakes, baked on an iron plate heated. They have a very good diſh for one who has a good appetite, which is theſe cakes broken all to pieces, and mixed with a ſort of ſyrup made of the ſugar cane when it is green. This cane is a great deſert with them, by ſucking the ſweet juice out of it. They alſo eat a ſour milk turned with ſeeds. They have a diſh among the Moors called cuſcaſow, which is made with flour tempered with water, and rolled in the hands into ſmall pieces, and being put in a cullender, over a boiling pot ſtopped cloſe round, it is dreſſed with the ſteam, and then they put butter to it. They alſo ſometimes dreſs dates with butter. Their great meal is generally at night, taking a light collation in the morning of fried eggs, cheeſe, and, at great tables, olives and honey. And this is alſo uſual with the Turks, eſpecially if they go out to do buſineſs, or for diverſion, to ſtay abroad moſt part of the day, otherwiſe they dine rather before noon, and ſup early in the evening. They probably chuſe to eat early in the morning, before the heat takes away their appetite; and eat again ſoon in the evening, when it begins to be cool. When they have no company, they commonly go into the harem, or women's apartments, at the time of eating, to a wife, in her ſeparate apartment, who either prepares the dinner, or inſpects and directs it, though they are great perſons, having their offices adjoining to their rooms. And a great man who has four wives, has five kitchens, one for each of them, managed by their ſlaves or ſervants; and one great one for public entertainments for the maſter, when he dines out of the harem, and for the ſlaves and ſervants. At a Turkiſh viſit, a pipe is immediately brought, and coffee; and if it is a viſit of ceremony, ſweet-meats, with the coffee; and afterwards a ſherbet; and then, according to the dignity of the perſon, incenſe and roſe water to perfume, which is a genteel way of diſmiſſing the company. Friends who viſit, eſpecially women, ſtay a night or two, or more, carrying their beds with them, though in the ſame town; and coffee, or a ſweet water boiled on cinnamon, are brought at leaſt once in an hour. And I have been told that it is a mark of great reſpect among them, often to change their garments during the viſit. If any one goes to the houſe of an Arab, or to his tent, bread is immediately made, and they ſerve ſour milk and cucumbers in it when in ſeaſon, fried eggs, and oil to dip the bread in, a ſalt cheeſe like curds, and ſuch like. They do not take it well if you do not ſtay and eat, and think it ſuch a favour to come to their houſes, and put yourſelf, as it were, under their protection, that where there have been any enmities, if one goes to the other's houſe and eats with him, all is forgot. And I have ſeen them ſometimes ſhew reſentment by refuſing to take coffee, or any thing offered; like the janizaries, who when they mutiny, will not eat the

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Grand Signior's pilaw; but if preſſed to eat, and they comply, it is a ſign the reſentment is paſt. They generally riſe early, at break of day, and often go at that time to the moſques, the common people at leaſt; thence they reſort to the coffee-houſes, and having taken their collations, go pretty late to their ſhops, and ſhut them about four in the afternoon. The great people either viſit or are viſited. In Cairo, on Sundays, Tueſdays, and Thurſdays, they go to the paſha's divan; and theſe are the general days of buſineſs. Fridays they ſtay at home, and go to their moſques at noon; and though, with them, it is their day of devotion, yet they never abſtain from their buſineſs. The three other days of the week they call beniſh days, from the garment of that name, which is not a habit of ceremony. They then go out early in the morning with their ſlaves, to public places out of town, commonly called meidans, or places, where they have a ſort of open ſummer-houſes, and ſee their ſlaves ride, ſhoot, and throw the dart, and regale themſelves with their pipe and coffee. Few of them, except thoſe of the law or church, ever read in books, but have generally company with them; and as they have time to think much, that is one very great cauſe of their refined policy, in many reſpects. When they are at home, they ſtay from twelve to four in the women's apartment, and from the time they go to ſupper, till the next morning; and when they are there, it muſt be buſineſs of very extraordinary importance, if they are called out, eſpecially if they are great men. It is the cuſtom in moſt parts of Turkey, if not every where, for the men to eat by themſelves, even in the women's apartments; the wife having her proviſions ſerved, perhaps at the ſame time, in another room. The month of faſting of the Mahometans, called Rameſan, as I have already obſerved, is very ſevere; and when it happens in the ſummer, it is very hard on the labourers, who cannot drink, being only allowed to waſh their mouths. As this month, in thirty-three years is in all ſeaſons of the year. The Turkiſh month being lunar, they begin it the day they can ſee the moon; whereas the Jews begin it the day the moon makes, which is a day before the Turks. The Coptic month is thirty days, and every year they have five intercalary days, and every fourth year ſix; their æra begins three hundred and two years after Chriſt, from the martyrdom of the ſaints in Egypt, under Diocletian. One of the greateſt refreſhments among the Turks, as I have obſerved before, is going to the bagnios; in the firſt large room, generally covered with a cupola, they undreſs, and putting on thoſe wooden pattens, which they uſe alſo in their houſes, they go into the hot room, where they are waſhed and rubbed with bruſhes and hair cloths; they rub the feet with a ſort of grater made of earthenware, ſomething reſembling the body of a bird; they then make all the joints ſnap, even the very neck, and all down the back, which they think makes the joints ſupple; after this they are ſhaved, and go into the bath; from this place they return by a room not ſo hot, where they ſtay awhile; and from thence go into the great room, repoſe on a bed, ſmoke their pipe, take their coffee, and dreſs. The eaſterns love their eaſe very much; ſome of them will ſit all day long in their coffee-houſes, and conſiderable perſons will go and ſit in the ſhops of the great merchants for two or three hours, and take thoſe refreſhments of tobacco and coffee they ſo much delight in. When they travel, they always walk their horſes, ſet out pretty early, and often repoſe in the way, for a quarter of an hour, ſmoke and take coffee, eſpecially when it is hot, when they ſtop frequently in the ſhade; thoſe who do not travel in great ſtate have a leathern bottle of water hanging to their own ſaddle, or their ſervant's, to drink whenever they are thirſty; the great men have a horſe or camel loaded with ſkins of water; but if they go ſhort journeys, they have large ones, in which they carry water from the river in Cairo, and

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from the ciſterns in Alexandria; or if they go long journeys, they have ſuch as they uſe in the journey to Mecca; and very great people have a ſervant that carries ſuch a vaſe of water, in a baſket made of a ſort of net work, to be always ready whenever the water is wanted. By night they rarely make uſe of tents, but lie in the open air, having large lanthorns, made like a pocket paper lanthorn, the bottom and top being of copper, tinned over, and inſtead of paper they are made with linen, which is extended by hoops of wire, ſo that when it is put together it ſerves as a candleſtick; and they have a contrivance to hang it up abroad, by means of three ſtaves, in the manner that large ſcales are hung, in order to weigh. They commonly lie only on carpets. All their kitchen utenſils they carry with them, which in the train of a great man load two or three camels; but the Arabs put a veſſel into a baſket made of palm leaves, and within it they put ſmaller veſſels, and ſeveral other utenſils, and carry them with great conveniency tied to their camels. All their veſſels for dreſſing are in that manner, ſo that the top often ſerves them for a diſh; and all theſe things are of copper, tinned over inſide and out; theſe and the wooden bowl, which ſerves as a large diſh, and in which they make their bread, are all the kitchen furniture of an Arab, even where he is ſettled. The round leathern cover laid on the ground has rings round it, by which it is drawn together, with a chain that has a hook to it, to hang it by, either to the ſide of the camel, or in the houſe, this draws it together, and ſometimes they carry in it the meal made into dough; in this manner they bring it full of bread, and when the repaſt is over, carry it away at once, with all that is left, in the ſame manner. They leaven their bread by putting in a piece of the laſt dough they made, which they always lay by, and becoming ſour, it cauſes a fermentation in it, and makes the bread light.

When the caravans go to Mecca, ſome women of condition ride in tartavans or litters carried by camels, the labour of the camel that goes behind being very great, as his head is under the litter. Some go in a ſmaller ſort, on the back of one camel. People of condition ride on a ſaddled camel; inferior perſons ride on camels loaded with their carpets and bed, if they have any, and other neceſſaries; they commonly have a double crook in their hands, to direct the camel by touching his head, and alſo to recover their bridle, if it happens to drop, and to ſtrike the beaſt to make him go on. The moſt extraordinary way of conveyance is a ſort of round baſket on each ſide of the camel, with a cover made at top; there is a cover over the lower part, which holds all their neceſſaries, and the perſons ſit croſs-legged on it. They have alſo in the ſame manner ſomething like the body of an uncovered chaiſe or chair, which is more convenient, as they can ſit and extend their legs, if there is only one in it, for I think two can ſit in theſe on each ſide. The pilgrims to Mecca commonly go in a ſort of black cloak, with a cowl; the people of Barbary wear them white: it is faſtened about the neck with a long loop, and the cloak commonly hangs behind. Having mentioned the caravan to Mecca, I ſhall give ſome account of it. There is a tradition, that there was a great pilgrimage to thoſe parts (before the eſtabliſhment of the Mahometan religion) to Abraham's tomb, as they call it, and the place where they ſay he offered up his ſon Iſaac; but the Jews ſay that it is the place to which Abraham came to ſee Iſhmael. The great ceremonies of the pilgrims now conſiſt in carrying the coverings of the moſques, and of the tombs of Abraham and Mahomet, moſt of which are a ſort of black damaſk, richly embroidered with gold; every thing relating to it being manufactured by people employed entirely about it in the caſtle of Cairo. The firſt proceſſion is the carrying of theſe things from the caſtle to the moſque Haſſanine, on the third day after the feaſt of Biram, which ſucceeds their great faſt; all the ſheiks of the moſques, and the ſeveral companies of different trades go to the caſtle in proceſſion with their

their colours. The ſtandards of Mecca were firſt brought rolled up; then the people carried along part of the hangings of the houſe of Mecca, folded together; and ſo ſeveral pieces of it, about half a quarter of an hour one after another; the people crowded to touch them, kiſſing their hands, and putting them to their heads: ſome carried nothing but the fine ropes that were to tie them up. Several ſocieties came with ſtandards diſplayed, ſome of them with muſic, others dancing, ſome either mad, or ſeemingly in a ſort of religious extaſy, throwing about their heads and hands, ſome naked to their drawers, others panting moſt violently, as people out of breath; then came the covering of the tomb of Mahomet called Mahmel, made in the ſhape of a pyramid, with a ſquare baſe, and richly embroidered with gold, on a ground of green and red; a view of the houſe of Mecca was embroidered on it, with a portico round it; it was carried on a camel that was all over painted yellow, with the powder they call Henna; and it is ſaid they are camels bred on purpoſe for this buſineſs, and never employed about any thing elſe, being eſteemed ſacred; and I have been told, that in their religious madneſs they take off the froth that comes from the camel's mouth. The beaſt is covered almoſt all over with rich brocades and embroideries; it was followed by three others adorned in the ſame manner, and ſix more not altogether ſo fine, all mounted by boys. Soon after came the cover of Abraham's tomb, like a cheſt; this was alſo embroidered with gold, and it is ſaid that it is by ſome means ſuſpended in the air over the place, where they ſay Abraham offered his ſacrifice. Then followed the body of the chaouſes, and a great officer of the paſhas, and after him the ſuper-intendant of the wardrobe (Nadir-il-Kiſve) who has the care of all the work, and of the eſtate whcih the califs of Egypt appropriated for the expence of it; the trappings of his horſe were very fine, the houſing being of a flowered tiſſue. After him came the janizaries, and ſome officers of the paſha, and laſt of all, the very rich covering of the door of the houſe of Mecca called Burca; it is ten feet long and five wide, on which are ſeveral figures and Arabic letters, moſt richly embroidered in gold, on a ground of red and green, being often made to ſtop that the people might touch it.

But the grand proceſſion is that of the caravan going out to Mecca. The order of this proceſſion may be ſeen in the laſt book, as well as I could take an account of it when it paſſed. All the camels in this proceſſion were painted yellow, and had ſome ornaments on them, eſpecially the firſt of every company had on its head and noſe a fine plume of red oſtrich feathers, and a ſmall flag on each ſide, the ſtaff of which is crowned likewiſe with oſtrich feathers, and the trappings adorned with ſhells; the ſecond and third had a bell on each ſide about a foot long, and all of them ſome ornaments. Under the ſaddle of each of them was a coarſe carpet to cover them by night. As ſoon as they are out of town, they go without any order to Sibil-allam, three or four miles off, where they encamp for three days; afterwards they encamp at the lake; the Emir Hadge not returning to town. The encampment at the lake is very fine, all the great men pitching their tents and ſtaying there, and paſſing the time in feaſting; the whole city pouring out to ſee this extraordinary ſight, and to join in keeping the feſtival; in the evenings they have bonfires and fireworks. It is ſaid forty thouſand people go in this caravan; they begin their journey in a week after the proceſſion. There is a ſtory among the people, that thoſe of Barbary are obliged to be a day behind the others when they arrive at Mecca, and to leave it a day before them, on account of a prophecy they talk of, that thoſe people ſhall one time or other take the country of Mecca. A great trade is carried on by the caravan, as they always return laden with the rich goods of Perſia and India, brought to Geda on the Red Sea, near Mecca. Another caravan ſets out from Damaſcus, and, if I miſtake not, carries the ſame preſents; and

the old hangings, which I think belong to the emir hadge, are cut in pieces, and given about among the great people, as the moſt ſacred relic. It is looked upon almoſt as an indiſpenſable duty to go once to Mecca; and thoſe that cannot go, it is ſaid, think they merit by bearing the charges of another perſon to go in their places. There are many that make this journey often, but there is an obſervation, that the people are rather worſe after making this pilgrimage than they were before; and there is a ſaying, "If a man has been once at Mecca, take care of him; if he has been twice there, have nothing to do with him; and if he has been three times at Mecca, remove out of his neighbourhood." But this is not to be thought an obſervation of the Mahometans, but is only remarked by the Chriſtians and Jews. The journey to Mecca and back again takes them up a hundred days. The caravan of Damaſcus ſets out on the ſame day, and on the twenty-ſeventh day they meet at Bedder. They ſtay three days at Mecca, and then go to Mount Arrafat, about ſix hours from Mecca; where they pay their devotions, on account of the hiſtory they have of Abraham. They ſtay there two days, then they go two hours and a half to Munna, where they ſtay three days, and keep the feaſt of Corban Biram, or the feaſt of the ſacrifice: they then return to Mecca, the place of Mahomet's nativity. The regular time to ſtay there is twelve days; but if the merchants cannot finiſh their buſineſs, by making a preſent to the emir hadge, they may obtain leave to ſtay two or three days longer, and may gain that time by not tarrying ſo long as they would do otherwiſe at ſome places on their return. From Mecca they return ſix days journey to Bedder, from which place they go in three days to Medina, to the ſepulchre of Mahomet, where the firſt califs reſided, until they went to Damaſcus. There they ſtay three days, and return by another road to Yembo, and ſo back to Cairo. The account of their rout may be ſeen in the laſt book, which I had from the mouth of one who had been fourteen times at Mecca.

The moſt ſimple dreſs in Egypt reſembles probably the primitive manner of clothing; for it is only a long ſhirt which has wide ſleeves. It is commonly tied about the middle; and many children in the country go naked all the year round, as moſt of them do in the ſummer. The common people wear over this a brown woollen ſhirt, and thoſe of better condition have a long cloth coat over it, and then a long blue ſhirt; and the dreſs of ceremony over this, inſtead of blue, is a white ſhirt, which they put on upon feſtival days, and to pay great viſits in Upper Egypt; but in the lower parts they uſe a ſhirt or garment made like it, of black woollen, which is ſometimes by the more genteel left open before, and then is properly what they call a ferijee; and ſome of the firſt condition have them of cloth, and furred, the Arabs and natives wearing their cloaths with large ſleeves, like the dreſs of ceremony of the Turks, called the ferijee, made like a night-gown; the other dreſs of the Turks being with ſtraight ſleeves. Moſt of them wear under all a pair of linen drawers, and when their veſts are open before, after the Turkiſh manner, it is an odd ſight to ſee the ſhirt hang down, which they do not put into the drawers, according to the Turkiſh cuſtom with the men, though not with the ladies; for the dreſs of the men in Turkey, is more modeſt than of the women, whereas in Europe it is rather the contrary.

This ſort of dreſs ſeems to be ſomething like that of the ancient Egyptians, who were clothed with linen, wearing a woollen garment over it; and when they performed any religious offices, they were always clothed in linen, looking on it as a ſort of profanation to wear woollen at ſuch ſolemnities *. And poſſibly the cuſtom of putting

* Ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους, περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσσανωτοὺς, οὓς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ εἰρίνεα εἵματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβλήδην φορέουσι· ἐς μέντοι ἱρὰ τὰ ἰρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα, οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφι· ἐς γὰρ ὅσιον. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 81.

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on the white garment in Upper Egypt, when they go to their moſques, or whenever they would appear in a dreſs of ceremony, might give riſe to the uſe of the ſurplice. The moſt ſimple Turkiſh dreſs is ſuch drawers, over which the better ſort wear a pair of red cloth drawers, down to the ancles; to which are ſewed ſtockings of yellow leather, which come no higher than the ancle, and under them they wear ſocks of yellow leather, but the Chriſtians of the country wear red leather, at leaſt their papouches or ſlippers, and the Jews wear blue; but the leather ſewed on is not wore by the common people, but only the ſocks, and ſo their legs appear bare up to the drawers. The Arabs and Egyptians wear ſhoes of red leather, like a ſlipper, with hind quarters, and the janizaries wear them of the ſame colour, and very little different. The Turks and Chriſtians in the city, within doors, out of frugality, wear a wooden ſort of patten, ſomething like the wooden ſandal of the monks, ſome of which are made very fine; and it is to be obſerved that the dreſs of the feet and of the head very much diſtinguiſh perſons in theſe countries; and they are fined if they go contrary to the cuſtom. Frank Chriſtians only have the liberty of wearing, as the Turks, yellow papouches; and they in many parts wear a yellow ſlipper. The Turks wear boots, having iron plates under the heel, as they often wear their papouches. The Turkiſh garments are firſt a ſhort garment without ſleeves, of dimity or linen; it is often not open before, but tied on the ſide; over it is a ſhort veſt with ſleeves, over that is a long garment of the ſame kind. Theſe two laſt are either of dyed linen, or ſtriped ſtuffs of linen or cotton, or if ſtriped or plain ſilks and ſattins; and in ſummer they wear the long garment and the drawers of the fineſt white calicoes. Over this is a cloſe ſleeved garment, like the Greek gown, which is called a beniſh, and is the common dreſs; and over that is a ferijee mentioned, which is the dreſs of ceremony. They have another ſort cut differently in the ſleeve, which is not ſo high a dreſs *. Theſe two laſt garments are either of cloth, mohair, or ſilk, according to the ſeaſon; the latter indeed is never of ſilk, nor is the beniſh ever wore here of ſilk, though it is in Syria. A girdle or ſaſh of ſilk, mohair, or woollen, goes round all but the two outer garments, into which they ſtick a knife in its ſheath. The people of Egypt wear a blue cloth about their necks, and with it cover their heads againſt the cold and ſun, and ſome of them are very large. It is almoſt a general cuſtom among the Arabs and Mahometan natives of the country, to wear a large blanket, either white or brown, and in ſummer a blue and white cotton ſheet, which the Chriſtians conſtantly uſe in the country; putting one corner before over the left ſhoulder, they bring it behind, and under the right arm, and ſo over their bodies, throwing it behind over the left ſhoulder, and ſo the right arm is left bare for action. When it is hot, and they are on horſeback, they let it fall down on the ſaddle round them; and about Faiume I particularly obſerved, that young people eſpecially, and the poorer ſort, had nothing on whatſoever but this blanket; and it is probable the young man was clothed in this manner, who followed our Saviour when he was taken, having a linen cloth caſt about his naked body; and when the young men laid hold on him, he left the linen cloth and fled from them naked †. The head dreſs is a high ſtiff cap, with a long piece of white muſlin wound round it, all together called the turban, by Europeans. The derviſhes wear one without any thing round it, and the Turcomen ſuch a long one more pointed, both made of a ſort of coarſe felt. Inferior people, inſtead of the turban, wear a red woollen cap which comes cloſe to the head. This is wore by the Arabs and native Egyptians, except merchants, and great ſtewards of Arab princes,

* This is called a kerikee.

† Joſeph's garment might alſo be of this kind.

and Copti prieſts, who wear the other. Under this they wear a little white linen ſkull cap. I was told at Damaſcus, that one whoſe family has not wore the high turban, and the leathern ſtocking ſewed to the drawer, cannot begin to wear them there, unleſs by virtue of ſome office or employ; but the ſaſh wound round the head is the great diſtinction. None but the relations of Mahomet can wear green. The white is proper to Mahometans; but in Syria, where there are villages of Chriſtians, as on Mount Libanon, they wear white; and any one may wear white if they put a coloured ſtring to diſtinguiſh themſelves, as the Samaritans do, and the Jews of Saphet in Syria, who have red and blue ſtrings ſewed acroſs the ſaſh; but this is not much uſed. The Chriſtians and Jews in all theſe parts, wear either blue or blue and white ſtriped. The Franks in Cairo did wear white, and then they wore carpacks, or red caps turned up with fur, as ſome do now, but it is the proper dreſs of the interpreters. The others generally wear the red cap, and the red muſlin tied round; in all other parts they wear a hat and wig, as the Engliſh conſul does when he goes out in public. The French conſul, and ſome of his officers go in the Frank habit; and ſo have the Engliſh conſuls formerly, as they do at Aleppo. And Cairo is the only place I have heard of in Turkey, where none but the conſuls ordinarily ride on horſes. The common people in the country either wear no ſaſh round the cap, or one of coarſe white cotton, or of yellow or red woollen ſtuff.

The dreſs of the women, according to the manner of Conſtantinople, is not much unlike that of the men, only moſt of their under garments are of ſilk, as well as their drawers; and all but the outer veſt are ſhorter than the men's, and their ſleeves are made to hang down, a ſort of gauze ſhirt coming down near to the ground under all. Their heads are dreſſed with an embroidered handkerchief, and the hair platted round, having on a white woollen ſkull cap. The ordinary women wear a large linen or cotton blue garment, like a ſurplice; and before their faces hangs a ſort of a bib, which is joined to their head dreſs by a tape over the noſe; the ſpace between being only for the eyes, which looks very odd. The others who wear this garment of ſilk, have a large black veil that comes all over, and ſomething of gauze that covers the face. It being reckoned a great indecency to ſhew the whole face, they generally cover the mouth and one eye, if they do not cover the whole. The common women, eſpecially the blacks, wear rings in their noſes; into the rings they put a glaſs bead for ornament. They wear on their ears large rings, three inches diameter, that come round the ear, and are not put into it; theſe are ornamented. The rings they wear on their fingers are ſometimes of lead, but the better ſort of women wear gold. Their bracelets are moſt commonly a work of wire: there are ſome of gold finely jointed; a more ordinary ſort are of plain iron or braſs. They wear alſo rings round their naked legs, moſt commonly made of braſs among the vulgar, who alſo wear about their necks an ornament. Among the common people it is made of pewter; and in the caſe at the bottom they put a paper with ſomething writ on it out of the alcoran, as a charm againſt ſickneſs and other evils. The other caſes ſeem to be deſigned for the ſame purpoſe. People of middling condition inſtead of theſe have many ornaments of ſilver, and often pieces of money hung to them, and ſometimes ancient coins they happen to meet with; and even in the country, whenever they go out to waſh at the river, or to fetch water, they put on all their attire, and appear in full dreſs. Women ride on aſſes in Cairo, with very ſhort ſtirrups, which it is a diſhonour for the men to uſe when they mount theſe beaſts. They have a prophecy that Cairo will be taken by a woman on horſeback, which, as they ſay, makes them ſtrictly forbid women mounting on horſes. The time when the women go out is moſtly on Fridays, to the burial places,

to adorn with flowers and boughs the ſepulchres of their relations, to hang a lamp over them, and pour water on their graves, and they place water in vaſes near. When the women ride, they commonly wear a yellow ſort of a boot or ſtocking, being without a ſole; and ladies of diſtinction have many female ſlaves that follow them on aſſes, who do not wear thoſe large veils, but only a covering over the forehead and lower part of the face, leaving the eyes uncovered between. Their cloſe garment has a cape that hangs down behind, and they make a much better figure than their miſtreſſes. The women alſo go out to the bagnios, which are reſerved for them at a certain time every day: this is their rendezvous to talk with one another and hear news.

There are women who go barefaced about the ſtreets, dancing, ſinging, and playing on ſome inſtrument. Theſe may not be ſuppoſed to be very virtuous; and yet they ſay they are ſo in one reſpect, in which they might be moſt ſuſpected. There are notwithſtanding common women, who are in a manner licenſed, and pay a tribute on that account. The vulgar women paint their lips, and the tip of the chin with blue, and thoſe of better condition paint their nails yellow, and alſo their feet with a dye made of a ſeed called hennah; and they colour their eye lids with black lead, and ſo do many even of the men among the Turks, imagining it good for weak eyes.

Coffee-houſes are not reſorted to by the beſt company, but only by people of the middle rank: they have their muſic at certain hours of the day, in ſome of them, and in others a man tells ſome hiſtory, a ſort of Arabian tales, with a good grace; which is a method they have to bring company together. They often ſend to the ſhops for their proviſions to be brought to the coffee-houſes; and thoſe who have nothing to do paſs whole days in them.

Both Turks and Egyptians are very frugal in their manner of living; the latter ſeldom eat meat, and the expence of the great men in their tables is but ſmall, conſidering the number of attendants they have, in which they are very extravagant. It is common for them to have fifty or ſixty ſlaves, and as great a number of other ſervants, beſides dependants. They are at great expences in clothing their ſlaves, and in keeping a great number of horſes, from fifty to two hundred. They are excellently well managed; do not ſeem to know their own ſtrength, always ſtanding with the hind and fore legs tied together; they feed them with graſs when in ſeaſon, and at other times with chopped ſtraw, and give them barley all the year. They lie on their dung, without ſtraw, and very often ſtand abroad, eſpecially in Upper Egypt they keep them out in their courts all the year round: they walk finely, never trot, but gallop ſwiftly, turn ſuddenly, and ſtop in a moment on full ſpeed; but they never gallop but for diverſion, or to run away.

The Mahometans have a certain veneration for fools and mad people, as thinking them acting by a divine ſpirit, and look on them as a ſort of ſaints. They call them here ſheiks. There are ſome women of them, but the moſt part are men, who go about the town, are received in all houſes and at all tables; the people kiſs their hands, and pay them great regard, as I have obſerved. Some of theſe go about their cities intirely naked; and in Cairo they have a large moſque, with buildings adjoining, and great revenues to maintain ſuch perſons. As theſe are recommended by their want of reaſon, ſo the derviſhes are by their want of money; poverty being eſteemed by a Turk as a great degree of perfection in every one but himſelf. There are hardly any of theſe in Egypt; nor have they more than one convent, which is near old Cairo as I obſerved before.

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The Egyptians are but ill looking people, and though many of them fair enough when young, yet they grow ſwarthy by the ſun. They are alſo a dirty, ſlovenly generation, eſpecially the Coptis, whoſe dreſs at beſt appears but ill on them; and as table linen is very rarely or never uſed by the Arabs, Egyptians, or Coptis, I have ſeen the latter, after waſhing their hands when they have eaten, wipe them with the great ſleeves of their ſhirts.

The true Mamaluke dreſs is the ſhort garment above mentioned, put into their great red trowſers, which are tied round the leg at each ancle, the foot being left bare; and they wear the ſort of ſhoes uſed by the Arabs when they ride. In other reſpects they dreſs like the Turks, and this is the dreſs of the ſlaves, and likewiſe of many of the great men, when they are not in a dreſs of ceremony.

The architecture in Egypt is very bad, and their materials of the worſt ſort, many houſes being built of unburnt brick made of earth and chopped ſtraw dried in the ſun. In towns, the lower part for above five feet is of ſtone, and in ſome parts the corners are built of brick or ſtone; the upper part of the houſes in towns are often built in frames of wood; and the large windows commonly ſet out ſo as to command a view of the ſtreet; they rarely live in the lower rooms, and I ſuppoſe it is not eſteemed wholeſome; their roofs are generally flat, with a cement over them, and ſometimes only earth; the wood they uſe is either deal or oak, imported from Aſia, or the palm, uſed much in Upper Egypt, as well as the Acacia: I have ſeen planks of the palm with a very coarſe grain, and their carpenters work is the worſt that can be imagined. Over the middle of their great ſaloons they have often a dome or cupola that gives light, and ſometimes they have a contrivance by which the middle part opens at top to let in the air when they think it convenient; and they have uſually the large cover ſet up over the openings, in ſuch manner as to keep out the ſun and leave a free paſſage for the air. Whatever is tolerable at Cairo in architecture is of the times of the Mamalukes, of which one alſo ſees great remains at Damaſcus and Aleppo, being very ſolid buildings of hewn ſtone inſide and out: the windows are often oblong ſquares, and perfectly plain, as well as the doors, except that the latter, which are ſet into the inſide of the wall, have a ſort of groteſque carved work, cut in an inclined plain from the outſide of the wall to the door, which has a grand appearance. Over all openings, the ſtones are either narrower at bottom than at top, which gives them the ſtrength of an arch, or being indented on the ſides, they are made to fit into one another, ſo that they cannot give way. In moſt of their moſques they have ſmall well proportioned cupolas; and exceeding fine minarets to ſome of them, with ſeveral ſtories of galleries, leſſening till the minaret ends at top with a ſort of pyramidal point. There are alſo, as I obſerved, about Cairo, ſome very grand gates, with a ſemicircular or ſquare tower on each ſide. Their houſes conſiſt of one or more large ſaloons, which have oftentimes a ſopha at each end, and a ſquare ſort of cupola in the middle; they are wainſcotted about ſix feet high, with pannels of marble, having round them a ſort of Moſaic work, compoſed of marbles and ſmalt in different figures, and the floors that are between the ſophas are often Moſaic work. As for the other rooms, they are generally ſmall, for convenience, as they live and often lie in theſe ſaloons, having their beds brought on the ſophas; here they likewiſe receive all their company. The lower rooms are generally uſed as offices and warehouſes; the firſt floor is the part they inhabit; it is ſeldom they have a ſecond ſtory, except the little rooms on each ſide their ſaloons, which are of the height of two ſtories.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Climate, Soil, and Waters of Egypt.*

THE climate of Egypt is very hot in ſummer, by reaſon of its ſituation between two ranges of mountains, and alſo on account of the ſandy ſoil. Towards the middle of the day in the ſun it is always hot, even in winter, but the nights and mornings are very cold, occaſioned by the nitre in the air, and on that account it is a dangerous thing to catch cold, eſpecially in the head, which often occaſions a humour to fall on the eyes, that is thought to be the cauſe of the great number of blind, and of thoſe who have weak eyes; they think it alſo bad for the eyes to ſuffer the dew to light on them, which at ſome times of the year falls very plentifully by night; which are the reaſons why they carefully wrap up the head, and cover their eyes by night. The coldeſt time here is about the beginning of Februray; near the ſea they have ſometimes great rains from November to March; but up higher, about Cairo, they have ſeldom any rain but in December, January, and February; and thoſe but little ſhowers for a quarter or half an hour. In Upper Egypt they have ſometimes a little rain, and I was told that in eight years it had been known to rain but twice very hard for about half an hour, though it rained much towards Akmim when I was in thoſe parts. The weſt and north-weſt are the winds that bring the rains; they have thunder in the ſummer, but without rain, and that at a diſtance, from the north-eaſt. It has hardly ever been known that they had any earthquakes that did miſchief, and thoſe that rarely happened were ſcarce perceivable: but in January 1740, they had three great ſhocks of an earthquake immediately after one another, which threw down ſome moſques and ſeveral houſes; and it being a year of ſcarcity, all the people cried out for plenty of corn, as they have a ſtrange notion, that at ſuch times the heavens are opened, and their prayers heard. There are two ſorts of wind that blow moſtly in Egypt, the ſouth or a few points from it, and the north wind. The ſouth wind is called Meriſy, it is a very hot wind; ſometimes it blows a few points from the eaſt of the ſouth, then it is exceeding hot; at other times it blows from the weſt of the ſouth, when it is rather windy, and not ſo hot; it blows alſo ſometimes very hard from the ſouth-weſt; and when theſe winds are high, it raiſes the ſand in ſuch a manner that it darkens the ſun, and one cannot ſee the diſtance of a quarter of a mile; the duſt enters into the chambers that are the cloſeſt ſhut, into the very beds and ſcrutores; and, to give an inſtance of the romantic manner of talking among the Eaſterns, they ſay the duſt will enter into an entire egg through the ſhell. The wind is often ſo exceſſively hot, that it is like the air of an oven, and people are forced to retire into the lower rooms and to their vaults, and ſhut themſelves cloſe up; for the beſt fence againſt it is to keep every part ſhut up; this wind generally begins about the middle of March, and continues till May; it is commonly called by the Europeans the Hamſeen wind, or the wind of the fifty days; becauſe that ſeaſon of the year when it blows is ſo called by the Arabs, being much about the fifty days between Eaſter and Whitſuntide. The north wind is called Meltem, being what the ancients called the Eteſian winds: this begins to blow in May, ſome time before the Nile riſes; it is a refreſhing wind, and makes the exceſſive heats of ſummer ſupportable; it brings with it health, and the happineſs of Egypt; is thought to be the cauſe of the overflow of the Nile, and continues blowing till November, and without this wind they could not ſail up the Nile, all the time that its current is ſo very rapid. It is this wind that puts a ſtop to the plague; for if it breeds of itſelf, it generally begins in Egypt about February, when the weather is coldeſt, and is thought to be occaſioned by a ſtoppage of perſpiration; it rages and is very mortal during the hot winds;

but they have the plague very rarely in Egypt, unleſs brought by infection to Alexandria, when it does not commonly ſpread; ſome ſuppoſe that this diſtemper breeds in temperate weather, and that exceſſive cold and heat ſtops it; ſo that they have it not in Conſtantinople in winter, nor in Egypt in ſummer; but at Conſtantinople during the ſummer, where the heat is temperate, in compariſon of what it is here. There are ſeveral things which they imagine do not communicate the infection, as water, iron, wood, or any thing made of the date tree, therefore they uſe the ropes made of a part of this tree. As ſoon as the plague begins, the Franks ſhut up their houſes, but others go about as uſual; though ſome great men obſerving the Europeans eſcape, retired in the laſt plague, notwithſtanding their notion of predeſtination. The moſt mortal plague is that which comes from the ſouth, being much worſe than any infection from Conſtantinople, and is brought by the caravan that comes from Ethiopia.

The air of Cairo is not thought to be very wholeſome, at night eſpecially; the ſmoak, when there is no wind, hovering over it like a cloud, their fires being made in the evening, when they eat their great meal. At ſpring and fall, people are much ſubject to fluxes, but in the ſummer they are not dangerous, and in all diſtempers ſoups made of meat are not reckoned proper. The people of the country are often troubled with ruptures, which are thought to be cauſed by heats and colds, and alſo by ſtraining their voices ſo exceſſively in ſinging, thoſe who cry off the moſques being moſt commonly afflicted with this diſtemper. It has been poſitively affirmed, that a fright cauſes people here to break out in blotches, like a foul diſeaſe, to prevent which, bleeding is thought a proper remedy, and, when I came from Roſetto, they ſhewed me a boy about fourteen, who, they aſſured me, was juſt recovered out of ſuch a diſorder, and had marks of it; but I have been informed that this very rarely happens, and that the notion is encouraged for ſome certain ends, to cover other cauſes that are ſometimes more real. The moſt unhealthy time is when the perſpiration is ſtopped by the cold, for every thing here is very nouriſhing; and this is given as a reaſon for drinking coffee, that it is drying, and prevents the making too much blood; when they have the benefit of perſpiration, it carries off all ſuperfluous humours, and the great quantities of water, ſhirbets, &c. that are drunk, do no harm; but if they do not ſweat, they burn in hot weather, and are in a ſort of fever, in which caſe the bagnios are a great relief, which carry off, or at leaſt diminiſh a great many diſorders in the blood, and prevent their appearing. About May moſt perſons break out in a raſh, which continues during the heats; it is thought that drinking the waters of the Nile after it riſes, contributes toward it; and it is the faſhion to carry a ſtick called Maharoſhy, which is made at the end like a file, and it is no ſhame to rub themſelves with it, as they have occaſion.

The ſoil of Egypt, except what additions it has received from the overflow of the Nile, is naturally ſandy. The hills on each ſide are freeſtone; thoſe the pyramids of Gize are built on are full of petrified ſhells, and ſo are the ſtones of which the pyramids themſelves are built, being dug out of theſe hills. I particularly obſerved at Saccara a large pyramid, and a ſmaller unfiniſhed, built of ſtones that are almoſt entirely compoſed of oyſter-ſhells cemented together; there are alſo ſome low hills of the mountains that are north-north-eaſt of Faiume, and others cloſe to the Nile on the eaſt, which are heaps of large oyſter-ſhells, ſome remaining in their firſt ſtate, and others petrified, where there was ſufficient moiſture. The ſoil of Egypt is full of nitre or ſalt, which occaſions nitrous vapours, that make the night air ſo cold and dangerous. Where the nitre abounds very much, and there are ſmall lakes on the low grounds, after the water has evaporated, a cake of ſalt is left on the ſurface, which is gathered for uſe, and I have ſeen the beaſts often eat the very earth, when they find it is mixed with the ſalt,

which

which ſometimes appears on the ground like a white froſt. It is this and the rich quality of the earth, which is the ſediment of the water of the Nile, that makes Egypt ſo fertile, and ſometimes they even find it neceſſary to temper the rich ſoil, by bringing ſand to it; but the ſandy ſoil, though they bring water to it, will not produce a crop that will anſwer the expence, but does very well for trees. For a mile from the mountains, or more, the country is commonly ſandy, being a very gentle riſing, and and may be looked on as the foot of the hill. Near the edge of this deſert they generally have villages at a proper diſtance, with plantations about them, as well as at ſome little diſtance from the river; and if the hills are above four or five miles from the Nile, they have villages in the middle, between the hills and the river, which are built on raiſed ground, where the Nile overflows. The lower parts of Egypt ſeem formerly to have been all a marſhy uninhabited country; and Herodotus gives that account of it *; for before the canals were made, a much leſs quantity of water muſt overflow the country, becauſe the outlets were leſs, and ſo the water was more confined within its bounds, till it overflowed, and conſequently overflowed ſooner; and all being on a level, and no ground raiſed, to build theſe villages on, it muſt have been very inconvenient, and almoſt impoſſible to inhabit the country, which at that time muſt have been ſoon ſubject to ſuch inundations, as are looked on to be a prejudice to the country, by cauſing the water to remain on it longer than was proper; and at that time, the upper parts of Egypt might be overflowed, and receive that acceſſion of a rich ſoil which makes it ſo fruitful; ſo that probably one reaſon why Seſoſtris opened canals, was to prevent theſe hurtful inundations, as well as to convey water to thoſe places where they might think proper to have villages built, and to water the lands more conveniently, at ſuch times as the waters might retire early; for they might find by experience after the canals were opened, that inſtead of apprehending inundations, they had greater reaſon, as at preſent, to fear a want of water, which was to be ſupplied as much as could be by art: ſo that the great canals were probably made to prevent inundations; and when they began to find a want of water in a well inhabited country, the leſſer canals might be made to convey the water both to the villages and fields, when there was not a ſufficient overflow. It is difficult to affirm how much the ground has riſen, by reaſon of the perpetual motion and ſucceſſion of the water; and as every year a great quantity of ſoil is carried off in the productions of the earth, which are produced in two or three crops in ſome parts, the loſs of which is not ſupplied any way by manuring their land, and, as the bed of the Nile itſelf may riſe by the ſubſiding of the heavier ſandy particles, for theſe reaſons it does not ſeem probable that the land will riſe ſo high in time, that there ſhould be any danger that it will not be overflowed, the ground riſing alſo proportionably at the ſea, and every where elſe; ſo that on this ſuppoſition, the water will riſe much in the ſame proportion as it has done to the lands about it; the great difference being made by opening canals, and afterwards, either by cleanſing them, or neglecting to do it: though, if the lands did riſe ſo high in Lower Egypt as not to be overflown, they would be only in the condition of the people of Upper Egypt, who are obliged to raiſe the water by art.

As to the water of Egypt, it is very much to be doubted whether they have any that does not depend on the Nile: that of Joſeph's well, which is mentioned by ſome as the only ſpring in Egypt, certainly does; for it riſes and falls with the Nile, and has ſome degree of ſaltneſs, by paſſing through the nitrous ſoil. There is indeed

* Βασιλεῦσαι δε πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων λέγον Μῆνα· επὶ τούτου, πλὴν Θηβαϊκῆς νομῆς, πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι τέλμα. Herodotus, xi. c. 4.

one water which ſeems to be a ſpring; it riſes in ſeveral parts among the rocks, and even drops from them at the ruined convent of Dermadoud, already mentioned, which is ſituated in a narrow valley, between the high mountains, on the eaſt near Akmim, in Upper Egypt. The water is received in ſmall baſins, in the rock from which it runs, and makes little pools about the vale. In Upper Egypt, eſpecially about Eſne, they dig large wells a mile or two from the river, and draw up the water from them; and in all parts they have wells of brackiſh water, which can no where be wanting, as it is a ſandy ſoil, and the earth muſt be full of water, not only where the Nile overflows, but alſo in other parts, to the height of the ſurface of the Nile; which accounts for the Nile's being the bountiful giver of water throughout all the land of Egypt.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Nile.*

THE river Nile is one of the greateſt curioſities of Egypt. It muſt be ſuppoſed that the north winds are the cauſe of its overflow, which begin to blow about the latter end of May, and drive the clouds, formed by the vapours of the Mediterranean, ſouthward as far as the mountains of Ethiopia, which ſtopping their courſe, they condenſe, and fall down in violent rains. It is ſaid, that at that time not only men, from their reaſon, but the very wild beaſts, by a ſort of inſtinct, leave the mountains. This wind which is the cauſe of the riſe of the Nile, by driving the clouds againſt thoſe hills, is alſo the cauſe of it in another reſpect, as it drives in the water from the ſea, and keeps back the waters of the river in ſuch a manner as to raiſe the waters above. The increaſe of its riſe every day muſt be greateſt during the time it is confined within its banks. By accounts in the laſt book, of its riſe for three years, I find it roſe the ſix firſt days from two inches to five inches every day; for the twelve next days from five to ten, and ſo continues riſing much in the ſame manner, but rather abating in its riſe every day, till towards the time it arrives at the height of ſixteen pikes, when the calige or canal at Cairo is cut; afterwards, though it goes on riſing ſix weeks longer, yet it does not riſe ſo much every day, but from three to five inches; for, ſpreading over the land, and entering into the canals, though the quantity of water that deſcends may be much greater than before, yet the riſe is not ſo great; for after the canal at Cairo is opened, the others are opened at fixed times, thoſe which water the loweſt grounds being cut open laſt. From theſe canals, when full, the country is overflowed, and not commonly from the great body of the Nile, that is, where the banks are high; for it is otherwiſe in the Delta, where they are low. Canals are carried along the higheſt parts of the country, that the water may have a fall from them to all other parts, when the Nile ſinks; and they draw the water out of the great canals into ſmall channels, to convey it all over the country. It is remarkable, that the ground is loweſt near all other rivers which are ſupplied from rivulets; but, as no water falls into the Nile in its paſſage through this country, but, on the contrary, as it is neceſſary that this river ſhould overflow the country, and the water of it be conveyed by canals to all parts, eſpecially when the waters abate, ſo it ſeemed viſible to me, that the land of Egypt is lower at a diſtance from the Nile, than it is near it; and I imagined, that in moſt parts it appeared to have a gradual deſcent from the Nile to the hills; that is, to the foot of them, that may be ſaid to begin at thoſe ſandy parts, a mile or two diſtant from them, which are gentle aſcents, and for that reaſon are not overflowed by the Nile.

The Egyptians, eſpecially the Coptis, are very fond of an opinion, that the Nile begins to riſe every year on the ſame day; it does indeed generally begin about the 18th or 19th of June. They have a notion alſo of a great dew falling the night before the day that they perceive it begins to riſe, and that this dew, which they call Nokta, purifies the air. This, ſome people imagine, cauſes the waters of the Nile to ferment, and turn red, and ſometimes green; which they certainly do as ſoon as the Nile begins to riſe, and continue ſo for twenty, thirty, or forty days. Then the waters are very unwholeſome and purging; and in Cairo they drink at that time of the water preſerved in ciſterns under the houſes and moſques: and this might originally be a reaſon why they would not let the water into the canals, which would fill the little lakes about every village, and afterwards ſpoil the good water that might come into them. It is ſuppoſed, that the ſources of the Nile, beginning to flow plentifully, the waters at firſt bring away that green or red filth which may be about the lakes at its riſe, or at the riſe of theſe ſmall rivers that flow into it, near its principal ſource; for, though there is ſo little water in the Nile when at loweſt, that there is hardly any current in many parts of it, yet it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the waters ſhould ſtagnate in the bed of the Nile, ſo as to become green. Afterwards the water becomes very red, and ſtill more turbid, and then it begins to be wholeſome, and is drunk by the vulgar; but moſt people have large jars, the inſides of which they rub with pounded almonds, that is, what remains after the oil is preſſed out, which cauſes the water to ferment and ſettle in four or five hours. The water continues reddiſh till the rapidity of the ſtream begins to abate in December and January; but the river continues to fall, even to the ſeaſon when it begins to riſe again; the waters being always yellowiſh, and colouring the waters of the ſea for ſome leagues out. I found the height of the Nile at the Mikias in January, according to their account, to be about eleven pikes; in March about nine pikes; but in the computation of the riſe of the Nile, I ſuppoſe it to be three pikes leſs than the account they give of it. They told me alſo, that the mud, which ſettles every year in the Mikias, is about five feet deep. I could not have thought it ſo much, though a ſucceſſion of water may raiſe it ſo high.

The preciſe day the Coptis would fix the beginning of its riſe to, is the twelfth of their month Keah, which is the 5th of June O. S., and this being their feſtival of St. Michael, they make a miracle of it. It is certain, about this time, or rather about St. John, the plague begins to ſtop, when it happens to be here, and becomes leſs mortal; though it ſeems rather to be owing to the change of the wind, and the falling of the dew, which are ſome time before, and then they begin to find the effects of it. The Nile is commonly about ſixteen pikes high, from the 25th of July to the 18th of Auguſt; the ſooner it happens, they look on it, they have a better proſpect of a high Nile. It has happened ſo late as the firſt, and even the 19th of September; but they have been then afflicted with plague and famine, the Nile not riſing to its proper height. Eighteen pikes is but an indifferent Nile, twenty is middling, twenty-two is a good Nile, beyond which it ſeldom riſes; and it is ſaid, if it riſes above twenty-four pikes, it is to be looked on as an inundation, and is of bad conſequence, as the water does not retire in time to ſow the corn; but I cannot find any certain account when this has happened. As many parts of Egpyt are not overflown, one would imagine, when the Nile does not riſe high, they might ſupply the want of the water by labour, and raiſing water, as in Upper Egypt; but it is ſaid, if it is a low Nile, the water retires too ſoon, and the earth muſt be ſown in a proper time after, before it dries into hard cakes, in which caſe, the hot weather, ſtill continuing, breeds or preſerves a worm that eats the corn, as well as withers the young plant; ſo that it ſeems better that the land ſhould

not be overflowed at all, than not ſufficiently watered. Another reaſon of which may be, that when it is not overflowed, the ground may be cultivated in proper time; which cannot be, when it is only overflowed in ſuch a manner as is not ſufficient. Moreover, when the height of the Nile does not amount to ſixteen pikes, whilſt they expect it to riſe higher, it begins to fall, and the ground is to be laboured out of ſeaſon, during the hot weather, and the water is flowing from them, to increaſe the immenſe labour of watering, by raiſing it higher, to a dry thirſty land that will drink it up; and if they ſow too ſoon, the ſame inconveniences would follow as above. As they have dikes to keep the water out of the canals till the proper time comes to let it in, ſo they have contrivances to keep it in ſome canals after the Nile is fallen, as well as in certain lakes when the Nile grows low; and from them they let it out at pleaſure, on lands that are higher than the channels of the canals: and Strabo takes notice of theſe methods to hinder the water from flowing in, or going out when it is in. Towards the mouth of the Nile the banks are low, and the water overflows the land ſoon. There likewiſe it has its vent into the ſea; ſo that the water does not riſe at Roſetto, and below Damiata, above three or four pikes: and I was aſſured, it does not riſe above four or five at Aſſouan, juſt below the cataracts; the reaſon of which may be, that the Nile below is very broad, and that the banks are not, as in other places, perpendicular, but ſloping, ſo that the water is not confined, but ſpreads over the banks, towards which the low hills come, on the weſt ſide, with a gentle deſcent.

The Grand Signior has not a title to his rents, till the canal is opened at Cairo, by breaking down the bank that is thrown up before it, which is not to be done, till the Nile riſes to ſixteen pikes; yet, when the Nile once did not riſe ſo high, and the paſha cauſed the canal to be opened, the people, notwithſtanding, would not pay the tribute. The Nile has ſometimes been known to riſe irregularly, as it did a pike or two in December, 1737; at which the people were alarmed, having made ſome obſervations, that misfortunes had happened to Egypt when the Nile had riſen out of ſeaſon, and, particularly, that it did ſo in the time of Cleopatra, when Egypt was taken by the Romans. But, however, nothing happened the year following, but a very plentiful riſing of the Nile, which is the bleſſing of Egypt. The time when the Nile is at higheſt is about the middle of September.

They have different methods of raiſing the water, where the Nile is not much below the ſurface of the ground; as at Roſetto and Damiata, they make a hole and put in a wheel made with boxes round its circumference, which receive the water, and, as the wheel goes round, the boxes empty at top into a trough made for that purpoſe. Where the water is too deep to be raiſed in this way, they put a cord round the wheel, which reaches down to the water; to it they tie earthern jars, which fill with water as it goes round, and empty themſelves at top in the ſame manner, being turned by oxen. Where the banks are high, the moſt common way is to make a baſin in the ſide of them, and fixing a pole with an axle on another forked pole, they tie a pole at the end of that, and at the end again of this which is next to the river, a leathern bucket; and a ſtone being tied to the other end, two men draw down the bucket into the water, and the weight brings it up, the men directing it, and turning the water into the baſin; from this it runs into another baſin, whence it is raiſed in like manner, and ſo I have ſeen five, one over another, in the upper parts of Egypt, which is a great labour. Another way moſtly uſed in raiſing water from the canals, is a ſtring tied to each end of a baſket, with one man to each ſtring, who let the baſket into the water, and drawing the ſtrings tight, raiſe it three or four feet to a

little

little canal, into which they empty it, and by that it is conveyed over the land. The waters of the Nile are eſteemed to be very wholeſome and nouriſhing, and may be drunk very plentifully, without any inconvenience.

I know not whether there are any ſort of fiſh in the Nile, that are in the rivers in Europe, except eels and mullet, which laſt, and ſome other fiſh in it, come from the ſea at certain ſeaſons. There is no ſort of ſhell-fiſh in the river; but in Baher Joſeph, the canal near Faiume, which runs into the Lake Caroon, there is a large muſcle, that has within it a ſort of mother of pearl of a reddiſh caſt. I never could be well informed about the hippopotamus, and only heard that they have been ſeen about Damiata, and that by night they had deſtroyed whole fields of corn; but I take the foundation of this account to be owing to one that was taken there ſome years ago; they ſeem to be natives of Ethiopia, in the upper parts of the Nile, and it muſt be very ſeldom that they come down into Egypt. The ancients as well as moderns, notwithſtanding, mention that this beaſt, when he is out of order, has a method of bleeding himſelf in the leg with the ſharp pointed end of a reed, that grows in thoſe parts, though it muſt be very difficult to make ſuch an obſervation *. Herodotus mentions theſe fiſhes, deſcribes them particularly, and ſays they were worſhipped in ſome part of Egypt †. The fiſh moſtly eſteemed are the bulſi, which are very plentiful, and ſomething like a large roach; the ſebuga, which is full of bones, and eats much like a herring; the rai, which is called the cefalo in Italian, and comes from the ſea; but what is ſtill more eſteemed, is a fiſh, which the French call the variole, becauſe it is very much like a carp; they ſay they are ſometimes found of two hundred weight. But the moſt delicate fiſh is the keſher, which is caught only towards Upper Egypt; the ſkin appears like that of the ſalmon; it has a ſort of a long narrow ſnout, with ſo ſmall a mouth, that, from it, as well as from its inſide, one might conjecture, it lives by ſucking a juice either from the weeds, or out of the ground. When I was in Upper Egypt, they told me there was a large fiſh called latous, which probably is the latus that was worſhipped by the Egyptians, from which the city called Latopolis had its name. They informed me that this fiſh at Cairo was called cuſir, whence I ſuppoſe it muſt be the ſame with the keſher. There is a ſmall fiſh called gurgur in Upper Egypt, and ſhalh at Cairo; it is at moſt about a foot long; its head is well fortified with a ſtrong bone; the fin on the back, and on each ſide under the gills is armed with a ſharp bone. They have an opinion, that this fiſh enters the crocodile, and kills it. This poſſibly may be what Pliny ſeems to call, erroneouſly, the dolphin, which, he ſays, has a ſharp point on his back, with which, getting under the crocodile's belly, he wounds him.

It is a general obſervation, that a crocodile has no tongue, and Herodotus affirms it; but he has a fleſhy ſubſtance like a tongue, that is fixed all along to the lower jaw, which may ſerve to turn his meat. He has two long teeth at the end of his lower jaw, and there are two holes in the upper jaw, into which theſe teeth go: when he ſhuts his mouth, he moves only the upper jaw. I found by experience, that the crocodiles are very quick ſighted; for, making a circuit to come directly behind them, to ſhoot at them, I always obſerved they began to move gently into the water, as ſoon as I came in ſight of them; and there is a ſort of channel on the head behind each eye, by which objects are conveyed to them. Their eggs are about the ſize of a gooſe egg: they make a hole about two feet deep in the ſand, above the overflow of the

* Vide Proſperi Alpini Hiſtoriam Naturalem Ægypti, iv. c. 12.

† Lib. ii. c. 71.

Nile,

Nile *, in which they lay their eggs, and cover them over, often going to the place and taking care of their young, when hatched, which immediately run into the water. They lay fifty eggs, which are twenty-five or thirty days in hatching: the people ſearch for the eggs to deſtroy them, with an iron pike. I could get no account in Upper Egypt of the ichneumon's deſtroying the eggs, and entering by the mouth of the crocodile into his bowels, and killing him; and it ſeems improbable that it can do this without being ſtifled; the animal they have here, called Pharaoh's rat, which is ſhewn for it in Europe, is ſomething of the make of a ſtote, but much larger; it is not improbable that it deſtroys their eggs. The crocodile when on land is always ſeen very near the water, with his head towards the river, on the low banks of ſandy iſlands; and if they are diſturbed, they walk gently into the river, and diſappear by degrees, though it is ſaid they can run faſt. Herodotus ſays, they eat nothing during four months, in the winter; and Pliny, that they lie hid in caves during that ſeaſon; but I ſaw them in great abundance all the month of January, and was aſſured, they never go above thirty or forty paces from the river, and that they venture ſo far only by night; though it is probable, they are moſtly out of water by day, to ſun themſelves in winter, as I obſerved; and it is alſo probable, that they keep in the water by day in ſummer, when the ſun is hot †. The people ſay, they cannot take a man ſwimming in the water, but if a man or beaſt ſtands by the river, they jump at once out of the water, and ſeize him with their fore claws; but if the diſtance is too great, they make a ſpring, and beat down the prey with their tails. I believe the moſt common way of killing them, is by ſhooting them; and the ball muſt be directed towards their bellies, where the ſkin is ſoft, and not armed with ſcales, as their backs are. Yet they give an account of a method of catching them, ſomething like that which Herodotus ‡ relates: they make ſome animal cry at a diſtance from the river, and when the crocodile comes out, they thruſt a ſpear into his body, to which a rope is tied; they then let him go into the water to ſpend himſelf, and afterwards drawing him out, run a pole into his mouth, and, jumping on his back, tie his jaws together. The crocodile moſt commonly frequents low iſlands; and for that reaſon there are very few below Akmim; and in theſe lower parts, the current may be too ſtrong for them, which they avoid, as well as places where the Nile runs among rocks, as it does at the cataracts. It is remarkable, that the ancient Egyptians, in the time of Herodotus, called the crocodile champſa, and at this day the Egyptians call them timſah.

CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Vegetables of Egypt.*

EGYPT does not naturally produce a great number of vegetables; the heat and inundations every year deſtroying moſt of the tender plants. Where the Nile has overflown, and the land is ſown, it yields a great increaſe, and, as it was formerly the granary of the Roman empire, ſo it is now of the Turkiſh dominions; from whence they conſtantly receive their rice, and alſo corn, whenever they have occaſion. In Upper Egypt, the Arab ſheiks have vaſt granaries of corn, where they lay up what is more than ſufficient for the conſumption of Egypt; and they chuſe rather to let it lie till it rots, than to ſend down more than there is a demand for; which would ſink the price: but when there is any extraordinary demand, they then open their granaries.

* Parit ova quanta anſeres, eaque extra locum eum ſemper incubat, prædivinatione quadam, ad quem ſummo auctu eo anno acceſſurus eſt Nilus. Nihil aliud animal ex minori origine in majorem creſcit magnitudinem. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* viii. c. 25. † Dies in terrâ agit, noctes in aqua. Ibid.

‡ Herodotus, ii. c. 70.

From

From Egypt all the weſtern parts of Arabia Felix, about Mecca and Gedda, are ſupplied; to which port they carry yearly about twenty ſhip loads of corn and rice from Suez; it being the return which the ſhips make, that come loaded with coffee. The Arabs alſo in Arabia Petræa on the Red Sea, have their ſupply from Egypt, before the caravan returns from Mecca; and ſecure their proviſion, by threatening to plunder the caravan if they are refuſed. They ſow the land with clover, without ploughing it, and it is this that ſupplies the place of graſs, which they have not. They have a ſpring harveſt from January to May, and a winter harveſt about October. For the latter, about July, before the Nile overflows the land, they ſow rice, Indian wheat, and another ſort that produces a large cane, but an ear like millet, (which they call the corn of Damaſcus; and in Italian is called Surgo Roſſo) and they likewiſe plant their ſugar canes; all theſe being plants that require much water, eſpecially rice, which has an ear ſomething like oats, and is reaped before the water is gone off, and carried to dry ground; its grain looks like barley; and they take off the huſk with a hollow cylinder, one end of which has a blunt edge, which being raiſed and let down by a machine turned by oxen, and falling on the rice, cauſes the outer coat to ſcale off; and being cleaned, they mix with it a ſmall quantity of ſalt, to preſerve it from vermin. The people eat a great quantity of the green ſugar canes, and make a coarſe loaf ſugar, and alſo ſugar-candy, and ſome very fine ſugar ſent to Conſtantinople to the Grand Signior, which is very dear, being made only for that purpoſe. The ſpring corn and vegetables are ſown in November and December, as ſoon as the Nile is gone off, and earlier, where the Nile does not overflow; theſe are wheat, which is all bearded, lentils, lupins, flax, barley, that has ſix rows of grain in one ear, and is uſed moſtly for horſes. They have no oats, but ſow beans for the camels, which the people alſo eat green, both raw and boiled, and likewiſe dry. Beſides theſe, they ſow a ſort of vetch with one large grain on each pod, called haum, which they eat raw when green, and, dreſſed, is not much inferior to peaſe, which they have not, but they are uſed moſtly dry. They alſo cultivate, at this ſeaſon, the ſaffranoun, which grows like ſuccory, and the flower of it dyes a roſe colour; it is exported into many parts of Europe. They have alſo an herb called Nil, which they cultivate, in order to make a ſort of indigo blue, which they do if I miſtake not, by pounding and boiling it, afterwards leaving it to ſteep in water, and, I ſuppoſe, preſſing it out, and then probably boiling it again, or letting it evaporate, till it becomes a cake or powder. They have all ſorts of melons, cucumbers, and other vegetables of that kind, which the people eat much in the hot weather, as a cooling food. Upper Egypt ſupplies moſt parts of Europe with ſenna; and in the ſandy grounds there, the coloquintida grows wild, like a calabaſh, being round, and about three inches diameter.

As the land of Egypt does not in any part run into wood, ſo it is much to be queſtioned, if there are any trees in it, which have not been tranſplanted to it from other countries. Thoſe which are only in gardens, as the caſſia, the orange and lemon kind, apricots, the moſeh, a delicate fruit, that cannot be preſerved; the pomegranate, the cous or cream tree, all theſe are without doubt exotic trees; and ſo probably is the cotton, which I ſaw in Upper Egypt, of the perennial kind. I have ſince been told that annual cotton grows in Delta. The following trees are moſt common in Egypt, and the two firſt are moſt likely to be natives: a tree called ſount, which ſeems to be a ſpecies of the acacia; it bears a ſort of key or pod, which they uſe in tanning their leather, inſtead of bark: there is another ſort of it in their gardens, called fetneh; it ſeems to be the acacia of Italy, called by the Italians gazieh; it is

eſteemed

eſteemed becauſe of a ſweet yellow flower it bears; but the roots of it opened and bruiſed ſend forth ſuch a diſagreeable ſmell that it infects the air for a conſiderable diſtance. The ettle, which we call the tamariſk, a tree that grows wild in the ſouth parts of France; the bark of it is uſed in phyſic, as a remedy for the dropſy; and the roots of it growing into a ciſtern at Rama near Jeruſalem, that water is eſteemed good for this diſtemper. The dumez is called by Europeans, Pharaoh's fruit; it is the ſycamore of the ancients, and is properly a ficus fatuus: the fig is ſmall, but like common figs; at the end of it a ſort of water gathers together, and, unleſs it is cut and the water let out, it will not ripen; this they ſometimes do, covering the bough with a net, to keep off the birds; and the fruit is not bad, though it is not eſteemed. It is a large ſpreading tree, with a round leaf, and has this particular quality, that ſhort branches without leaves come out of the great limbs all about the wood, and theſe bear the fruit. It was of the timber of this tree that the Egyptians made their coffins for their embalmed bodies, and the wood remains found to this day. Theſe trees are likewiſe in ſome parts of Syria: they are ſometimes planted near villages, eſpecially about Cairo; and the ſount is often planted on each ſide the road, there being alſo little woods of it, near ſome villages. But the moſt extraordinary tree is the palm or date tree, which is of great uſe in this country, and deſerves a particular deſcription. For three or four years, no body of a tree appears above ground, but they are as in our green houſes. If the top is cut off, with the boughs coming from it, either then or afterwards, the young bud, and the ends of the tender boughs united together at top, are a delicate food, ſomething like cheſnuts, but much finer, and is ſold very dear. This tree being ſo fruitful, they rarely cut off the top, unleſs the tree is blown down; though I have been told that part of it may be cut away without hurting the tree. The boughs are of a grain-like cane, and when the tree grows larger, a great number of ſtringy fibres ſeem to ſtretch out from the boughs on each ſide, which croſs one another in ſuch a manner that they take out from between the boughs a ſort of bark like cloſe net work; and this they ſpin out with the hand, and with it make cords of all ſizes, which are moſtly uſed in Egypt. They alſo make of it a ſort of bruſh for cloaths. Of the leaves they make mattreſſes, baſkets, and brooms; and of the branches, all ſorts of cage work, ſquare baſkets for packing, that ſerve for many uſes inſtead of boxes; and the ends of the boughs, that grow next to the trunk, being beaten like flax, the fibres ſeparate, and being tied together at the narrow end, they ſerve for brooms. Theſe boughs do not fall off of themſelves in many years, even after they are dead, as they die after five or ſix years; but, as they are of great uſe, they commonly cut them off every year (unleſs ſuch as are at a great diſtance from any town or village) leaving the ends of them on the tree, which ſtrengthen it much; and when after many years they drop off, the tree is weakened by it, and very often is broken down by the wind; the diameter of the tree being little more than a foot, and not above eight or nine inches when the ends of the boughs drop off; and, if the tree is weak towards the bottom, they raiſe a mound of earth round, and it ſhoots out abundance of ſmall roots along the ſide of the tree, which increaſe its bulk, ſo that the earth being removed, the tree is better able to reſiſt the wind. The palm-tree grows very high in one ſtem, and is not of a proportionable bulk. The timber is porous, and that which is moſt ſolid, has ſomething of the coarſe grain of the oak of New England; but it laſts a great while in all inſide work of rafters and the like. It is rarely uſed for boards, except about Faiume, where the trees are large. It has this peculiarity, that the heart of the tree is the ſofteſt and leaſt durable part, the outer parts being the moſt ſolid; ſo that they generally uſe

the trees intire on the tops of their houſes, or divide them only into two parts. A ſort of bough ſhoots out, and bears the fruit in a kind of ſheath, which opens as it grows. The male bears a large bunch ſomething like millet, which is full of a white flower, and, unleſs the young fruit of the female is impregnated with it, the fruit is good for nought; and, to ſecure it, they tie a piece of this fruit of the male to every bearing branch of the female. Strabo obſerves, that the palm-trees in Judea did not bear fruit, as at preſent; which probably may be owing to their not having the male tree; concerning which I could get no information; but the fruit of the female tree, without the male, drops off, or comes to no perfection. About Damaſcus I ſaw a ſtring of figs tied almoſt to every fig-tree, and was told that they were the male fig, placed there for the ſame purpoſe, as the male date is tied to the female. The fruit of the date, when freſh, eats well roaſted, and alſo prepared as a ſweat-meat. It is eſteemed of a hot nature, and as it comes in during the winter, being ripe in November, providence ſeems to have deſigned it as a warm food, during the cold ſeaſon, to comfort the ſtomach, in a country where it has not given wine. It is proper to drink water with it, as they do in theſe countries, and ſo it becomes a good corrective of that cold element. From the date they draw a tolerable ſpirit, which is uſed much by the Chriſtians in Upper Egypt. In theſe upper parts of Egypt they have a palm-tree called the dome. The ſtem does not grow high, but there ſoon ſhoot out from it two branches, and from each of them two others, and ſo, for four or five times, each branch divides into two. The leaf is of a ſemicircular figure, about three feet diameter, and is very beautiful. The fruit is oval, about three inches long, and two wide. The fleſh on it is about a quarter of an inch thick; but it is dry and huſky, having ſomething of the taſte of ginger-bread: they therefore make holes in it, and moiſten it with water. Under this there is a ſhell, and within that a large kernel, which is hollow within; ſo that, making a hole through it when it is green, it ſerves for a ſnuff-box, and turned when dry, makes very fine beads, that have a poliſh like marble: they are much uſed by the Turks, who bring them from Mecca. It comes neareſt to the palm of Braſil, with the folding or fan leaf; but, as it branches out into ſeveral limbs, it differs from any that I can find have ever been deſcribed: I have therefore called it the Thebaic palm.

CHAP. IX.—*Of the Animals of Egypt.*

THERE are not a great variety of four-footed beaſts in Egypt. The tyger, the dubber, or ahena are very rare, except that there are ſome few near Alexandria. The fox and hare are of a light colour; the latter are not very common. About Alexandria, and in other parts, the antelopes are common; they have longer horns, and are more beautiful than the antelopes of other countries. The animal called by Europeans Pharaoh's rat, has been thought to be the ichneumon. In the deſerts, as I went to Suez, I ſaw the holes of an animal called jerdaon, which I thought might be it; but I omitted to be fully informed about it: it is ſaid, they are in all parts of Egypt. The milch kine are large and red, with very ſhort horns, ſuch as are commonly repreſented in ancient ſacrifices; they make uſe of them to turn the wheels with which they draw water, and to plow their land; they have alſo a large buffalo, which is not miſchievous, as the ſmall ſort in Italy. They are ſo impatient of heat, that they ſtand in the water with only their noſes out to breathe; and where they have not this convenience, they will lie all day wallowing in mud and water like

ſwine. In Cairo, all but the great people mount aſſes; they are a fine large breed, and it is ſaid there are forty thouſand in that city.

It hath been often obſerved, how wonderfully the camel is fitted to travel through deſerts in hot countries, where they will go eight days without water. I have been a witneſs of their travelling four days without drinking. They can live on ſuch little ſhrubs as thoſe deſerts produce, without graſs, and are ſatisfied with a very little corn, which travellers commonly carry ground into meal; and tempering it with water, they cram them with large balls of it. They go about two miles, or two miles and a half, in an hour, and I have travelled on them ſixteen hours without ſtopping. A ſmaller ſort, called hayjin, pace and gallop very ſwiftly; and it is confidently affirmed, they will carry one perſon a hundred miles in a day. Theſe ſeem to be what we call dromedaries, there being none of thoſe with two bunches, that I could ever be informed of, in theſe countries; and I have ſince been told, that they are a breed of Tartary, for the people here never heard of them. The Arabs do not kill the camel for food, but the great Turks eat the fleſh of the young camel, as a moſt delicate diſh; but will not permit it to be eaten by Chriſtians, probably that the breed may not be deſtroyed. Before the great heat comes on, they have a method of preparing them againſt it, by beſmearing their bodies, to preſerve them againſt the effects of the heat. The fleſhy foot is admirably well fitted for travelling on the hot ſands, which would parch and deſtroy the hoof; and it is ſaid, before they begin a long journey, in which they will be obliged to go ſeveral days without water, they accuſtom them to it by degrees, before they ſet out, by keeping them from drinking.

The horſes here are very fine, eſpecially thoſe of Upper Egypt, being of the Arab and Barbary race. They have one great fault, which is, that their necks are generally too ſhort; and they value horſes here as they do their women, for the largeneſs of their bodies. They are wonderfully tractable: their four legs are always trammelled, in the ſtable and field; they do not ſeem to know that they can kick; they walk well, never trot, and gallop with great ſpeed, turn ſhort, and ſtop in a moment; but they are only fit to walk in travelling, cannot perform long journies, and they uſually ſtop and give them water every hour or two, and very ſeldom feed them more than once in a day. When they go in proceſſion, their trappings are exceeding fine; the ornaments are of ſilver, or ſilver gilt, it being contrary to their law to uſe gold, even ſo much as for rings, unleſs for the women, whoſe dowry, as I obſerved before, conſiſts in thoſe things, which they wear as ornaments. In the heat of ſummer, when there is no graſs, they give their cattle chopped ſtraw. They ſpread out the corn, when reaped, and an ox draws a machine about on it; which, together with the treading of the ox, ſeparates the grain from the ſtraw, and cuts the ſtraw. It is a piece of timber like an axle-tree, which has round it three or four pieces of thin ſharp iron, about ſix inches deep, which cut the ſtraw. In Syria, they often tread out the corn with oxen only, and then, if they would cut it, an ox draws over the ſtraw a board about ſix feet long, and three wide, in the bottom of which are fixed a great number of ſharp flints; the perſon that drives round the ox, ſtanding on this inſtrument.

Among the reptiles, the vipers of Egypt are much eſteemed in phyſic; they are yellowiſh, of the colour of the ſand they live in, and are of two kinds, one having a ſort of horns, ſomething like thoſe of ſnails, but of a horny ſubſtance: they are the ceraſtes of the ancients. The lizard alſo is yellow; and in the deſerts towards Suez, they have a ſmall lizard different from the common kind, having a broader head and body than the others. They have alſo the ſtinc marin in great abundance; and about

the walls there is a very ugly lizard, which is ſomething like a crocodile. Theſe are in great quantities about the walls of Alexandria. As to the worral, having procured one alive, I could not perceive that it is affected with muſic. It is of the lizard kind, four feet long, eight inches broad, has a forked tongue, which it puts out like a ſerpent, and no teeth; living on flies and lizards. It is a harmleſs animal, and is found only during the hotteſt ſeaſons, and frequents grottos and caverns in the mountains on the weſt of the Nile, where it ſleeps during the winter ſeaſon.

The oſtrich ought to be mentioned firſt among the winged tribe of the country; it is called in Arabic ter gimel, and in modern Greek Στρουθοκάμηλος, both ſignifying the camel bird, by reaſon that its neck and head, and likewiſe its walk are ſomething like the camel's. This bird is common on the mountains, ſouth-weſt of Alexandria; the fat of it is ſold very dear by the Arabs, and is uſed by the doctors as an ointment for all cold tumours, is good for the palſy and rheumatiſm; and, being of a very hot nature, is ſometimes preſcribed to be taken inwardly, for diſorders of cold conſtitutions. As theſe birds are in the deſerts beyond Alexandria, ſo the Arabs bring much of it to that city, and they have a method of putting the dead body of an oſtrich in motion in ſuch a manner, as to make the fat diſſolve into a ſort of oil, which they ſell as a drug, and is called the fat of the oſtrich. They have a kind of domeſtic large brown hawk, with a fine eye, which moſtly frequents the tops of houſes; and one may ſee the pigeons and the hawks ſtanding cloſe to one another. They are not birds of prey, but eat fleſh when they find it: the Turks never kill them, and ſeem to have a ſort of veneration for theſe birds, and for cats, as well as their anceſtors; among whom it was death to kill either of theſe animals. It has been commonly ſaid, that a legacy was left by ſome great Mahometan, to feed theſe animals in Cairo every day, and that even now they regale them with ſome of the entrails of beaſts, that are killed for the ſhambles; but on enquiry I found this to be a miſtake. The ancient Egyptians, in this animal, worſhipped the ſun, or Oſiris; of which the brightneſs of its eyes were an emblem. They have alſo a large white bird, with black wings, ſhaped like a crow or raven, but very ugly, and not at all ſhy; it lives much in the ſame manner as the hawk, and is called by Europeans Pharaoh's hen. They have likewiſe a beautiful white bird, like a ſtork, but not half ſo big, called by Europeans the field hen, being ſeen about the fields like tame fowl. The ſmall brown owl, mentioned by Herodotus, about the ſize of a pigeon, is very common. They have likewiſe a ſmall ſpeckled bird, near as big as a dove, called ter chaous (the meſſenger bird), which would be eſteemed a beautiful bird, if it were not very common, and a foul feeder: it has on the top of its head a tuft of feathers, which it ſpreads very beautifully whenever it alights on the ground. In the mountains there are a great number of vultures, and ſome eagles. Among the birds worſhipped by the Egyptians, the ibis was had in great veneration, becauſe, as it is ſaid, they delivered the country from a great quantity of ſerpents, which bred in the ground after the Nile retired. It is of theſe and the hawks (among the birds), that the embalmed bodies are chiefly found preſerved in earthen vaſes: I ſaw the figures of them on the temples in Upper Egypt; and from the deſcription we have of them, they are of the crane kind. I ſaw a great number of this ſort of birds on the iſlands in the Nile, being moſtly greyiſh. Herodotus deſcribes two kinds; the black, which I never ſaw, and the other with black wings and tail, which ſeems to be a ſort of ſtork: theſe I have ſeen, though the moſt common are a greyiſh kind. There is a very beautiful bird of this ſort, called belſery: the male has a black beak and leg, and black feathers about the wings; they have a large crooked bill, with which they can take their food only out of the water. The legs, bill, and

eyes of the female are a fine red; and in the wings and tail are intermixed ſome red feathers, which make it very beautiful, eſpecially when it ſpreads its wings.

They have great numbers of wild geeſe of a different kind from thoſe in Europe: they are called bauk; and when they are ſent into England, are known by the name of baw-geeſe. Great quantities of wild ducks frequent the pools in low grounds, which are not dry till two or three months after the Nile has left the upper lands. Quails are in great abundance. They have the woodcock, ſnipe, and beccafigo; which laſt is much eſteemed. A wild brown dove frequents the houſes, which being very ſmall, is not deſtroyed. The pigeon-houſe is reckoned a great part of the eſtate of the huſbandman: they are often built round, with little turrets riſing up all over the top, and add to the beauty of the proſpect of a country village. They have a proverb or ſaying, that a man, who has a pigeon-houſe, need not be careful about the diſpoſal of his daughter. The partridge in this country is very different from that of other parts; the feathers of the female are like thoſe of a woodcock, and the male is a beautiful brown bird, of the colour of ſome wild doves, but adorned with large ſpots of a lighter colour: they are about the ſize of a ſmall dove. They have no pheaſants in Egypt. The bats in the old buildings are remarkably large, and from the end of one wing to the end of the other, many of them are in extent above two feet, if the account I had be true.

If I was rightly informed, they have an extraordinary cuſtom in relation to their bees in Upper Egypt. They load a boat with the hives, at a time when their honey is ſpent; they fall down the ſtream all night, and take care to ſtop in a place by day, where the diligent animal may have the opportunity of collecting its honey and wax; and ſo, making a voyage of ſix weeks or two months, they arrive at Cairo, with plenty of honey and wax, and find a good market for both. There is another ſtory, the truth of which may be much ſuſpected, relating to a manner of catching ducks on the river; which is by putting the head into a pumpkin ſhell, and walking in the river, only with the head above water covered in this manner; the duck not being alarmed at the ſight of a pumpkin, the man approaches the game, and takes them by the legs.

BOOK V.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS, CHIEFLY RELATING TO THE ANTIQUITIES AND NATURAL HISTORY OF EGYPT.

CHAP. I. — *Of ſome Antiquities and ancient Weights brought from Egypt.*

TWO ſtatues of Iſis and Oſiris, were in the houſe of an Italian merchant at Cairo, who could give no account from what part they came, but was ſo obliging as to part with them. They are of a very cloſe free ſtone; the ſtatues as they ſit, are about two feet high, that of Iſis is about half an inch higher than the other; the plinth of the ſtatue of Iſis is four inches and three quarters thick, the other only four. I never ſaw any ſtatues or drawings in ſuch a poſture before, and, what is very remarkable, the Egyptians at this day will ſit in this manner, without reſting on any thing but their hams, for an hour together, when they are abroad, or have not the conveniency of a carpet to ſit on. Theſe ſtatues ſeem to be of ſo great antiquity, that it is probable they were made before ſculpture came to its greateſt perfection in Egypt. They appear to be both cloathed with a garment that ſits cloſe to the body. The ſtatue of the goddeſs, as it was proper, is of the finer workmanſhip; the feet are more delicate; there is ſomething beautiful in the make of the body; the woman's breaſts plainly appear at the ſide, and the body might be thought to be repreſented naked, if it did not appear otherwiſe at the ankles; however, it ſeems to be an exceeding fine garment, fitted cloſe to the body; it might be ſomething like the gauze, which is worn by the ladies at this day in the eaſt for their under garments. Hieroglyphics are cut like an inſcription on the robe that comes down before; the deep bracelets on the arms are very broad, and ſhe has a ſiſtrum in the left hand, on which is cut the head of Iſis, which has on it the ears of the cat. It has three ſtrings or wires, which are to be ſuppoſed looſe in it, each end being bent on the outſide, to keep it in its place; on each of them are two rings, which ſeem to be juſt big enough to move about the wire; on the upper ſtring there might be three; theſe are the rings that made the muſic: it ſeems to have been an inſtrument for beating time, like the nakous they uſe in Egypt at this day, which I have before deſcribed. What is on the head is an extraordinary dreſs; perhaps made of leaves, which are doubled one over another, as appears by the ends of the lower part; it is to be ſuppoſed that the lote flower adorns the forehead. Something very particular, like a bulla, comes out from the ears, and might probably hang on them; the hair appears beneath this dreſs on the forehead and temples; and all round behind, beneath the head-dreſs, plaited as in the other. It may be no great compliment to ſay that in the beauty and delicacy of the workmanſhip, eſpecially in the ſide view, the artiſt has exceeded the Egyptian workman, who it may be lived three thouſand years ago; though we are not to deſpiſe ſuch uncommon remains of antiquity, but to ſet a value on them; as we ſee in ſuch pieces theſe noble arts in their infancy; and by conſidering the different workmanſhip of different ages, we may obſerve how arts gradually improved, till at length, under the Greeks, they came to the greateſt perfection, which their maſters the Egyptians were too opinionative to learn of their ſcholars.

The

The ſtatue of Oſiris is diſtinguiſhed by a ſort of thyrſus in the hand, as it ſeems to be; though ſomething different from any thing of that kind; the hands come through the garment in a very particular manner; the fluting of what muſt be looked on as the garment before, on which the hieroglyphics are cut, may anſwer to ſome manner of plaiting, and, if it be the garment, and is repreſented after nature, it muſt be in imitation of a very thick ſtuff, as it ſtands out at a diſtance from the legs; or ſome art muſt have been uſed for that purpoſe. The faſtening of the ſandals over the inſtep is very large, and appears on it like iron bolts; and, what is very extraordinary, the ſandal is not ſeen at bottom, ſo that probably the leather or ſole of the ſandal was anciently ſo ſmall as not to appear; there is a delicacy alſo in the feet of this figure. The manner of plaiting the hair is very extraordinary in this ſtatue, and there ſeem to be two or three plaits one over another. It may be doubted, if what appears under the ears be hair, as it is entirely ſmooth, and has not the ſame appearance as the other, or whether it was any mode of dreſs; it might be rather thought the latter, as it appears to preſs forward that which ſeems to be the lower part of the ear, for ſo much of the ear does not appear as to ſhew the ſocket of it, thoſe holes ſeeming to have been cut after the ſtatue was made. The hair likewiſe plaited down the forehead is to be obſerved; and I have ſeen thoſe of the Molotto race in Egypt, lately come out of Ethiopia, who have their hair plaited much in the ſame manner, and coming over their foreheads. This ſtatue has a pilaſter to ſupport it behind, on which there are hieroglyphics cut.

A ſtatue of Harpocrates is in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Mead, and was lately brought from Egypt. It is of a white ſtone or marble; I bought exactly ſuch a one at Coptos, only rough hewn out; it has the high cap, part of which this has loſt; the ornament on the forehead may be the lote flower. There are ſeveral things to be particularly remarked about it, as the beads round the neck, and a bulla hanging down from them; the ſtring of beads on the other ſide is not at preſent to be ſeen. The ornament about the upper part of the arm, and that under the beads, one would imagine, were deſigned as a ſort of covering of the breaſt, being altogether extraordinary, and it poſſibly may be ſomething emblematical; there are alſo bracelets on the wriſts, which ſeem to have been adorned with beads; in the right hand he holds the croſs, which is ſo common in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The hair is plaited and brought to the left ſide, as in moſt of the ſtatues of Harpocrates. Among the ſeals I found in Egypt there are four or five of the Abraxas kind, uſed by the Gnoſtics, being a mixture of Paganiſm and Chriſtianity; they have generally a legend on the reverſe, and are of no great conſequence. Two of the ſeals moſt remarkable are of very bad workmanſhip, one may be an aſtronomer; on the other, which has very particular characters on it, one ſeems to be playing on a muſical inſtrument, and another holds ſomething very particular in his hands, which it may be difficult to explain.

I made

I made a collection in Egypt of above fifty ancient weights; they are most of them of the common figure. I weighed them all with great exactness and have herewith given a table of them.

A Table of Weights found in EGYPT.

No.	Oz.	Dwt.	Gr.	No.	Oz.	Dwt.	Gr.	No.	Oz.	Dwt.	Gr.
1	9	5	23	19	1	14	17½	36	0	9	23¾
2	9	3	16¾	[e] 20	1	9	8	37	0	9	19½
3	4	17	4½	[f] 21	1	5	23¾	38	0	9	15
4	4	13	16½	[g] 22	1	1	14	39	0	9	14
[a] 5	4	11	17	23	0	19	22½	40	0	9	14
[b] 6	2	16	20	24	0	19	22	41	0	9	13½
7	2	2	22	25	0	19	19¾	42	0	9	10
8	1	18	11	26	0	19	10½	43	0	9	9½
9	1	18	6	27	0	19	2½	44	0	9	9½
10	1	18	3	28	0	19	11	45	0	9	7½
11	1	18	1	29	0	19	5	46	0	9	3½
12	1	17	22	30	0	19	3	47	0	8	18
13	1	17	16½	31	0	19	3	48	0	8	1
14	1	17	12½	32	0	18	23	49	0	5	21½
15	1	17	2½	33	0	18	23	50	0	5	13
[c] 16	1	17	2½	34	0	18	18½	51	0	5	7½
7	1	15	4	[h] 35	0	16	7¾	52	0	1	5½
[d] 18	1	14	23								

Besides these, there is a weight of Verd antique, about an eighth of which is broken off, and it weighed twenty-three ounces, twelve penny-weight, and eleven grains; so that probably it was a weight of about twenty-eight ounces.

CHAP. II.—*Of the Ancient Architecture of Egypt.*

THE architecture of Egypt may be looked on as among the first essays in that noble art. It was in a style peculiar to themselves, in which, notwithstanding, we may trace the origin of many things we see in the most improved architecture. As the Egyptians boasted themselves to be the inventors of all arts and sciences, this gave them a stiffness and pride, which made them refuse to receive the improvements the Greeks and other nations made on their inventions; so that, excepting at Alexandria and Antinoopolis, there is nothing to be seen in Egypt of the Greek architecture. In some places, we

[a] This is of iron, and of twelve sides, it has six stamps on each side of the four square sides, and one on each of the other sides.

[b] This weight is a flat octagon, it has seven marks on one side, and four on the other, and two circles round each side.

[c] This is of the shape of number five, has five stamps on the four square sides, and one on the rest.

[d] Is as number six, but has a cross on it, and these letters Γ B.

[e] This is an octagon also, but seems older than the other.

[f] This weight has twenty-four sides, excepting the top and the bottom, and has two rings and a stamp on each of the twenty-four sides.

[g] This is of Verd antique, and has these marks on it 7 A.

[h] Is a square weight, has a cross on it, and [illegible]. and does not seem to be very ancient.

observe

obſerve this art in the greateſt ſimplicity, only contrived for uſe, and without any ornaments, and may ſee how it improved by degrees, and at laſt arrived at ſuch a perfection, as might eaſily give the hint to the Greeks for the Corinthian order, unleſs we ſuppoſe that they might imitate that order; which I do not think probable, as theſe temples ſeem to have been built before that order was uſed in Greece, and alſo as the Egyptians ſeem to have thought themſelves above imitating the inventions of other people; for there ſeems to be nothing approaching to any other order of architecture, unleſs the mouldings of one capital may be thought a little to reſemble the Doric.

The ground is ſo much riſen, that I could not come to any certainty with regard to the height of their pillars: and ſeveral members of them, and of the cornices being inacceſſible heights, and ſo ſmall, that they could not be determined by the quadrant, and having in truth ſometimes omitted ſome meaſures I might have taken, on account of the hurry I was often obliged to do things in, and the interruptions I met with; I could not, for theſe reaſons, give an exact draught of them by ſcale, but to ſupply this defect, I have marked the ſeveral members, and given a table of ſuch meaſures as I took of them. This will give an idea of the Egyptian architecture; and as it is by no means to be imitated, or made a ſcience of, ſo a more exact account will be the leſs wanted, and more eaſily excuſed, when, under all the diſadvantages of a traveller in Egypt, it would have been producing ſomething new, to have given draughts of them only by the eye.

As the Egyptian buildings were covered with long ſtones about three feet wide and deep, and fourteen feet long, this made a great number of pillars neceſſary in all their covered buildings. If the pillars were next to the wall in a portico, they laid a ſtone from one pillar to another, by the length of the portico, and then laid ſtones acroſs from that ſtone to the wall, as may be ſeen in the ſecond plate of pillars; but, if there were many rows of pillars in a room, they laid ſtones acroſs the pillars, by the breadth of the building, to give the room a lighter air, and then they laid ſtones on them, with which they covered the building by the length of the room, and ſometimes they placed a ſquare ſtone on the capital, to make the room ſtill higher.

The baſe or pedeſtal of the pillar was round, the corners being taken off at the edge; it had a ſocket in it, to let in the pillar, as repreſented in the ſection of the baſe. In the firſt plate of pillars, there are very few of theſe baſes to be ſeen; that at Hajar Silcily, to a pillar two feet two inches diameter at bottom, was four feet diameter, ſo that it projected beyond the pillar eleven inches, and was ten inches deep. As the manner of building obliged them to have a great number of pillars, ſo they might find this kind of baſe moſt convenient, as a ſquare one would be more apt to break at the corners, and offend thoſe that walked in the temples; though it is very probable, that many of their pillars, eſpecially within their temples, were without any baſe, for the conveniency of walking between them; as the pillars of the temples of Minerva and Theſeus, at Athens. It has been alſo found out, that the obeliſks were placed on ſuch baſes or pedeſtals, and let into a ſocket, which made the raiſing of them much eaſier than on a high pedeſtal, as they are placed in Rome. The chief intention of pillars, in Egyptian buildings, being to ſupport a weighty covering, it was neceſſary they ſhould be very ſtrong: it is probable, in the moſt ancient times, they might not have found out the uſe of granite, or the art of cutting it, which is the only marble I obſerved to be the product of Egypt, and fit for making pillars of one ſtone, which could not be leſs than three or four feet diameter, for the purpoſe mentioned; and it would have been very difficult to have conveyed ſuch pillars from the cataracts, where the granite quarries are, to the ſeveral parts of Egypt. The freeſtone they had near, in all their hills, which

they made uſe of for their columns, cutting out the ſtones of the diameter of the pillar, and from one foot ſix inches, to three feet ſix inches in thickneſs. Theſe columns were from three feet to eleven feet diameter; and they were ſo very thick, that I concluded their height might be from about three diameters, or at moſt three and a half, to four and a half. I had reaſon to think that this was generally the height of their pillars, though ſometimes, but rarely, they were ſix diameters in height, and the intercolumnation one diameter and a half, or two, for the moſt part; ſometimes two and a half, and three, though very rarely. And, if in the middle of a room, ſome intercolumnations were wider, they procured ſtones of a proportionable length, to lay from pillar to pillar. The pillars were often adorned with hieroglyphics, and theſe ſometimes painted. They had ſome multangular pillars, though very rare; and thoſe conſiſting of ſixteen ſides, as at the temple of Thebes, ſomething reſembling the ancient pillars I have ſeen ſhaped in that manner, in order to be fluted; which was the method the ancients took to flute their columns, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention in another place. One of the firſt improvements on plain pillars were a ſort of ſwellings about ſeven feet from the top, and leſſening again towards the capital, which conſiſted only of a ſquare ſtone. It is poſſible, this ſort of ſwelling, inverted, might give riſe to the firſt capitals made in ſhape of a bell. The next improvement ſeems to have been the addition below this of four members, being a ſmall ſegment of a circle. Poſſibly theſe might give riſe to the annulet in the capital, of the Doric order; by which name I ſhall therefore call them. Another manner of architecture was the working the upper part of the pillar, that ſwells out as deſcribed, into eight half rounds. In ſome pillars a ſort of ſhields cover the lower part of the joinings of theſe half rounds. In others, two rows cover the joinings of two half rounds, and the two next are covered by a ſhield, as above; and ſo all round alternately. The lower part of that ſort of pillars is likewiſe divided into eight half rounds, which I conjectured, in ſome, to be about one-third, in others two-thirds of the pillar, according to the length of the members, between this part and thoſe I have mentioned before; for in ſome pillars, above theſe, there are three ſuch members, but ſmaller, over each of the great ones, as at Luxerein; in others, beſides theſe three members, there is a larger over the joinings of the lower member, if I miſtake not, at the temple, eaſt of Carnack; and in others, the triglyphs ſeem to be continued down, as under thoſe members, with a particular liſt coming down between them to the middle of the half rounds below; and the ſecond pillar is worked all the way down with three ſmall half rounds, or rods, and one large one. Another ſort of pillars are thoſe at Archemounain. I obſerved particularly, that they leſſened towards the bottom. The pillars at Hajar-Silcily are almoſt the ſame, and the only columns I ſaw entirely to the bottom; thoſe pillars are three feet diameter, near four in the ſwelling, and at bottom leſſen to two feet two inches. One pillar has the four annulets under the capital, the reſt being plain; it is in the grand area of the temple of Carnack. Another at the temple eaſt of Carnack, I imagine to be ſome imitation of the palm-tree. Thoſe horizontal members, or annulets, ſomewhat reſemble the tree when the boughs are cut off, and therefore it would have been more like the palm-tree, if thoſe members had been continued all down; and, if I am not miſtaken, I have ſeen ſuch a drawing of a pillar in Egypt. Others have this particular in them that the ſtalks of the leaves, and thoſe between them, are carried down below the annulets of the pillars. The capitals of the ſeven firſt are only a ſquare ſtone; it is very probable, that a ſquare ſtone, at firſt laid on the pillars, to give the building a lighter air, might give riſe to the capital. In ſome pillars, theſe capitals do not project at all, in others a very little: they are from one

foot to three feet thick. The capitals, of the bell kind, have often been thought to be an imitation of a vaſe ſet on a pillar, with leaves twining about it; but a view of the capitals of Egypt would incline one rather to think, that it was the imitation of the top of a tree, and that probably the palm, the bows of which point upwards, and much reſemble a capital, when all the lower bows are cut off, as they are commonly every year, and poſſibly the palm-trees, ſaid to be cut in Solomon's temple, might be pillars, or at leaſt pilaſters of this kind ſo much reſembling the palm-tree. The moſt ſimple ſort of capitals of this bell kind are of the great pillars in the temple of Luxerein, without any fillet round at the top. The ſecond ſort has the addition of the fillet, and is ſeen at Carnack. Of the ſame ſort is one cut among the hieroglyphics of the gate north of that temple; and the next to that, cut likewiſe on the ſame gate, is the moſt ſimple of the foliage kind.

Theſe ſtones laid on the capital, ſeem to have given riſe to the faces of the architrave, (ſo called from being the chief beam that ſupported the covering of the building,) and to the freeze, a ſtone, or part of a ſtone, that ranged round the building, being adorned with ſculptures of animals and other things, was on that account called by the Greeks and Latins Zophorus, which was the name of the zodiac; adorned, it may be, with the ſigns of the zodiac, and other ornaments encompaſſing the building, as the zodiac the Heavens; and probably it was this part of the tomb of Oſymanduas that was adorned with a golden circle, three hundred and ſixty-five cubits in compaſs, divided into ſo many parts, to repreſent the days of the year, with the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, and other things relating as well to the Egyptian aſtrology as to what was more real, the aſtronomy for which they were ſo famous. Some buildings being covered with two tier of ſtones, the under ſtone probably was the freeze; or, where there was only one, the lower part of it might be left for that member, as the upper part was always moulded into the cornice or coronis, that crowned the building; and where two or three ſingle ſtones were placed over the capital, the lowermoſt being worked with the ſeveral faces of the architrave, and the upper ones being the freeze, and cornice and the ſtone laid acroſs to ſupport the covering moulded into another cornice, accounts for the ſingle entablature to every pillar, which has often a very beautiful effect in architecture.

The doors are generally a plain pilaſter on each ſide, and ſometimes a plain member, over the door correſponded to it; but the moſt common ornament over them is that cornice which I obſerved is moſtly uſed in Egypt. Some door-places have a half round on the outſide, taking off the angles, and another at about the diſtance of eighteen inches, as at the angle of the pilaſter.

As to the ſculpture of the Egyptians, both of hieroglyphics and pillars, and the laſt finiſhing of their works; they ſeem to have been executed after the building was completed, which made them work in their figures on plain ſtones, by cutting them in below the ſurface of the ſtone, either with a plain bottom, or with a relief, the higheſt part of which conſequently muſt be either on a level with the ſurface of the ſtone, or ſomething lower. I ſaw a pillar unfiniſhed at the temple eaſt of Carnack, and it may be queſtioned whether the multangular pillar was not deſigned to be in ſixteen half rounds, that being the method which they anciently took in marking out pillars to be fluted; and over the Eaſtern gate of Carnack I ſaw a ſtone left rough, as to cut out the winged globe, an ornament which is ſeen ſo often in all their buildings. We may ſee alſo among the Egyptians, what might have given riſe to the arch, though there is great reaſon to think they were ignorant of this curious and uſeful part of architecture, as it was afterwards executed, becauſe it is hardly ever ſeen among their

buildings, I mean thoſe covers made by the projection of ſeveral tiers of ſtone, one beyond another; for, if theſe ſtones had been only ſhaped each of them in a ſegment of a circle, the arch would have been made, and it is probable that the arch was this way hit on; the only difference between this architecture and that of the arch ſeeming to be in laying the upper ſtones, eſpecially the middle one, which is called the key ſtone, that being laid flat on the two uppermoſt tiers, whereas, in the arch, it muſt be put in between them: for the reſt, making them leſs towards the outward ſuperficies than they are within, and laying the lower tiers ſo as not to project ſo much, and the upper tiers more, the arch would be executed only by ſhaping the ſtones in the manner above mentioned. It is poſſible, that at ſome time the ſtones in making ſuch a covering might not be laid level, and making an inclined plane on each ſide at top, when they came to cloſe all, they might find it neceſſary to hew a ſtone to fit the place in ſuch manner as to come near to the nature of a key ſtone, and in time they might come to make all the ſtones bigger at one end than at the other, as finding it to give ſtrength to this ſort of building. It is indeed poſſible, that the arch might be firſt invented by other accidents, as the riſing of the ground of a city where the gates were made of very large ſtones, with ſtrait tops, and there being occaſion to have higher doors or gates, they might make them more lofty, by cutting the top into an arch; and at Thebes in Greece I ſaw a ſmall gate that conſiſted of an arch only of two large ſtones, which might poſſibly have been made higher in this manner, after the building of the gate. In all Egypt I did not ſee above three or four arches, of which I have given an account in the relation of the antiquities of this country; and I ſuppoſe them to have been made after the Greeks came among them. It is the more ſurpriſing they ſhould not hit on it, as they found out the ſhell of the niche, which approaches ſo very near to it. Amidſt all the public magnificence of the Egyptians, there is great reaſon to think that their private buildings were very mean, and perhaps their habitations in thoſe ancient early times, when theſe ſumptuous fabrics were erected, might be chiefly tents and grottos; there being no ſign of private buildings all over the great extent which ancient Thebes took up; and without doubt thoſe Kings who beſtowed ſo much on their temples and ſepulchres, would likewiſe have erected magnificent palaces for themſelves, if it had been the cuſtom of the times; of which, doubtleſs, we muſt have had ſome remains; but of this kind only one is mentioned, of which we have any certain account, and that is the labyrinth, which was deſigned for a public, as well as in ſome manner for a ſacred uſe, as it had relation to the religion they profeſſed. The palace of Memnon is indeed ſpoken of at Abydus; but the mention of it is very ſlight, and there are no ſigns or traditions of any thing there, but a temple. And this may account for the extreme magnificence of the public buildings in Egypt, if we conſider that all their expences were beſtowed this way, to make their ſacred buildings the moſt laſting and magnificent that the art of man could poſſibly execute.

I meaſured ſeveral parts of the pillars at Luxerein, to ſee in what proportion they leſſen and ſwell.

Meaſuring one on the half rounds below, it was ten feet nine inches in circumference; on ſome members higher, it was eleven feet; and on the annulets, ten feet ſeven inches.

Another pillar was in circumference on the half rounds cloſe to the capital, ten feet ſix inches; lower, on the ſwell, twelve feet five inches; on the annulets, ten feet four inches.

And in the furthermoſt court, I find theſe meaſures of one pillar in inches 204, 231, 235, 241. Another pillar meaſured at the annulets ſeventeen feet; at the bottom of the half rounds, nineteen feet three inches; at the top of the next half round members, nineteen feet five inches; and in the greateſt ſwell, twenty feet and one inch.

The great pillars at Luxerein, are one-and-thirty feet in circumference, and about that height above ground, including the capital; and have a ſquare plinth on the top of the capital, as thoſe at Carnack, on which probably ſome ſtatues were placed, as it may be ſuppoſed, they were on the capitals of the pillar of the grand area at Carnack.

CHAP. III.—*Of the Mythology of the ancient Egyptians.*

AS the mythology, or fabulous religion of the ancient Egyptians, may be looked on, in a great meaſure, as the foundation of the heathen religion, in moſt other parts; ſo it may not be improper to give ſome account of the origin of it, as it is delivered by the moſt ancient authors, which may give ſome light both to the deſcription of Egypt, and alſo to the hiſtory of that country. We may ſuppoſe that the ancients were the beſt judges of the nature of their religion, and, conſequently, that all interpretations of their mythology, by men of fruitful inventions, that have no ſort of foundation in their writings, are forced, and ſuch as might never be intended by them. On the contrary, it is neceſſary to retrench ſeveral things the ancients themſelves ſeem to have invented, and grafted on true hiſtory; and, in order to account for many things, the genealogies and alliances they mention, muſt in ſeveral reſpects be falſe or erroneous, and ſeem to have been invented to accommodate the honours of the ſame deities to different perſons they were pleaſed to deify, who lived at different times; and ſo they were obliged to give them new names, invent genealogies, and ſome different attributes; which may account, in ſome meaſure, for the ſuppoſition I make below, that deities with different names all mean the ſame object of worſhip, as the ſun or moon, which might be worſhipped firſt as Oſiris and Iſis, when they were deified, or under the name of ſome others deified before them in the ſame manner; for Diodorus ſays, that the Egyptians learnt of the Ethiopians to have their Kings for Gods, that is, to deify their kings; for it appears very plainly from the ancients, that their gods were their good kings, whom they deified. Herodotus, indeed, would add a dignity to thoſe deities, by ſaying, that the gods lived on the earth with men, and ruled over them. He ſpeaks of the three orders of gods; the firſt and oldeſt were eight in number, among whom Pan was of the firſt, as Hercules was of the ſecond, and Dionyſius of the third order. Diodorus Siculus indeed mentions celeſtial and terreſtrial gods; under the former he reckons Oſiris, Iſis, Jupiter, Vulcan, Ceres, the Ocean, and Minerva; but ſays there were alſo terreſtrial gods of the ſame name. Theſe celeſtial gods he makes to be the ſun and moon, the four elements, and the ſoul of the world, that enlivens all things. Oſiris is the ſun, Iſis the moon, Jupiter the enlivening force, Vulcan fire, Ceres the earth, Ocean with the Egyptains was the Nile, Minerva the air; and it is to be ſuppoſed that theſe, with Pan, mentioned by Herodotus, made up the number of the eight firſt Gods. It is alſo thought, that one great foundation of this religion was worſhipping the ſun and the planets, and the ſigns of the zodiac; and ſo they afterwards made conſtellations of their kings, and gave the ſun and the planets the names of thoſe they looked on as their benefactors; and to the ſigns of the zodiac the names of thoſe animals they worſhipped, for the reaſons mentioned by the ancients.

Our author goes on to obſerve, that the Egyptians had a right before any other people to theſe gods, (that is, as he muſt be underſtood, to thoſe whom they called by the names of their kings) and gives it as a reaſon, why it may be ſuppoſed, that they dwelt moſtly amongſt them, as Egypt only of all countries had cities built by the gods, and called after their names; particularly of Jupiter, the ſun, Hermes or Mercury, Apollo, Pan, Eilethyia or Diana, whom we may ſuppoſe to be the ſame as Iſis or the moon, as Apollo is the ſame with Oſiris or the ſun; though, according to ſome hiſtories, Apollo is made the brother of Oſiris, doubtleſs to anſwer ſome particular ſchemes in their mythology. He ſays, theſe gods came down upon earth, and ſometimes took on them the form of ſacred beaſts, ſometimes of men, and ſo were worſhipped in the ſhape of the ſeveral beaſts whoſe forms they aſſumed. This turn they gave to the worſhip of theſe deities, in order to add a greater dignity to their religion; whereas, in reality, they ſeem to be no other than their Kings and great men deified, who, ſome way or other, had conduced to make the life of mankind more comfortable and happy, by a proper uſe of the elements of nature in general, or of the celeſtial bodies in particular, that ſeemed to have the greateſt influence on the earth; which they either began to worſhip under their names, or to worſhip their benefactors, they had deified, and to give them the names of thoſe things they had by their government or inventions rendered ſo beneficial to them: for he goes on to give an account of the terreſtrial gods, who, he ſays, by the ſtrength of their underſtanding, and by their beneficence to mankind, had acquired immortality, as a recompence of their extraordinary merit. Some of theſe were kings of Egypt; but they ſeem to have given the genealogy of theſe kings, as much as could be, in order to make it be believed that the celeſtial gods were different from them; and though I ſhall give an account of their genealogy, yet, notwithſtanding, I conjecture part of it to be mere fiction, and that the truth is, ſuch perſons did live at ſome time or other, but not juſt as they fix it. However, theſe we muſt ſuppoſe to be the twelve gods of the ſecond rank, of which he only at firſt mentions the eight principal, the Sun, Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, called alſo Ammon, Juno, Vulcan, Veſta, and Mercury. He ſays, the Sun reigned firſt in Egypt: Herodotus ſays, Menes reigned firſt, and that Pan was the oldeſt of the gods, and, as Mendes was another name of Pan, poſſibly Menes and Pan may be the ſame; and alſo the celeſtial Oſiris, which is the ſun. But, if it be true, as Herodotus ſays, that Menes built the temple to Vulcan in Memphis; this may be an argument in favour of the prieſts, who affirmed that Vulcan was the firſt King. Oſiris, in this genealogical account of the Kings, is indeed alſo the ſon of Jupiter and Juno, and ſaid to be Bacchus. But as, under the name of Menes, he drained the country, and made Lower Egypt habitable, by expoſing the earth in proper time to the kindly influence of the ſun; and, under that of Bacchus, cultivated the vine, by the help of the ſun, the juice of whoſe fruit is ſuch a comfortable cordial to mankind; and as, under the name of Mendes or Pan, he might make ſome orders for the more regular propagation of mankind, and of animals for his uſe, all under the prolific influence of the ſun, ſo the ſame perſon or deity might be worſhipped in different places under different names and ſhapes, according to the nature of the particular virtues of the perſon they celebrated in thoſe places. The worſhip of the King of Egypt, who was called Vulcan, and of fire under his name, was owing, as they ſay, to an extraordinary accident; a wood happened to be ſet on fire by lightning in the winter, and the King ſtanding by it, perceived that it gave a great pleaſure to enjoy the warmth of it, and took care to continue the uſe of fire, which we may ſuppoſe till that time was unknown.

After

After theſe, Saturn reigned, who married his ſiſter Rhea, the ſame with Cybele or Magna Mater; though, in this genealogy, Iſis is ſaid to be her daughter, who was the moon, or Diana, and had the city Bubaſtus built to her, Bubaſtus being the Egyptian name of Diana; and on her tomb ſhe is repreſented as boaſting that the city of Bubaſtus was built in honour of her *. Cybele ſeems to be much the ſame as Diana of Epheſus, and Iſis, among the celeſtial gods, is the moon; it is poſſible that the moon might be worſhipped under theſe three names, as having an univerſal influence on all things. Some ſaid that Oſiris and Iſis were the children of Saturn and Rhea, but, according to others, Jupiter and Juno; and, as Herodotus ſays, that the Egyptians did not know the name of Juno, this is a proof, how much the invention of the ancients was employed in the hiſtory they gave of their gods; and accounts for the inconſiſtencies we meet with in their relations of them. As both Minerva and Juno have been ſaid to be the air, ſo they might alſo be the ſame deities, under different names, and likewiſe Eilethyia or Diana, though the daughter of Jupiter; for both Juno and Diana are called Lucina, and may be the ſame perſon. Diana is ſaid to be the daughter of Jupiter by Latona; poſſibly Jupiter might after marry his own daughter, who might then be called Juno, and her mother Latona might be obliged to fly to Ortygia from the reſentment of Juno; as theſe may likewiſe be the ſame with Rhea, on the above ſuppoſition; and if it may be ſuppoſed to have been ſo, all theſe alliances and genealogies muſt be looked on as mere fictions: and this deity multiplied into ſo many ſhapes, muſt then be only Rhea or Iſis, or whoever was the firſt deity of this kind, worſhipped afterwards under different notions, and different names.

To Jupiter and Juno they give five children, Oſiris, Iſis, Typhon, Apollo, and Venus; and ſo Juno might be called the mother of the gods (mater deûm) the title of Cybele; and here they make Oſiris Bacchus, and Iſis Ceres; ſo that Iſis might comprehend Rhea and Diana, Juno and Ceres. By the name of Ceres, ſhe was the inventreſs of tillage, as Oſiris was of wine, under the title of Bacchus: Iſis alſo is ſaid to have enacted laws for the government of mankind. Some ſay Oſiris founded Thebes, though others mention another founder of this city: our author ſays, moreover, that he built a temple of extreme magnificence, to his parents Jupiter and Juno, and two golden temples, one to celeſtial Jupiter, the other to his father Jupiter Ammon. It is probable, that one Jupiter was worſhipped long before this, and that Oſiris being the ſon of Ammon, both the father and ſon might be deified; and, to give a dignity to their new god, they might ſay, he was the ſon of Jupiter, diſtinguiſhed by the title of his real father, who was worſhipped under the ſhape of a ram. As to the Jupiter of the Greeks, who was father of Minos in Crete, both of them great Kings over ſo ſmal an iſland, it was thought to be doing juſtice to the merit of Jupiter, to make him the chief of their gods; that they might have gods of their own; and to give him the name by which they call the Egyptian Jupiter; without doubt, a much more ancient deity, as Dædalus, the architect of his ſon, went to Egypt to ſee the labyrinth, in order to build one in Crete on the ſame model. Oſiris and Iſis were alſo great encouragers of arts, and of thoſe who invented weapons to kill wild beaſts, and inſtruments to till the land. Oſiris being educated at Niſa in Arabia Felix, had the name of Dionyſius from that place, and his father Dios; here they ſay he learnt the culture of the vine. He had the greateſt regard for Hermes or Mercury, a perſon of great genius in inventing whatever might be for the conveniency of mankind: he firſt corrected the language, and gave names

* Ἐμοὶ βάσας ἡ πόλις ᾠκοδομήθη. Diodorus, i. p. 24.

to

to ſeveral things; it was he that invented letters, and alſo the lyre with three ſtrings, and taught the worſhip of the gods, and ſacrifices, all ſorts of manly exerciſes, and a proper carriage and deportment of the body. He firſt obſerved the order of the ſtars, and the nature and harmony of ſounds. It was he, or ſome other perſon after him worſhipped under his name, that taught the Greeks the art of ſpeaking, (it may be ſuppoſed, with propriety and eloquence) on which account they gave him the name of Hermes. It was Mercury, and not Minerva, as the Greeks affirm, that found out the uſe of the olive; and he was in ſo great favour with Oſiris, that he was his ſecretary, it may be rather ſaid his prime miniſter, to whom he communicated every thing, for his advice. Oſiris raiſed a great army to go over the earth, to communicate his improvements to all the world, hoping to gain immortal honours by his benevolence towards mankind, as it accordingly happened; for he was worſhipped as a god, by thoſe whoſe lives he had rendered ſo much more happy than they were before. He left to Iſis the care of his kingdom, and appointed Mercury to be her counſellor; he alſo left his relation Hercules general over all his dominions, appointing Buſiris guardian of the parts towards the ſea ſide, and Phœnicia; and Antæus of Ethiopia, and Libya. Oſiris was accompanied by his brother Apollo, as he is called by the Greeks; he was the propagator of the bay, as Oſiris was of the ivy, for which reaſon thoſe trees are ſacred to theſe gods, and it is to be obſerved, that the trees that are conſecrated to them, are ever-greens, as the myrtle to Venus, and the olive to Minerva. It is ſaid, Oſiris had for his companions in war, Anubis and Macedon. They wore the ſkins of thoſe animals they ſomewhat reſembled in courage, Anubis wearing the dog's ſkin, and Macedon that of the wolf; on which account thoſe beaſts are eſteemed ſacred in Egypt, and in time came to be worſhipped. He took Pan alſo with him, whom we may ſuppoſe to be a different perſon from the other before mentioned; one of his names was had in great veneration in Egypt, his ſtatues being in every temple, and a city built to him. He carried likewiſe huſbandmen with him; Maro for cultivating the vine, and Triptolemus to teach the manner of ſowing and reaping the corn. Thus accompanied, he went into Ethiopia. In this country ſatyrs were brought to him, covered with hair; for Oſiris was a lover of mirth, and of muſic and dancing, and always carried with him a band of muſic, in which there were nine virgins, who were excellently well ſkilled in vocal muſic, as well as learned in other ſubjects, and were therefore called by the Greeks the Muſes: Apollo preſided over them.

Oſiris met with no oppoſition, being received every where as a god, for his beneficence towards mankind. He improved Ethiopia by agriculture, and building cities, and left in it officers to collect the tributes. Whilſt he was here, there happened in Egypt a great inundation of the Nile, which did particular damage in that part of Egypt that was under the care of Prometheus, who was on this account near laying violent hands on himſelf. The river, by reaſon of the rapidity of its courſe, and the violence of its waters, was called the Eagle. Hercules, always aſpiring at great things, and zealous to ſhew his extraordinary ſtrength, made up the dykes, and kept the river within its bounds, on which account the Greeks, ſays Diodorus, invented the fable, that Hercules killed the eagle, that was feeding on the liver of Prometheus. It is ſaid, the river was after called the Nile, from Nileus a king of Egypt. Oſiris going into Thrace, Maro founded the city Maronea, and Macedon, the Macedonian empire. He ſent Triptolemus into Attica to teach the inhabitants agriculture. Oſiris carried his arts every where, and, if any country was not capable of bearing wine, he taught them to make a liquor of barley, not much inferior to wine, either

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in ſtrength or flavour. After Oſiris's death, divine honours were paid to him. It was long kept as a ſecret that he was killed by Typhon, who would have ſeized on his dominions; but Iſis, with her ſon Horus, vanquiſhed Typhon near Antæopolis. Typhon had divided the body of Oſiris into twenty-ſix parts, and diſtributed them to his accomplices; all theſe Iſis found, and incloſed each of the pieces within a painted figure of a body, compoſed of wax and aromatic ſpices; theſe ſhe delivered to diſtinct bodies of prieſts, under great ſecrecy, to be buried; enjoining them to pay divine honours to Oſiris, and to conſecrate ſome particular animal to him, and when it died, to bury it in the ſame manner; thus they continued the ſame honours to the conſecrated animals; and the ſacred bulls, called Apis and Mnevis, becauſe they were ſo uſeful in agriculture, were worſhipped in Egypt. From this account we may ſee the reaſon why Oſiris was worſhipped in the ſhape of a mummy, and that his ſtatues are ſeen ſo common in that figure, and alſo why ſo many ſacred animals were worſhipped in Egypt. From this alſo, probably, the cuſtom took riſe of embalming their dead bodies, forming them in the ſame figure, and honouring the relicts of their relations in the ſame manner, as the ſeveral pieces of Oſiris were preſerved.

If we examine into the riſe of the fables relating to the births of ſeveral of the deities ſaid to have been begotten likewiſe by deities, we ſhall find it had no other foundation than the lewdneſs or adulteries of the relations of great perſons, who had people about them to invent ſtories to cover the diſhonour of their families. Of this nature was the fable of Semele and Bacchus, not to mention ſeveral others, from the accounts we have by their own authors. And deities, which, in the idea of the heathens, ſubſiſted before, were made to be born long after. For the ſame purpoſe the Greek Hercules was ſuppoſed to be begotten by Jupiter on Alcmena, to cover her adultery, when ſhe brought forth a ſon at an improper time, during the abſence of her huſband Amphitryo in the wars. The lewdneſs of Io daughter of Inachus, King of the Argives, is another inſtance of this kind, who proving with child by a mariner, and, it is ſaid, going into Egypt in a ſhip that had a bull painted on it, all that ſtory of her being transformed into an heifer, and of the loves of Jupiter, was invented, and that ſhe went into Egypt and there recovered her firſt ſhape, and was married to Oſiris; and, upon this very ſtory, Diodorus* takes occaſion to make reflections on the great diſagreement there was in relation to the hiſtory of their gods; that the ſame deity was called by ſome Iſis, by others Ceres; by ſome Theſmophorus, by others the Moon; by ſome again Juno, and that others called this deity by all theſe names: that they called Oſiris ſometimes Serapis, and ſometimes Bacchus, at other times Pluto, ſometimes Ammon, at others Jupiter, and often Pan; and ſome ſaid, that Serapis was the Pluto of the Greeks; there being in reality very little foundation in truth for theſe things, but almoſt all theſe ſtories have had their riſe from the inventions of men on different occaſions; which is the cauſe of ſuch variety and diſagreement in the accounts of the mythology of the heathens.

Horus was ſon of Oſiris and Iſis, who, being taught the art of prophecy and phyſic by Iſis, was called Apollo; ſo that we have Apollo both brother and ſon to Oſiris. The giants alſo, conſiſting of many bodies, are ſaid to have riſen in the time of Oſiris, whoſe miniſters were repreſented as whipping them; and for this reaſon, the ſtatue of Oſiris is often ſeen with a whip, as the puniſher of the wicked. It is alſo remarkable, that Iſis behaved in ſo prudent and wiſe a manner after the death of Oſiris, that the Queens of Egypt were from that time ever had in greater honour

* Diodorus, i. p. 22.

than

than the Kings, and were inveſted with higher power; and, in the marriage ſettlements among private perſons, that polite clauſe uſed to be added, that all things ſhould be under the direction of the lady *. And, as it has been judged that all the mummies that have been found about Saccara, which was near Memphis, are female bodies, it is poſſible on the burial of Iſis in a chapel in the grove of Vulcan at Memphis, all women might be conſecrated to this deity, and be buried in theſe catacombs, as near as conveniently they could be to the goddeſs; and have their coffins, by a particular diſpoſition, made ſo as to repreſent Oſiris, which might be another foundation for the future regards that were to be paid them. And poſſibly the bodies of the men might be depoſited in another part, perhaps in the grottos to the eaſt of the Nile; and the honours that were paid to them might not be ſo great in preſerving them, and, for that reaſon, they may not have continued ſo long. But theſe are only conjectures, for which it is certain we have no foundation in ancient authors.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the ancient Hieroglyphics of the Egyptians.*

HERODOTUS ſays, the Egyptians uſed two ſorts of letters, or ways of writing; one called ſacred, the other vulgar letters †. Diodorus gives a more particular account, though in ſome parts obſcure. He ſays, the Egyptians learned the form of their letters, or writing, from the Ethiopians; for of the Egyptian letters, or manner of writing, one was vulgar, which all people learned; others were called ſacred, which the prieſts only knew among the Egyptians, learning them of their fathers, among thoſe things which were to be kept ſecret; but the Ethiopians uſed all theſe letters or ways of writing indifferently: ſo that one would imagine, the Ethiopians either had two alphabets, or that they had two ways of writing moſt things, but that of theſe the Egyptians uſed one commonly, and the other only in their ſacred writings. So that it was rather the unlawfulneſs, than any impoſſibility of obtaining a knowledge of theſe letters, that kept them from reading their ſacred writings, as they could, perhaps, have learned them of the Ethiopians, if we ſuppoſe they were exactly the ſame; but it is poſſible, that the Egyptians, having learned the art of writing of the Ethiopians, might afterwards alter the letters or marks, that ſtood for words, that the Ethiopians themſelves might not be able to read them, although the languages of both nations might be the ſame: he afterwards ſpeaks of the Ethiopian letters, called by the Egyptians hieroglyphics; he ſays, that at firſt their forms of writing repreſented all ſorts of beaſts, the parts of the human body, and inſtruments, eſpecially thoſe of the handicrafts; for their writings did not conſiſt of ſyllables put together, but of figures that related to the things they were to expreſs; for they wrote or drew the figure of a hawk, a crocodile, a ſerpent, the eye, hand, or face of a man, and the like. A hawk ſignified all things that were to be done expeditiouſly, (I ſhould rather think expedition itſelf) becauſe it is the ſwifteſt of birds. The crocodile ſignified malice: the eye expreſſed both an obſerver of juſtice, and a keeper of any perſon: the right hand, with the fingers extended, ſignified any one's getting his livelihood: the left hand ſhut, the preſerving and keeping of any thing. Thus every thing was read and underſtood by figures. This ſeems to have been the

* Διὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας καταδεχθῆναι μείζονα ἐξουσίας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν τὴν βασίλισσαν τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις κυριεύειν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῇ τῆς προικὸς συγγραφῇ· προσομολογοῦντων τῶν γαμούντων ἅπασιν πείθαρχήσειν τῇ γαμουμένῃ. Diodorus, l. p. 23.

† Διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρά, τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέονται. Herodotus, ii. c. 36.

hieroglyphical manner of writing; but it is to be doubted, if the common way was not by ſingle letters compoſing ſyllables. The form of letters is arbitrary, and each letter, as conjectured by ſome, might be the reſemblance of an animal; eſpecially as the names of ſome ancient letters are the names of beaſts. The capital Armenian letters are now actually repreſented by beaſts, without any ſimilitude of the letter added to it, as I ſaw in their grammar, printed by the Propaganda Fide.

Moſes, who was ſkilled in all the learning of the Egyptians, without doubt, underſtood their manner of writing; and, if the letters repreſented animals, he muſt have compoſed a new alphabet, when the law forbid them to make the likeneſs of any thing, that is, we are to ſuppoſe of any living creature, or of any of thoſe luminaries that were worſhipped in the heathen world. The figures ſtanding for letters could not be above forty or fifty. It may be conſidered alſo, how many of theſe there muſt be, if they ſtood for ſyllables, which would ſeem to be a more difficult way of writing than putting figures for words, which by the reſemblance would very much help the memory; an advantage that could not be had, if certain figures ſtood for ſyllables. If hieroglyphical figures ſtood for words or ſounds that ſignified certain things, the power of hieroglyphics ſeems to be the ſame as of a number of letters compoſing ſuch a ſound, that by agreement was made to ſignify ſuch a thing. For hieroglyphics, as words, ſeem to have ſtood for ſounds, and ſounds ſignify things; as for inſtance, it might have been agreed, that the figure of a crocodile might ſtand for the ſound that meant what we call malice: the children of the prieſts were early taught, that the figure of a crocodile ſtood for ſuch a ſound, and, if they did not know the meaning of the ſound, it would certainly ſtand with them for a ſound; though, as the ſound, it ſignified alſo a quality or thing; and, they might afterwards be taught the meaning of this ſound; as words are only ſounds, which ſounds we agree ſhall ſignify ſuch and ſuch things; ſo that to children, words only ſtand for ſounds, which relate to ſuch things as they know nothing of; and, in this ſenſe, we ſay children learn many things like parrots, what they do not underſtand, and their memories are exerciſed only about ſounds, till they are inſtructed in the meaning of the words. This, I thought it might be proper to obſerve, as ſome ſay, hieroglyphics ſtood for things, and not for words, if ſounds articulated in a certain manner are words. And though it may be ſaid, that in this caſe, when different nations of different languages agree on common characters, that ſtand for certain things they agree on, that then ſuch figures ſtand for things: this will be allowed; but then they ſtand for ſounds too, that is, the ſounds in each language that ſignify ſuch things: and, as obſerved before, to children, who know nothing of the ſeveral things they ſtand for, to them they are only marks that expreſs ſuch and ſuch ſounds; ſo that theſe figures ſtand not for things alone, but, as words, for ſounds and things. It is to be doubted, whether we have any inſcriptions in a language, the letters of which are figures of things; for to know that, we are not to examine all hieroglyphics, to ſee how many different ſorts there are; but if any are writ in lines, we ought to examine them, and ſee whether the different figures amount to ſo great a variety as muſt exceed the number of letters in any language. It is probable, that the hieroglyphical writing was written in the ſame manner as the common language, with regard to the lines; and thoſe few inſcriptions, that are found written in lines, have ſo great a variety of figures, that it is to be concluded, they are the ſacred hieroglyphical writing, in which each figure ſtood for a word. As to other emblematical hieroglyphics, which ſeem to have been deſigned for ornaments of buildings, we may ſuppoſe, that at firſt they might only adorn their freezes, and that the ornaments on the freezes in temples conſiſted of ſuch things as related to the deity,

or the manner of worſhip; as the animal, under whoſe ſhape he was worſhipped, might be repreſented. The Lituus, an inſtrument of augury, and vaſes of ſacrifice, may be allowed to be inſcriptions, if the patera, the head of the ox, and the like, in the freezes of Greek and Roman architecture, are affirmed to be inſcriptions, ſignifying that ſuch a beaſt was ſacrificed, or ſuch a vaſe uſed in their ſacrifices or libations. And, with regard to other emblems, if the reverſe of a medal, on which the figures of certain virtues are repreſented, for which the perſon is celebrated, or many of the pictures of Rubens of that nature, may be ſaid to be inſcriptions, it may be allowed alſo, that theſe hieroglyphics are inſcriptions; but theſe ſeem to repreſent things; for if they were inſcriptions, they muſt ſtand for ſuch individual words, and be read into certain ſentences, exactly in the ſame words, by all thoſe who underſtand that language, which does not ſeem to be the caſe. And though Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the inſcription on every ſide of the obeliſk that was brought to Conſtantinople, yet it may be ſuppoſed theſe hieroglyphics might be in lines on the pedeſtal or baſe of the obeliſk, where the inſcription might be more eaſily read; and it is probable, they were in the common letters, which, as they were figures of animals, might poſſibly be called hieroglyphics, though not ſo ſtrictly ſpeaking; for, as the inſcription was in honour of ſo great a King, it is moſt probable, it ſhould be written ſo as to be read by every body; and, if it was written in the hieroglyphical characters ſtanding for words, it muſt have taken up very little room, there being only as many figures as principal words, and could not have well covered one ſide of a large obeliſk, which would not have anſwered the end of ſuch a very conciſe manner of writing, for which the hieroglyphics were contrived, as a ſhort hand, to comprehend much under a few figures, eaſily penned after they were once learnt. As far, therefore, as hieroglyphics are emblematical, they ſeem to ſtand for things; but as they are inſcriptions, they ſtand for words or ſounds as well as things, and might be read in the vulgar language by the children of the prieſts, who poſſibly might not underſtand any part of ſome of them, that might relate to ſciences, they as yet knew nothing of.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Egyptian Manner of embalming Human Bodies and Birds.*

HERODOTUS * gives ſome account of the honours they paid to the bodies of their relations, after they were dead. He ſays, when any man of conſequence died, all the women of the family beſmeared their hands and faces with dirt; left the body in the houſe, and, with other women, their relations, went about the city beating themſelves, with their garments girt about them, and their breaſts uncovered; the men alſo girded their garments about them and beat themſelves; afterwards they carried the body to be embalmed; there being certain perſons appointed for this buſineſs, whoſe profeſſion it was; who, when the body was brought to them, ſhewed ſeveral patterns made of wood, painted like a dead body embalmed. One of theſe patterns was of very fine workmanſhip, and called by a name it was not lawful commonly to utter; another was ſhewn, not ſo fine, and leſs coſtly; and a third ſtill cheaper. They then aſked, in which manner they would have the body prepared, and ſo agreed on the price. And it is here to be obſerved, that theſe three ways of adorning the outſide of mummies, ſeem to relate to this firſt manner of embalming; and it is probable, there were three prices according to the beauty of the workmanſhip. Then they embalmed them in this manner: firſt, they extracted the brains by the noſe, with a crooked iron, and

* Herodotus, l. ii. c. 85, 86.

then poured in drugs; afterwards they opened the body with a ſharp Ethiopian ſtone, took out the bowels, cleanſed the body, and waſhed it with palm wine, and a ſecond time with pounded perfumes; they then filled it with myrrh, caſſia, and other ſpices, frankincenſe excepted, and ſewed it up: afterwards they waſhed it with nitre, and laid it by for ſeventy days, for longer it was not permitted to lie: they then waſhed the body again, and wound it up in ſwathes of linen, beſmearing it over with gums, which the Egyptians uſed inſtead of glue. The relations took it from them, and made a wooden figure of a man, in which they put the body, and fixing down the top, they put it into the catacombs. But thoſe, who were more moderate in their expences, injected turpentine of cedar with a pipe into the body, without cutting it; they then ſalted it for ſeventy days, and drew out the pipe, which brought the bowels out with it by the fundament, and the nitre dried up the fleſh, leaving nothing but the ſkin and the bones. The third way of preparing the body, with thoſe of ſmall fortunes, was by cleanſing the inſide with ſalt and water, and ſalting it for ſeventy days.

Diodorus * adds to this account of Herodotus, that they went mourning about the city till the body was buried; that, during that time, they uſed neither the baths, wine, delicate food, nor fine cloaths. The firſt manner of embalming coſt a talent of ſilver; the ſecond twenty minæ. The people of this profeſſion, of embalming bodies, learnt the art of their anceſtors; and their method was, to bring in an account to the relations, of the expences of the different ways of embalming the body, and aſking them which method they choſe; and, agreeing about every thing, they took away the body to be embalmed. Firſt, the ſecretary marked out on the left ſide, how far it ought to be cut; then a certain officer cut according to their rules, with an Ethiopian ſtone, and immediately ran away, all the people that were preſent following him, throwing ſtones after him, and curſing him, to atone for this fact; for they look on the perſon as an object of hatred, who offers any violence, wounds, or does any harm to the body of his fellow creature: but thoſe who embalmed the bodies, they honoured and eſteemed; and they converſed with the prieſts, and went into the temples (as the prieſts) without any reſtraint. Then one of them took out all the entrails, except the heart and kidneys. 'Another waſhed the inſide, and the bowels with palm wine, and aromatic perfumes; they then prepared the body with turpentine of cedar, and other things, for about thirty days, and afterwards with myrrh and cinnamon, not only to preſerve it, but to keep it ſweet. From what follows, one would imagine, that there was a way of preſerving the bodies far beyond that of wrapping them up in linen and dipping them in bitumen, or beſmearing them with it, in the manner we ſee they were embalmed; for he ſays, their very eye-brows and eye-laſhes, and the form and appearance of the whole body was ſo well preſerved, that they might be known by their features; and, on this account, many of the Egyptians kept the bodies of their anceſtors in houſes, adorned at a very great coſt, and had the pleaſure to ſee their forefathers, who were dead many years before they were born, and to obſerve all their features, as well as if they were living. From this account it is probable, that this manner of embalming was the fineſt and moſt coſtly, and thoſe whoſe bodies were prepared in this way might be ſet upright, that their friends might have the pleaſure to behold them in that natural poſture. 'Herodotus ſpeaks of binding thoſe up in ſwathes, and putting them in coffins, who were embalmed in the beſt manner; ſo that it ſeems, either that Herodotus was not well acquainted with this firſt way of embalming, or that

* Lib. i. p. 81.

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it was an improvement introduced afterwards, if the account of Diodorus be true; though it muſt be obſerved, that we do not find, that ever any bodies have been diſcovered, which were embalmed, as our author deſcribes; though it may be doubted, whether there were not ſuch bodies formerly found, that ſupplied the world with the mummy of dried fleſh; there being nothing of this kind ſeen on the mummies at preſent; and that, there being ſo great a demand for it, all thoſe bodies might have been deſtroyed, and that drug ſupplied by the art of the Jews of Alexandria, as ſome travellers relate.

There were, doubtleſs, ſeveral ways of embalming the bodies, according to the firſt and ſecond manner of Herodotus, which were more or leſs expenſive. It was obſerved of a mummy I brought from Egypt, that was in a coffin made of boards, that the holes between the boards were filled up with linen and fine plaiſter. There were four folds of cloth over the head, the upper one being painted blue; under this there was a compoſition about half an inch thick, as I imagined, of gum and cloth, that was burnt by the heat of the things applied to it; and Herodotus ſays, the clothes were beſmeared with gums; and next to the ſkin was a coat of gum or bitumen about as thick as a wafer, which ſeemed to have been cauſed by dipping the body in bitumen, and under this, the ſkin ſeemed to be next to the ſkull. The head was half full of bitumen, that is, the hinder part, the body having been laid on the back, when the bitumen was poured in by the noſe. It is very remarkable, that the bitumen had penetrated into the very bone of the ſkull, eſpecially in the middle part of it, which is moſt porous, though there is little or nothing to be ſeen of it on the outer tables of the bones, however it is not probable that they ſhould have had an art of injecting by the blood veſſels. The body was bound round with a bandage made of linen, about three quarters of an inch broad, under which there were four folds of cloth, and then a ſwathe two inches broad, and under that eight different bandages of the ſame breadth, laid acroſs from the ſhoulders to the hips on the other ſide. Under this there was a cruſt of linen about an inch thick, burnt almoſt to aſhes, but ſticking together by means of the gums with which it was probably beſmeared. The bones of the arms were laid acroſs the breaſt; the right arm being over the left, and the hands lying towards the face. From the hips to the feet there were eight bandages two inches broad, one covering about half of the other; under theſe there were bandages an inch thick, conſumed by the heat of the drugs, as before. There were two wooden blocks, on which the head of the mummy reſted. The outer bandages of linen did not ſeem to have been beſmeared with gums. The coffins they put the bodies in are obſerved to be of two ſorts. One has the lower part made of an entire piece of wood, and the upper of another, both hollowed in, ſo as to receive the body, and being put together they are faſtened with broad pegs in the top, that are fixed into holes in the lower part. They were cut into the ſhape of a human body, as bound up after it is embalmed; and the coffins, and likewiſe the bodies wrapped up in linen, were covered over with a thin plaiſter, and painted (without doubt) according to the pattern they fixed on. As to the manner of painting the mummies and coffins, it may be obſerved, both on their coffins and bodies, that they firſt painted the ground of one colour, and then, probably, laying on a cloth or paſte-board cut out in figures like cut paper, they painted the open or uncovered ſpaces; for the figures appear moſtly of one colour, probably that of the ground, and the paint riſes higher round the figure. This is the manner they call painting in ſtenſils, and it is ſomething in this way that they now paint cards. It was obſerved alſo on another ſmall mummy I brought from Egypt, that there is a ſort of printing called ſtrow-ſmalt, being made of ſmalt finely powdered and ſtrowed on the

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paint. The ſecond way of making the coffin, was with boards faſtened together with pins, with very little art in the workmanſhip. A face or mark carved in wood was nailed on the lid of the coffin, over the head. When I went into the catacombs, I had reaſon to think, that they had tied up ſome of the bodies of inferior perſons in reed or palm boughs, as obſerved when I deſcribed the catacombs of Saccara.

As to embalming of animals, I have already obſerved, that Iſis, finding the ſeveral parts of the body of Oſiris, had each of them made up in the moſt beautiful manner, like a body preſerved after it was buried, and ſent them to the prieſts of twenty-four ſeveral temples, deſiring each of them to pay due honour to the relicts of Oſiris, to conſecrate one animal to him, and when it died to bury it in the ſame manner: this way we may account for the worſhip of animals in twenty-four temples in particular; but it is to be obſerved, that they worſhipped the ſame animals in different temples, as the crocodile at Ombus, and at two or three other cities that had their names from that animal; at Memphis the bull, under the name of apis, and at Heliopolis, under the name of mnevis. Some ſay, the ſoul of Oſiris went into a bull, and that this was the reaſon of the extraordinary worſhip paid to that animal. So, according to the deſire of Iſis, they worſhipped theſe animals while living, and when dead, they embalmed their bodies and depoſited them in their catacombs with great ceremony. Some animals were worſhipped all over Egypt, as the ibis, the hawk, and the cat: and it is probable, that all theſe animals, when they were found dead, were embalmed and buried in this manner, out of the great veneration they had for them, whilſt of the others, thoſe only might be embalmed that were particularly conſecrated and kept in their temples: and this ſeems to be the reaſon why ſo many are found of the former, eſpecially of the ibis. Theſe birds are ſeen in the catacombs at Saccara, as already deſcribed, in pots, the cover being ſtopped down with mortar. They appear to have been embalmed and wrapped up in linen, as the human bodies; and are wrapped in ſeveral folds of linen; the outermoſt being ſewed together, and the ſecond bound round with thread. After the two outer folds were taken off, the tape appearing, which bound round the reſt; under this there were above twenty folds of linen, and probably ſeveral more under them, which were burnt to a coal by the aromatic drugs and melted bitumen they were probably dipped into, or beſmeared with.

CHAP. VI.—*An Abſtract from Mallet's Account of the Inſide of the great Pyramid.*

THE entrance to the great pyramid was at firſt ſhut up, and afterwards opened by force, as may be ſeen at the mouth of it, where there are ſeveral of the ſtones, that cloſed it up, of an extraordinary ſize: They were placed on the mouth of the ſteep deſcent, which leads to the middle of the pyramid. This deſcent is a hundred feet long; the way to it is by an aſcent made by the ruins of the pyramid. This paſſage was filled up with the ſame kind of marble with which the inſide of it is caſed. In removing theſe ſtones and the others, in order to get into the furtheſt part of the pyramid, it may be ſuppoſed, that they proceeded in the following manner: Over the opening, by which one enters into this paſſage, there is a ſpace of nine or ten feet, from which ſtones have been taken away, of a very great ſize, which is ſufficient to prove, that it was ſtopped up: theſe ſtones being taken away for no other end than to find the entrance into the paſſage, or to have the more command of thoſe that filled it up, which were covered with the ſtones that were taken away. After having removed theſe great ſtones, and ſuch as were under them at the entrance of the paſſage,

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it was eaſy to get out the others with proper tools. It is ſuppoſed, that, in order to make this undertaking the more difficult, they were fixed in with a ſtrong cement, which bound them ſo faſt, that they made but one body with the reſt of the building; but by the force of ſtrong machines, and by means of hot water poured into the paſſage they ſo weakened the cement, and looſened the ſtones that they were eaſily taken out: for means muſt have been found to do it, without defacing the ſtones of the paſſage, which are ſtill of as beautiful a poliſh as the firſt day they were put in, except thoſe at the bottom, where they have made from place to place hollow grooves or channels about two or three inches deep, in order to facilitate the deſcent and aſcent by this paſſage; for without that contrivance, it would be impoſſible to go down without ſliding, or to come up without the help of ropes. The paſſage is made of the fineſt white marble, turned ſomewhat yellow. One of the very large blocks that was taken out from the top, at the entrance of the paſſage, when the pyramid was forced open, is ſtill to be ſeen; and it is uſual when people go to ſee this famous monument, to dine upon it. The ſtone which filled up the firſt paſſage, and all the others in the pyramid, were of the ſame marble, which doubtleſs was choſen for this purpoſe, on account of its extraordinary hardneſs. The inſide of the pyramid is ſo dark, and ſo much blackened with the ſmoak of candles and torches, carried there for ſo many ages by ſuch as go to ſee it, that it is not eaſy to find out what ſort of ſtone the rooms and other places of this building are caſed with: one can only ſee that the poliſh is exceedingly beautiful, and that they are very hard, and ſo cloſely joined, that the point of a knife cannot go between them.

The firſt paſſage being cleared, and that laborious work finiſhed, there was another much more difficult, which was to remove the ſtones out of another paſſage, that went upwards towards the top of the pyramid, and as ſteep as the firſt. The chief difficulty muſt have been to find where it began in the paſſage, which they had cleared; for, though the ſtone that ſtopped it up was ſo cloſely fitted in as to leave no mark of any opening, yet it might be diſcovered that it did not go over the upper part of the firſt paſſage, as the other ſtones; which might be found by thruſting a knife or ſome inſtrument into the joints on every ſide of that ſtone. This entrance was within ten feet of the bottom of the lower paſſage, the better to deceive ſuch as ſhould endeavour to find it out. They muſt have worked a conſiderable time at the ſtone with great difficulty; and the place being very narrow, they muſt have been obliged to work over their heads, lying on their backs, having no other way to command it; and conſequently they were in great danger of being cruſhed by the fall of the ſtone, which muſt have been looſe. Notwithſtanding, after having, by dint of labour and with proper tools, overcome this difficulty, there was another ſtone, which went down to the bottom of the paſſage; upon which they were obliged to work in another manner. Having removed this likewiſe, there followed directly another, which made them think this work would be too tedious; therefore this method was laid aſide; ſo that, after having ſupported the ſtones, to keep them from falling down, and ſtopping up the paſſage at the lower end, they muſt have made a way by breaking the ſtones of the lower paſſage, which is forty feet long, and eight or ten wide and high. In moſt places it is very narrow and low, in ſome not high enough for a man to ſtand upright: this was a work of infinite labour. Then turning upon the left, towards the upper paſſage, they took out three or four ſtones, which made an opening of about fifteen or twenty feet. But before we go on with a further account of the work, it is proper to take notice, that the ſtone to the right, which cloſed up this paſſage, in that part where it made an angle with the lower paſſage, had probably been cut ſo as exactly to fill up that angle, but was afterwards

afterwards removed; for the ſtone at preſent, does not exactly fit it, there being a void ſpace of three or four inches at the upper part of it, which ought to have been ſo much longer than the under part.

When they had taken away the three ſtones which cloſed the ſide of the upper paſſage, the buſineſs was not only to remove the ſtones which they found in this new opening they made, but likewiſe all that were above, and of an unknown length. This was a difficult taſk, and tedious to perform, there being only room for one man to work in the ſpace of three feet three inches ſquare; and they had reaſon to think, that beſides the great number of ſtones which filled up this paſſage, there might be ſome other place above, where there might be ſtill more ſtones ready to ſlide down and fill up this paſſage, as faſt as they endeavoured to clear it. This was an additional labour, which the architect had prepared for thoſe who ſhould attempt to penetrate into the centre of the pyramid; therefore, in order to ſave ſome part of that labour, inſtead of breaking all the ſtones where they had begun to make a paſſage, it was reſolved to ſupport the ſtones with timber, or by ſome other way, until they had broke the under one. Accordingly, they ſecured the upper ſtone, and then cut away the ſtone under it; and ſo going from one ſtone to another, they at laſt came to the end, and to the void ſpace, of which I am going to give an account. It is to be obſerved, that in the whole length of this paſſage, they were obliged to uſe violent means to break the ſtones with which it was filled up: which ſo defaced all the ſides of the paſſage, that, whereas it was at firſt ſquare, it became almoſt round, which is a proof that the work was carried on in this manner; for, if they had broke the ſtones directly in, that part only would have been defaced, and the remainder of it, which is eighty feet long, from which the ſtones would have ſlid down to the breach which was made, would have remained entire, without being defaced, as all the other parts do to this day.

When they were at the end of this paſſage, it was found, that the upper part was open, and that it was a foot narrower than before, for the height of two feet and a half, where it widened a foot and a half on each ſide, which made the benches; and conſequently this place was ſix feet and a half broad *; ſo that now there was on each ſide of the paſſage a ſort of riſing or bench two feet and a half high, and eighteen inches wide, which continued on for the length of an hundred and twenty-four feet, according to the meaſure that was taken, though ſome ſay it is a hundred and forty feet. At the end of this there is a floor eight or nine feet long, and ſix feet and a half broad, the ſame as the paſſage above the benches. In the benches next the walls, there are at the diſtance of every two feet and a half, holes one foot long, ſix inches broad, and eight inches deep, cut down perpendicularly. I ſhall explain the uſe they made of the benches and holes, which are in the paſſage. The ſides of the gallery riſe above theſe benches five and twenty feet, twelve of which are exactly perpendicular, at which height it projects three inches, and three feet higher three inches more; then three feet higher it ſets out again three inches, and three feet higher there is a fourth projection of three inches, from which, to the ceiling of the gallery, which is flat, it is four feet more; the ceiling being about the ſame breadth as the paſſage between the benches, that is, about three feet three inches. This height was neceſſary to the architect, in order to place the ſtones intended to fill up the paſſages.

At the end of the paſſage and the entrance of the gallery, there is on the right hand an opening made in the wall, which takes up ſome part of the bench. This hole is almoſt round, ſomething like a door place, about three feet high, and two feet and a

* The expreſſions of the author are obſcure, but this ſeems to be the ſenſe of them.

half broad. From this opening one goes down into a well, of which I ſhall make mention hereafter, and for what purpoſe it was intended.

When they had once got to this gallery, it was no difficult matter for them to break the ſtones that were in the channel, not only becauſe they were a foot above the benches, but by reaſon of the greater breadth of the gallery, which gave the workmen more room, and a greater command of their tools; and they could begin by the laſt ſtone, which was the more eaſily maſtered, as they could ſtand upright at their work; which being done, and all the rubbiſh removed, they looked for the bottom of the channel, and obſerved, that the ſtones for the ſpace of fourteen or fifteen feet, did not go acroſs under the benches; by which they found, it would be eaſy to raiſe up thoſe ſtones, one after another; which being done, they came to a floor ten feet long. At the depth of ten feet, and at the end of this floor, they found the paſſage was continued on, and that it formed, at the end of the gallery, a triangle of fourteen or fifteen feet; and at the ſame time they diſcovered even with the floor, and at the left of the paſſage which led to the gallery, a further continuation of the way, three feet three inches ſquare. This new paſſage being covered before by the ſtones juſt removed, they concluded that it muſt lead to ſome ſecret place of the pyramid; upon which it was reſolved to examine further, which was eaſily done by removing the ſtones that ſtopped it up. As it was in a right line, ſo they broke away the ſtone, and the paſſage was found to be a hundred and eighteen feet long, at the end of which was an arched chamber.

This room is ſeventeen feet and a half long, and fifteen feet ten inches broad; the covering is in form of a triangle. On the eaſt of the room is a niche in the wall three inches deep, eight feet high, and three feet broad. It is not to be doubted, but there was in this niche a mummy ſet upright, as was the cuſtom of the Egyptians. It is probable, that it was the body of the queen of that prince who built the pyramid; and there is no doubt, but that the King himſelf was depoſited in the upper room which is directly over it, at about the height of one hundred feet. Entering the laſt room, the furtheſt ſtone on the right hand projects three inches, which had been contrived on purpoſe to prevent the ſtone, which was to cloſe up the paſſage from being thruſt in. It is probable, this ſtone was ſo contrived on that ſide as to fit it, and join cloſe to the wall of the room at the entrance. I muſt not leave this place without making mention of a diſcovery which I made at the upper end of the paſſage, that is a hundred and eighteen feet long, which leads to this place; it is, that the ſtones, with which it is built, are cracked acroſs the whole length of the paſſage. I ſhall leave it to thoſe who are more ſkilful than myſelf, to decide what could be the cauſe of this flaw, though I conjecture it might be occaſioned by an earthquake, or perhaps by the ſettling of this weighty building, which might be heavier on one ſide than the other. I did not ſee any ſuch crack in any other part of the pyramid, though I examined it with the utmoſt care; eſpecially there is no part of the gallery but what I have examined with the greateſt diligence.

To ſupply the want of a rod or pole, which could not be brought through the winding of the paſſages, I ordered ſeveral ſhort rods to be faſtened together, at the end of which I fixed a light, and ſo held it up as near the arch and walls as poſſible, without ever being able to obſerve any defects. I could only perceive, that the ſides were a little damaged, and that towards the right hand ſide a piece of the wall was broke off at the top of the narrowing of the gallery, which might have happened by the fall of ſome ſtone, which in the cloſing of the pyramid, in the manner I ſhall deſcribe hereafter, might roll off the ſcaffold and break this ſtone.

Doubtleſs they had a notion that there was ſome hidden treaſure under this firſt room; which may be concluded from their breaking up the floor, by which one may go between ſeveral ſtones, that lie in a confuſed order, into the body of the pyramid, for about twenty paces; the ſtones taken out at this place almoſt fill the room. They attempted the ſame in the upper room; but it is probable, that in both places, they had no other reward for the great pains they were at in defacing ſuch a beautiful piece of architecture, than the diſappointment in having beſtowed their time and labour to no purpoſe.

Having diſcovered every thing in this firſt room, it remained only to penetrate into that where the body of the King was depoſited. They did not doubt, but they ſhould find it at that void ſpace which was at the upper end of the gallery, directly over the firſt chamber. Accordingly, at the end of that place they found the paſſage extended further, and was three feet three inches wide, and well ſtopped up. It is probable, that the firſt ſtone was ſo well fixed as to coſt them great labour to remove it; which appears by a piece of the upper ſtone which was broke off, in order, no doubt, to have a better hold on the under one, which ſtopped up the paſſage. This being removed with great labour, they took out another with the ſame difficulty. When theſe two were taken away, there appeared a void ſpace ſeven feet and a half long; and being deſirous to clear the way further, they found a third ſtone, that could not be got out, being every way larger than the hole that it ſtopped up. This was the laſt artifice of the architect, to deceive any perſons that might get ſo far, and to prevent their looking any more after the private chamber, which is but twelve paces from this place, in which lay the body of the King, and where they would have found the treaſure, if any had been depoſited with him. Still this did not diſcourage the workmen, nor deceive them; for they ſet about breaking the ſtone, which they muſt have done with much labour; it was ſix feet long, four feet broad, and perhaps five or ſix feet high. There was a void ſpace here of fifteen feet high, which at the height of eight feet enlarged itſelf about four feet towards the gallery, and correſponded to an opening of the paſſage eighteen inches broad, which was two feet from the great ſtone. I ſhall hereafter mention the uſe it was intended for. At the upper end of this void ſpace there are three holes a foot deep and broad, which were made on purpoſe to fix in large pieces of timber, to which cords were faſtened and fixed, by means of iron rings to that great ſtone which I have mentioned, and kept it hung up in this void ſpace, where it remained till ſuch time as it was to be let down on the paſſage, which was to be when the King's body ſhould be depoſited in the room. The opening eighteen inches wide in the paſſage, two feet from that void ſpace in which the great ſtone hung, muſt have been deſigned for the workmen to get out, after they had let down the ſtone; and when they had quitted the place, the hole was ſtopped up cloſe with a ſtone two feet thick only, which had been ſet under it, to which two rings were faſtened. At the further end of the upper part of it, two chains were fixed to the two rings, which were faſtened to another heavier ſtone that hung over an opening occupied by the great ſtone that left the ſpace void when it fell down. The ropes that kept up that great ſtone were fixed to a pillar in the paſſage, and were held by the under ſtone till the workmen got out by the hole eighteen inches wide, which is between this and the upper opening; when they were out, they let it go, and the ſtone was raiſed up in its place, where it was ſtayed by another ſtone contrived for that purpoſe, three inches thick and ſix or ſeven broad; it is at about a man's height in a void place, which was part of the laſt contrivance uſed to prevent the entering into the room. This ſtone is to be well obſerved. Along the walls, on each ſide of the paſſage in which the great ſtone, ſix feet

long and four feet broad, was put; there are grooves wrought round three inches deep; theſe grooves were made to let it down more exactly in the place it was to occupy, and likewiſe that it might fix more firmly in its place, in caſe any perſons ſhould attempt to open it. All this ſhews the great care that was taken to ſecure the body of the prince from being diſcovered, if there ſhould happen to be men ſo impious as to undertake it. And, if afterwards the ſtone eighteen inches broad and three feet and a half long, which is the dimenſion of the opening in the paſſage, was put in its place, and there happened to be a ſmall opening, it might be filled up with cement, and it is poſſible the ſtone might be all covered with mortar, which would make its motion ſlower, reſiſting the force of the counterpoiſe, and a few blows with a hammer would clear off the ſuperfluous mortar, and make it go into its place; this ſtone is not now ſeen, nor the other large one, being both doubtleſs broke to pieces to be carried away. If any one examines with care the diſpoſition of the void places that have been deſcribed, which are but ſix feet from the entrance of the room where the King's body was depoſited; he muſt be perſuaded that it was executed in this manner, and admire the art and ingenuity of the architect.

After having cut away the great ſtone from the place where it was fixed, they came at length to the laſt ſtone at the entrance of the chamber. This was eaſily taken out; and being removed with little trouble, gave admittance into the room. It is covered at top with nine rows of ſtone; the ſeven middle rows are four feet broad each, and above ſixteen long, having both ends laid on the walls from eaſt to weſt, which are ſixteen feet apart; there appears no more than two feet of the breadth of each of the other two ſtones, the remainder being hid by the walls on which they reſt. Whatever was in this room, at preſent nothing remains but a tomb of granite marble, ſeven or eight feet long, four broad, and four deep; it was put here when the room was built, before it was cloſed up, and remains in the ſame place, as it is impoſſible to take it out without breaking it to pieces, which would be to no purpoſe; it formerly had a cover, as appears by the make of the edge, but in removing it, it was broke to pieces, and no remains of it are left. This cheſt, no doubt, contained the body of the King incloſed in three or four cheſts of fine wood, as was uſual among the great people: it is likewiſe probable, that this room contained ſeveral other cheſts beſides that of the prince, eſpecially thoſe that belonged to the people, who were ſhut up with him in his tomb, to keep him company; for when the body of the King, who built this pyramid, was depoſited in this ſumptuous mauſoleum, it is to be ſuppoſed, there were at the ſame time living perſons brought into it, who were never to go out of it, but to bury themſelves, as it were, alive with their prince. This is a fact which I cannot queſtion, after the convincing proofs which I have had of it. I ground my opinion of this matter of fact upon this foundation, that directly in the middle of this room, which is thirty-two feet long, nineteen feet high, and ſixteen broad, there are two holes oppoſite to one another, three feet and a half above the floor: one towards the north is one foot broad and eight inches high, it goes quite through in a right line to the exterior part of the pyramid: this hole is now ſtopped up with ſtone, within five or ſix feet of its opening: the other, which is open towards the eaſt, and of the ſame height from the floor, is perfectly round; it is large enough to thruſt in two fiſts; it enlarges to a foot diameter, and goes ſloping down to the bottom of the pyramid. I believe every one will conclude, that they were intended for no other uſes than the conveniency of thoſe that were to remain in this tomb; the firſt was to give them air, and convey to them their food, and other neceſſaries; they were no doubt provided with a long box proportionable to the width of the paſſage; to this box was faſtened a long cord by the help of which they could draw in the box;

the other cord was left hanging to the outſide of the pyramid, for the people without to draw out the box; it is probable, this was the manner they were ſupplied with neceſſaries as long as any of them remained alive. I ſuppoſe, at their going in, each of them had provided himſelf with a coffin to be laid in; and that they ſucceſſively performed that pious and laſt duty, of putting each into his coffin, except the laſt, who failed of that ſuccour, which the reſt of the company had found in him and the others. The ſecond hole was to convey their excrements, which fell into a great pit made for that purpoſe. I intended to have had the outſide of the pyramid examined, to ſee where the ſquare hole ended; and perhaps there might have been found freſh proofs of what I have ſaid; but ſuch an examination would have given ſuſpicion to the government of the country, who would have imagined, that it was to ſeek after hidden treaſures. I thought alſo, that the hole might end in ſome ſort of cavity withoutſide, and might be entirely ſtopped up, at leaſt on the outſide. However, others may examine the place, and find a full proof of the uſe it was intended for; though to me it ſeems paſt diſpute, and that it is not poſſible to imagine any other uſe it could be put to.

Having explained as clearly as the matter would admit, in what manner and by what means the pyramid was probably broke open, it remains now to ſolve a doubt which may ariſe from reading the firſt part; and that is, to know where ſuch a great number of ſtones could be put, as was required to fill up the paſſages, which I have mentioned; in what manner it was done, and how the workmen afterwards came out; this is certainly as curious as the reſt, and deſerves at leaſt as much attention.

I have already mentioned, that in the benches on each ſide of the paſſage in the gallery, which is an hundred and twenty-four feet long, there had been made holes or mortices cut down perpendicularly one foot long, ſix inches broad, and eight inches deep. Theſe mortices were directly oppoſite to each other, and continued the whole length of the benches, at the diſtance of two feet and a half from one another; theſe holes were left when they built the gallery, in order to fix into each of them a piece of timber one foot ſquare, and three or four feet long, with a tenant at each end, ſix inches thick, and eight inches long; theſe timbers and joints made a ſcaffold to put the ſtones on, that were neceſſary to ſtop up all the paſſages that were to be filled up in the inſide of the pyramid, as well as this gallery of a hundred and twenty-four feet in length, which was at the bottom of the gallery. Theſe joints were likewiſe ſhaped at the upper end, ſo as to be fixed into the mortices of long beams of timber laid on them, to ſupport planks ſix feet ſix inches long, and ſix inches thick, made very ſmooth, on which courſes of ſtones were laid. The benches, as I ſaid before, being two feet and a half high from the bottom of the gallery, I ſuppoſe the ſcaffold was ſet three feet above them; ſo that, from the bottom to the ſcaffold, there was a height of five feet and a half, for the workmen to paſs backwards and forwards.

I alſo mentioned, that the height from the bottom of the paſſage to the top of the gallery was twenty-ſeven feet and a half; from this floor of the paſſage it was ſix feet to the ſcaffold; ſo that, from the ſcaffold to the arch, there remained one-and-twenty feet and a half; in which ſpace, ſetting four courſes of ſtones three feet and a half thick, which were neceſſary to fill up the paſſages; there was ſtill a void ſpace of ſeven feet and a half high: but I ſuppoſe, that from the firſt courſe to the ſecond, they ſet between the ſtones a plank about three inches thick, and the like from the ſecond to the third, that it might be eaſier to ſlide them off; three courſes of theſe ſtones were ſufficient to fill up all the void places that were to be ſtopped up, and which are now opened. Perhaps in the body of the pyramid there are other paſſages ſtopped up,

and not yet diſcovered; becauſe in the gallery they might have placed four or five more courſes of ſtones if there was occaſion: one may be ſatisfied of this by the calculation I have made; neither do I think it likely, that they would have made the gallery higher than was abſolutely neceſſary, as it made the body of the building ſo much the weaker.

But we ſhall go no farther than the known paſſages, which have been found open; and the ſtones which filled them up have been ſince broke to pieces, excepting three feet and a half or four feet of them, which now fill the upper paſſage, anſwering to the firſt paſſage, which I call the outſide paſſage, becauſe it was filled up from the outſide of the pyramid, whereas the others were ſtopped up from the inſide of it by theſe ſtones in the gallery: and I lay it down as a matter of fact, that three courſes of ſtone were ſufficient to fill up all the paſſages, as every one may be convinced from this computation.

It firſt required thirteen feet and a half of ſtone to fill up the paſſage that led to the royal chamber even with the void ſpace at the upper end of the gallery, which they took down from the ſcaffold to the floor. A ſtone of ſix feet ſquare they put into the paſſage as far as the chamber door, in the place where it was ſtopped by the floor of the room, which was raiſed two inches higher than the bottom of the paſſage: then they let fall into the paſſage the ſtone ſix feet in dimenſion, which I ſaid was hanging in the void place. Then, as ſoon as the workmen had withdrawn from this place, it was filled up, together with the opening, and when they had cloſed it up, they took down from the ſcaffold two other ſtones, ſeven feet and a half in the ſquare meaſure, by which this paſſage, that is but nineteen feet long, was perfectly ſtopped up. It is to be ſuppoſed, that in order to facilitate the performance of this work, there was fixed in the floor of the gallery, over againſt the ſtones on the ſcaffold, a ſtrong machine of iron and ſubſtantial pulleys, by the help of which the workmen, ſtanding on the floor, could by ropes take down the ſtones from the ſcaffold, one after another, and bring them to the very floor, by making a hole in the top of them to fix a lewis in, by which the workmen having a ſure hold, they brought them to the floor, and conveyed them with very little trouble where they were to place them.

The firſt paſſage being thus filled up, they went about the other, a hundred and eighteen feet long. This paſſage, as before mentioned, leads up to the firſt room, where it is probable the Queen's body was depoſited. This was a very eaſy work. Then they took as many ſtones as were wanted to conceal the entrance of the paſſage and level the channel, and covered that floor, ten feet in dimenſion, that was formed by the triangle at the entrance of the gallery; after which, having taken a hundred feet more of ſtones, they filled up the area of the paſſage, which is that where the entry into the pyramid was forced; this is utterly defaced the length of eighty feet. Then a hundred and twenty-four feet more of the ſtone filled up the paſſage at the bottom of the gallery, over which the ſcaffold was built, and it is to be obſerved, that the laſt ſtone which filled up this paſſage, was ſupported by an elevation of four or five inches at the end of the paſſage, as is already mentioned.

What I have ſaid in relation to the cloſing up the paſſages of the pyramid, and the uſe of the gallery, will perhaps appear new, and bold enough for ſome critics to call it a chimera; but I do not pretend to be abſolutely poſitive upon this article; however, it is a probable ſyſtem, that may give ſome light into wonders that had been concealed to this day; and it is difficult to account how it could otherwiſe be executed. One may ſee, that it was not poſſible, after the pyramid was finiſhed, that is to ſay, after the paſſages were made, and the arch of the gallery cloſed, to get ſtones into that

gallery

gallery of a proper bigneſs to fill them up; on the contrary, one may ſee, the architect had difficulty enough in taking care that no body ſhould ever be able to take out thoſe ſtones he had encloſed, to ſhut it up in ſuch a manner that he thought it would be impoſſible to find out the entrance. One may ſee the intent of the architect alſo, in the long channel at the bottom of the gallery, and may ſuppoſe, that it was made only to convey ſtones, which were one day to cloſe the inſide paſſage; and may judge by the ſtay, which is found at the upper end of that channel, that it was likewiſe to be filled up, after the paſſages ſhould be ſtopped; the exquiſite poliſh of that channel confirms me in the opinion of this double uſe of it, and I remarked, that its length is proportioned to that of the inſide paſſage. One may ſee, that that paſſage is ſtill partly ſhut up, that is, in the place which makes an angle with the outſide paſſage. It is viſible, that they did not penetrate into the pyramid by this true paſſage, but on the contrary they were obliged to force another way; by which, getting to one of the ſides of the paſſage, they had more command over the ſtones with which it was filled up. From this opening force was uſed, and it is defaced the whole length, which ſhews, that they were obliged to uſe violence to clear it; and I conclude, from its being defaced to the very entrance of the gallery, that the ſtones which were in it were broken; and that for the length of a hundred and twenty-four feet, there was in the channel and behind it a hundred and twenty feet more of theſe ſtones, to be a ſupply in the place of thoſe that ſhould be taken away. I again ſuſpect, that thoſe who broke open the pyramid, had ſome knowledge of theſe ſtones incloſed in that channel; for, if they had been entirely ignorant, they would only have broke the ſtone that filled up the paſſage at the opening they forced, which would have been eaſier for them; and if they went to work otherwiſe, it was from the knowledge they had of the ſtones in the channel ready to ſlide down in the paſſage, as faſt as it ſhould be cleared.

I have hinted, that in the body of the pyramid, there may be other openings, which were cloſed up, and not yet diſcovered, and perhaps it was not without ſome grounds that they ſearched for them; but they happened to be wrong, when they thought to find them under the floors of the two rooms. Doubtleſs they muſt be looked for, and the entrance can be, no where but about the middle of the channel.

I muſt likewiſe obſerve, certain holes purpoſely made at the time of the building of the pyramid. They were intended as ſteps for ſuch as would go up from the paſſage a hundred and eighteen feet long, leading to the firſt room, towards the channel; which, as I ſaid above, was broke off in this place, or for thoſe who would go down from this channel. I have already remarked, that from the bottom of the channel, a man might go upright under the ſcaffold. There is no doubt, but that there were on each ſide of the gallery, under the ſcaffold, ropes faſtened acroſs to the joints, to help them up and down without ſliding; they at firſt ſerved for the workmen in the building of the gallery, and filling up the paſſages, and then for thoſe who afterwards went to ſee the rooms, as well as for thoſe who carried the bodies of the King and Queen to be depoſited; and laſtly, for thoſe who went to remain in the room, and die near their King: there is no doubt, then, but that all the inſide paſſages of the pyramid were filled up with the ſtones that were on that ſcaffold.

After having given the finiſhing ſtroke to all theſe works, there remained nothing but for the workmen to get out: except we ſuppoſe, that they pulled down the ſcaffold, and conveyed the timber out by the ſame way that they were to go themſelves, which was no other than by the well which I have mentioned. The entrance of this well occupies part of the bench; it riſes about two feet up in the wall, is almoſt

round

round or oval; this well goes down towards the bottom of the pyramid, firſt in a perpendicular line, then in an inclined plane. About two feet from the mouth, there is a ſquare hole, by which one goes into a little grotto cut in the mountain, which here is not ſtone, but a ſort of gravel, the pebbles of which are firmly cemented together. This grotto extends from eaſt to weſt, perhaps about fifteen feet long; then there is found another channel cut in the rock, which ſlopes much, and is very near the perpendicular, and is two feet four inches one way, two feet and a half the other, and a hundred and twenty-three feet deep; in which there is nothing but ſand and ſtones, which were either purpoſely thrown there, or have fallen down of themſelves. I am convinced, that this place was never intended for any other uſe but for the workmen to get out; theſe ſloping deſcents, the windings, narrowneſs, and depth are proofs of it. It may be, it was cut in ſeveral windings, ſome of them probably returning towards the mouth of it. I do not doubt, but that there hung over the entrance of it a range of ſtones, which were by ſome means kept up, and afterwards made to fall by certain ſprings, that were ſet on work after the workmen were out of the pyramid, and ſo ſhut up this paſſage for ever. In fact we do not find, that it ever was attempted, either becauſe it never was known, or that its narrowneſs would not admit any one to work at it. The pyramid was broke open by the great way, which ſerved, no doubt, to convey the King's body into the pyramid, and for thoſe who aſſiſted at the funeral, and went out again after having performed the laſt duty to their prince, and depoſited his body in the tomb which he himſelf had prepared.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Religion of the Coptis in Egypt.*

ST. MARK is ſaid to have firſt preached the goſpel in Egypt, and is eſteemed the firſt patriarch of Alexandria. During the perſecutions, as obſerved before, many of the Chriſtians of Egypt retired to Coptus, and the places about it; from which it is ſaid, they were called Coptis. Dioſcores, patriarch of Alexandria, embraced in part the opinion of Eutyches: until that time they were in union with the catholic church. This opinion was condemned by the fourth general council held at Chalcedon; and ſeveral emperors ſetting themſelves to ſuppreſs it, it is ſaid, that thoſe who had the upper hand, uſed the Coptis with ſo much ſeverity, that it gave them a great averſion to their oppreſſors, which they retain to this day towards the Franks and Greeks; and it is increaſed againſt the former, by their endeavours to make converts of them. Thoſe of the other ſide were called Melchites, or Royaliſts, becauſe they were ſupported by the government at Conſtantinople.

The Mahometans, when they enterprized the conqueſt of Egypt, took part with the Coptis, who were glad to ſee the Greeks deſtroyed, and it is ſaid, turned againſt them, and cut ſeveral of them off; ſo the Coptis got the upper hand, and their patriarch was eſtabliſhed by the ruling powers, as he is at preſent. Another diviſion happening in the church, part of the Greek communion remained here, in oppoſition to the weſtern church, and at this time they have their patriarch.

The Copti patriarch of Alexandria probably reſided at Old Cairo, when that became the capital; and it may be ſuppoſed, he removed into the preſent city, when Old Cairo began to be deſerted. The Greek patriarch alſo reſides there. I was informed, that the biſhops chooſe the patriarch, and that the principal Coptis confirm him; but the principal Coptis ſeem to have a great ſhare in the election, and ſome of the former muſt advance the money for the firman or patent, which is after paid out of the patriarch's revenues: he is inſtalled at the eaſt end of the church of St. Macarius,

where

where he is elected, and afterwards in the chair of St. Mark in Alexandria. It is ſaid if the votes (as I ſuppoſe, viva voce) are equal, they then vote in a more ſolemn manner, by writing the names, and putting them on the altar.

The Copti church is ſomething like the Greek church in its ceremonies; their liturgies are in the ancient Coptic language, which is, without doubt, the Egyptian, though much corrupted, eſpecially by the Greek language that was introduced among them during the time of the Ptolemies, when, without doubt, they took not only ſeveral of their letters, that might be ſomething different in their manner of pronunciation, but likewiſe adopted many of their words. It is to be ſuppoſed, that the Arabic language took place of it, when the Arabs conquered this country; ſo that, now the Coptic is no more a living language, nor is it underſtood by any, except that ſome of the prieſts underſtand a little of their liturgy, though many of them cannot ſo much as read it, but get their long offices by rote, by a conſtant attendance on them, and hearing them frequently repeated. The epiſtle and goſpel are read both in the Arabic and Coptic languages. The Roman Catholics have their liturgy printed in the Coptic, with very few alterations, chiefly relating to their praying for the broachers of thoſe opinions that are favoured by the Coptis. As obſerved before, they ſpend almoſt all the night before feſtivals and holidays, in their churches; a cuſtom that might firſt ariſe from their meeting at their devotions at night, during the times of perſecution, and might afterwards be found very convenient on account of the coolneſs of the night, as well as to have the feſtival to themſelves, to be ſpent intirely in their diverſions, which conſiſt in going to their gardens, or walking about and doing nothing. Their churches are always covered with matting, and they take off their ſlippers, and carry them with them into the church; for it would be great ill manners to come with them on the Stora, as they call it, even in their houſes. They likewiſe kiſs the pavement when they come into the church, which may be another reaſon for keeping it very clean. Their muſic is the nakous already deſcribed; their chant is not agreeable; and they ſit on the ground very irreverently, for moſt part of the time that their devotion continues; and when they are obliged to ſtand up, they have crutches to lean on to ſupport themſelves, which are very much uſed, the ſexton ſupplying them with them. They have ſome ceremonies performed in their church in a different manner from other churches; the patriarch, or head prieſt, waſhing the feet of the other prieſts, at a hole which is filled with water; and they call this hole Ilahan. Another more extraordinary ceremony is on the feaſt of Epiphany, when another hole being filled with water, which is bleſſed, the people crowd to put in their feet; and it is ſaid, that in ſome parts there are people that will jump into the water almoſt naked, and plunge in their children. The Roman Catholics here bleſs the water, and only croſs their foreheads with it. They have commonly a pulpit on the north ſide of the church; the baptiſtery in moſt of the churches is a chapel on the ſouth ſide of the altar. The prieſts have a very good reaſon for not preaching. The patriarch, if I miſtake not, makes a ſhort diſcourſe to them once a year, and they read legends out of the pulpit on great feſtivals. They make deacons at eight or nine years old, who always receive the ſacrament when it is adminiſtered. They keep the Sunday very ſtrictly, and will not work, nor do any thing in the way of their profeſſion. Taking in Wedneſdays and Fridays, they faſt ſeven months in the year. Abſtaining from fleſh would be no great mortification to thoſe who ſeldom eat any; ſo that it chiefly conſiſts in not eating eggs, milk, butter, oil, and ſuch things as they commonly uſe, and in forbearing to eat till noon, or later. One great faſt is that of Lent, which begins fifty-five days before Eaſter;

that

that of Advent is another, forty-three days before Chriſtmas. They faſt alſo for fifteen days before the Annunciation; and during this faſt they do not eat oil, but live moſtly on vegetables. The faſt of the Apoſtles begins fifty days after Eaſter, for thirteen days for the laity, and ſomething longer for the prieſts. They have alſo three days ſevere faſt before the feaſt of Jonas; looking on him as a type of our Saviour's lying three days in the bowels of the earth. On Good Friday they abſtain for twenty-five hours. The faſt during theſe ſeaſons is not ſtrictly kept on Saturdays and Sundays, as to the times of eating. I was told of an odd ceremony, they ſometimes uſe, to procure leave of the patriarch to eat eggs in Lent; it is ſaid they take him up in a chair, and aſk him if he will give them leave to eat eggs; on refuſing it, they aſk if he will be thrown down; and repeating theſe queſtions three or four times, at laſt he conſents to give them leave to eat eggs in Lent. They often eſpouſe at ſeven or eight, and conſummate at eleven or twelve; and ſome proper time before that, they are circumciſed. The men eaſily procure divorces, on account of adultery, long ſickneſs, and almoſt for any diſagreements, and, if the party deſires it, they obtain leave of the patriarch or biſhop to marry again; and if it is refuſed, it is ſaid a prieſt will notwithſtanding ſometimes marry either of the parties; but they muſt, in that caſe, be excluded from the ſacrament for ſome time: and if their own clergy will not marry them to another, they have recourſe to the cadi, who will do both; and this is practiſed by the Chriſtians all over Turkey.

The following particulars are partly my own obſervations, and partly collected from others. The chriſma, or holy oil, which they call the Meiron, is conſecrated but once in thirty years by the patriarch; a whole day is ſpent about it, and it is ſaid they chant the Old and New Teſtament all over at this ceremony; probably different ſets of them taking different parts; and the archbiſhop of Ethiopia takes of it when he comes to be conſecrated by the patriarch. At baptiſm, they plunge the child three times into the water, and then confirm it, and give it the ſacrament, that is, the wine; the prieſt dipping the end of his finger in it, and putting it to the child's mouth; which is done after they have adminiſtered the ſacrament, for they do not keep the conſecrated myſteries. The women ſtay in their houſes forty days after they are delivered of a boy, and twenty-four after a girl; until which time the baptiſm is always deferred, and ſometimes much longer. The ground of this is the obſervation of the Moſaic law as to the purification of the mother, who muſt aſſiſt at the baptiſm. If the child happens to be ſick, before it is baptized, it is brought to church, for they cannot baptize out of the church; they lay the child on a cloth near the font, and the prieſt dips his hands in the water, and rubs it all over; and if it is done when there is no ſacrament, the child and the father and mother muſt ſtay in the church till the next day. If the child is ſo ill that it cannot be brought to church, they then only anoint it, according to the form they have for that purpoſe, which they ſay is good baptiſm. They give abſolution at extreme unction, as they do in the Greek church, and anoint alſo all the people preſent, that the evil ſpirit may not go into them. Their confeſſions are only general. The ſub-deacons do not come within the chancel, but read the epiſtle at the door. The prieſts are obliged to ſay an office every day, as long as that of the Roman breviary; only it is every day the ſame, which they have by rote. The deacons have a ſhorter form; but the biſhop's is longer, and the patriarch's ſtill longer. They uſe the liturgies of St. Baſil, St. Gregory, and St. Cyril; the firſt being the ſhorteſt, is moſt commonly uſed. They adminiſter the ſacrament on Sundays and holidays, which latter are numerous, and alſo on Wedneſdays and Fridays, and every day in Lent. The prieſts prepare for it by going into the church the evening before,

at ſun-ſet, and do not go out till the ceremony is over; ſpending the night moſtly in ſinging of pſalms; and ſome of the laity ſhut themſelves up with them. It is ſaid, they often make croſſes on their arms with powder; and if it is demanded whether they are Chriſtians, they ſhew the croſs. They abſtain from blood, and things ſtrangled. They pray for the dead; but have a notion, that the ſoul goes to heaven in forty days, and yet pray for them afterwards. They proſtrate themſelves before pictures; but have no ſtatues, except a crucifix.

What obſervations I made when I attended their ſervice almoſt an intire night, may give ſome inſight into their manner of worſhip. On Chriſtmas Eve, 1737, at Akmim in Upper Egypt, I went, about ſeven of the clock in the evening, to the chapel of the Hoſpitium of Propaganda Fide, to ſee the ceremonies of the Catholic Coptis. The prieſt began at the deſk to chant, and the people with him; and then retiring to his place to the left, by the altar of St. Francis, they ſeemed to chant verſe by verſe, all being in the Coptic language, which none underſtand; the people ſometimes ſinging a ſhort hymn in Arabic. Then an old deacon went towards the altar with a candle, and chanted; and turning to the people, read, and retired to his place, which was near the prieſt. After having chanted an hour, a prieſt came out habited in the cope, with a yellowiſh woollen cloth over his head, called ſhamely, like the amynta of the Catholics, having broad ſtripes on one ſide of it. This goes under the cope; under which is the ſurplice, and over that the ſtole. The people continued chanting; after a while the prieſt began to incenſe the altar, and then came down and made a general incenſe to all the people. When he deſcends from the altar, he has a deacon behind him, with a particular iron croſs, and another croſs on his right hand; and when the prieſt ſtretches out his hands, both the deacons do the ſame, which appears very ſolemn. After having incenſed the altar, he came down, and incenſed the people in general; and incenſing the altar a ſecond time, he came down and incenſed the other prieſt, putting his hands to the other's; then he came through the church, and incenſed every one, laying his hand on the head of each perſon. The women are in a ſeparate place on the right ſide of the church, with lattices before it, and a little place opens about breaſt high from the ground, out of which the women put their heads, and the prieſt lays his hands on them. Another ceremony is holding the croſs, with three lighted candles ſtuck on it, which repreſents the Trinity, with which he makes ſome motions, ſtretches out his hands and turns once to the left, his back being to the people; after this, one reads at the deſk, and another on one ſide of it; and ſo in about two or three hours, that is about ten o'clock, the devotion was finiſhed, and the people retired to ſleep till about one o'clock. Moſt of their chanting is out of the Pſalms; they have thirty pſalms for the night, and five for each of the ſeven hours of prayer in the day time. I was informed, that ſome impoſe on themſelves the great office of repeating all the pſalms in twenty-four hours.

About one o'clock the people aſſembled again to attend at the adminiſtration of the ſacrament; for an hour and a half before it began, they chanted pſalms, the ſong of Moſes and the three children, the benedicite, and ſome other hymns, the prieſt beginning and chanting with them as before; one chorus chanting with him, and another on the other ſide, verſe by verſe: at laſt the prieſt came out, habited as before, and incenſed the altar, and all the people round, three times, and performed the ceremony again of the three candles; and the epiſtle and goſpel being read by the deacons, ſeven or eight boys, from eight to eighteen, made ſhort oratic ns on the nativity, ſtanding up before the altar towards the goſpel ſide; they did it well, and with good action, being taught by the fathers; this is not done in the other Coptic churches, but they read out

of ſome legends. The prieſt began to celebrate. The bread they uſe is a ſmall white cake; it is made only of flower and water unleavened; the Coptis buy the corn with the money of the church, and when made into flour, it is always kept in the church, and the cakes are made by the ſacriſtan, who chants ſome pſalms whilſt he is about it, and they are baked in an oven near the church, which is put to no other uſe: they never keep the hoſt. In the Catholic churches they muſt uſe wine; but in the others, they uſe what they call zebib, though they have wine; becauſe they ſay they know not what may be in the wine; but if they have wine only and cannot have zebib, they uſe it. Zebib is a ſort of raiſin wine; they put five rotolas of new grapes to five of water, or more grapes are uſed if they are older; it is left to ſteep ſeven days in winter and four in ſummer; the deacons ſtrain it through two bags, one after another, to make it fine; this keeps ſeven years, and taſtes like a ſweet wine that is turned a little ſour: they may alſo make wine themſelves for this uſe, of freſh red grapes from the vine. If wine is uſed, they put in a little water. They keep the zebib in a jar, and ſtop it cloſe, ſo that no wind can come to it. The Copti prieſts, under pretence they cannot get fruit from Cairo, ſay they cannot ſay maſs above once a month, though obliged, if poſſible, to ſay it every Wedneſday and Friday in their faſting ſeaſons, and every Sunday and holiday. As well as I could obſerve, the prieſt takes the bread in the paten in the right hand, with the cloth that covers it, and the wine in the cruet, covered alſo in like manner, and holds them both ſome time with his hands ſtretched out, he then goes behind the altar, by the epiſtle door, and comes in by the goſpel door, and places both on the altar; after this he proceeds to conſecration, much like the Romans, and breaks the bread. With the Coptis, the prieſt turns round and holds the hoſt elevated on the chalice, and all the people bend their bodies; having received himſelf, the people that receive go behind the altar; and when they are to receive, the firſt comes with a towel in his hand on the left ſide of the prieſt, and holding his head over the table, and the napkin under his chin, the prieſt puts the bread into his mouth, he then goes behind again, and gives the towel to the perſon that follows him: in like manner the deacons only receive the wine given them in a ſmall ſpoon. When the prieſt had diſtributed to the people, he put the bread into the chalice, and took the bread and wine both together into his mouth, and having waſhed his hands, he turned to the people, who coming to him one by one, he gave them the benediction with his wet hands, putting them together after he had touched them: this was a high maſs; and after he had proceeded in it for ſome time, another prieſt began to celebrate privately at the ſide altar, with his head bare and ſhaved cloſe, having been bred at Rome; for they ſay, that covering of the head was a novelty introduced by the Coptis, contrary to the ancient cuſtoms and canons. One perſon only received of him, except the deacons that ſerved, who kneeling near him, he roſe up to take the elements, as the others, over the table. I obſerved, ſome received the ſacrament that were not above ten or eleven years old; commonly the prieſt and deacon only, that aſſiſts, receive. The men receive with the true Coptis in both kinds; the prieſt carries it to the women, that is, the bread, on which he makes two croſſes with the wine, one with his finger dipped in the wine, the ſecond with the conſecrated bread, dipped alſo into the wine. If a perſon is ſick, they adminiſter the ſacrament in the houſe, and give only the bread. The conſecrated myſteries are not kept in the eaſt, even by the Roman Catholics; the Coptis commonly receive the ſacrament two or three times a year, but rarely before they are ſixteen, except the deacons, unleſs they marry before that age.

CHAP. VIII. — *The Hiſtory of the Riſe of the Nile.*

IT may be proper to obſerve, that the ſame height of water may be ſufficient or not ſufficient to overflow the country at different times, according to the canals that are cut through the land, and alſo according to the manner in which they are kept open, by carrying off the annual ſediment. In ancient times they ſeem to have feared inundations more than they do at preſent a want of water, and it is probable, that before the canals were opened, there was every year ſuch an inundation as rendered the country incapable of being cultivated; as Herodotus obſerves, that before the time of Menes, who might open ſome canals, all Lower Egypt was a marſh; and it was making canals, and cauſing a great diverſion of the waters into the Lake Mœris, when it was neceſſary, that drained the country, and carried off the waters that would have cauſed inundations; for the greater the outlet of the waters, conſequently the more water is required to overflow the country, and if theſe canals filled and were obſtructed, the Nile muſt overflow ſooner than it did before. It ſeems indeed, when it is once overflowed from the canals, that leſs water in quantity would be ſufficient for the land, as it muſt have been in a manner filled with water from the canals cut through it in ſeveral places, being a ſandy ſoil, through which the waters eaſily paſs to the height of the Nile: though at the ſame time, a greater riſe might be required after its overflow, to make it riſe to the upper lands towards the Nile, than was required after the overflow from its own banks: for there is great reaſon to think, that, contrary to what is generally obſerved, the plain ground of Egypt is higheſt towards the river, and that there is a gentle deſcent to the foot of the hills; and if ſo, when the canals were once opened, and the water let into them, it would ſooner overflow the banks of the canals than thoſe of the river, after that the canals were cut; though not ſooner than before they were cut: but then the water would overflow leſs, ſooner abate, drain off, and evaporate, by reaſon of the greater outlet; ſo that though the canals carried off a great quantity of water, and might by that means make the overflow rather later than if it overflowed the banks of the river alone, before the canals were cut; yet notwithſtanding, it might, in certain ſeaſons and places, overflow them at a time when the water was ſo low as not to overflow the banks of the river after the canals were cut; for, though the Nile overflows its own banks at Delta, where they are very low, yet the overflow in the higher parts is moſtly by the canals.

In order likewiſe to explain what follows, it muſt be obſerved, that I ſuppoſe the Nile, when at loweſt, to be four cubits high, which I ſhall have occaſion to explain; and it muſt always be conſidered, that there is a great difference between the Nile's overflowing its own banks before the canals were cut, and after; for in the former caſe, it would overflow them ſooner, though the Nile muſt be higher than if the canals were cut; in the latter it would overflow them later, though the Nile need not be ſo high, overflowing by the banks of the canal; on the ſuppoſition that the ground is lower at a diſtance from the river.

There are ſome grounds to think that the ſoil of Egypt has riſen ſome years near half an inch, without conſidering what is carried away of the produce of the earth; for on the banks of the Nile, I obſerved, that the ſoil was in ſeveral ſtrata or cakes of about that thickneſs, which, as the banks waſh away, ſeparate and fall down; but then, as the loſs is great, by carrying off every year ſuch a quantity of the produce of the land, it is difficult to make a computaſion; and as the bed of the river alſo riſes by the ſubſiding of the more heavy particles of earth or ſand, though, it may be, not in the

ſame proportion, ſo the real increaſe above the bed of the river muſt be very ſmall; and as to what is carried off by the produce of the land, though concluſions have been made from experiments, by weighing the earth both before and after a tree has grown in a pot for ſome years, that vegetables ſubſiſt moſtly by water, and that very little of the earth is incorporated into the body of the plant; yet there may be miſtakes with regard to this, as the water ſuch plants have been ſupplied with might not be perfectly clear, as there might be accidental acceſſions of earth by duſt or other means. And we ſee likewiſe, that the ground viſibly ſinks where vegetables are produced and and taken away, and there is no acceſſion of manure. However, nothing can be certainly ſaid as to the riſe of the ſoil; for theſe banks being high, poſſibly theſe ſtrata of earth might be made only at the time of ſuch inundations as overflowed theſe banks, when we are to ſuppoſe the ſediment muſt have been greater than in the ordinary overflow. It is poſſible alſo, that they might not be the ſediment of one year. But as to the height of water that is neceſſary, that muſt always have differed in proportion to the outlet of the waters; ſo that from conſidering how much the Nile ought to riſe for the benefit of the country, no ſort of computation can be made, how much the ſoil has riſen, all this depending on the openings there are for the waters, on their breadth and their depth, on their being kept clean or neglected: ſo that, if there were no greater reaſons for keeping the canals clean than for letting them fill up, it is apprehended, the country in general would be in leſs danger of a want of water, in that caſe, than if they we repermitted to choak up; but then the villages would be in greater want of water when it was gone off; and particularly in one inſtance, as the canals would be much ſooner dry, in caſe they were in ſome meaſure filled up; which appeared when I was in Egypt, with regard to the canal of Alexandria, which after it was cleanſed had water in it two months longer than it had the year before. I would alſo obſerve, that in very few parts the overflow extends quite to the mountains; it may have reached very near them in ſome great inundations, and the ſediment might afterwards be covered over with ſand; in relation to which a great number of curious experiments might be made by digging down and examining to ſee if there are any ſtrata of good ſoil, how many, how far beneath the preſent ſurface, of what depth, and how far they extended.

To go on then with the hiſtory of the riſe of the Nile. Herodotus ſpeaks of the riſe of the Nile from the bottom of its bed; and probably as ſoon as one cubit was completed, called what was above it by the name of the other. He ſays, the Nile did not overſpread the country, unleſs it roſe to ſixteen cubits, or at leaſt fifteen; and, as to what he obſerves, that nine hundred years before, in the time of Myris, eight cubits were ſufficient; it is poſſible, this tradition might be of its riſe, and not of its height from the bottom; in which ſenſe Herodotus indeed ſeems to underſtand it, otherwiſe the truth of it is very much to be doubted: nor can it well be accounted for, on any ſuppoſition, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that the canals were cut after Myris's time, and ſo made a greater riſe of the Nile neceſſary, and that afterwards they might gradually fill up, and then again a leſs height of water might be required ſufficiently to overflow the country: ſo that, in order to reconcile theſe accounts, we are to ſuppoſe that Herodotus ſpeaks of fifteen or ſixteen cubits in his time from the bottom of the Nile; but that, where he mentions eight cubits, an account which he had by tradition, that might be the way of expreſſing themſelves of the riſe only of the Nile in the more ancient times; ſo that the height of the water, when at loweſt, ought to be added to it, which computing it to be in proportion to the number of ſuppoſed pikes that it is at preſent, about four cubits muſt be allowed for the height of the Nile, when at loweſt,

loweſt, which would make the height of the water twelve cubits; ſo that in all theſe accounts, if we except that of the time of Herodotus, it ſeems to be neceſſary to add the height the Nile is at when at loweſt to the height of its increaſe, which might be, as ſaid, about four cubits. Strabo ſpoke of the cubits from the increaſe, and not from the bottom, and ſeems always to have mentioned the full number, and not to call the cubits by a higher number, as ſoon as it roſe to complete the laſt; for, he ſays, before Petronius's time the earth was very fruitful when the Nile roſe fourteen cubits, but when it roſe only eight a famine enſued. If we add four cubits to the one, and the other that makes twelve, and eighteen, which is ſomething more than the meaſures of Herodotus's time, ſixteen and eleven; ſo that if we ſuppoſe it riſe a cubit higher than twelve, to make it thirteen, we may imagine it was then a Nile that would at leaſt deliver Egypt from famine; as Herodotus ſeems to ſay, that fifteen was a middling Nile to overflow the land, and ſixteen a good one, ſo fourteen was likewiſe probably in his time an indifferent riſe, as ſixteen was a good one; therefore the good Nile before Petronius's time, differed but two cubits from what was a good one in Herodotus's time, yet the bad Nile was probably at twelve only, which is two cubits lower than Herodotus's ſuppoſed bad Nile, which might be owing to opening canals; ſo that, though a cubit more might be neceſſary to overflow the lands plentifully before Petronius's time, than what was in Herodotus's, the earth being riſen, and canals made; yet canals, being made, it was not a bad Nile, though two cubits lower than the bad Nile of Herodotus; becauſe a leſs height occaſioned it to overflow, in ſome meaſure, as the banks of the canals were lower than the banks of the river; though to overflow it plentifully, a greater height might be required to overflow the upper lands; for when they were once covered a leſs height of water after the overflow, though not leſs in quantity as to what was drunk up by the earth, might be neceſſary, for the reaſons mentioned; for when it once overflowed from its own banks, it overſpread the whole country, had not ſuch outlets to carry it off at firſt, or drain it off afterwards; ſo that the riſing a very little higher might be ſufficient, in this caſe, though not in the other.

The great advantage of opening the canals appears from Strabo's account; he ſays, before Petronius's time, if it roſe eight cubits only there was a famine, and fourteen cauſed a great plenty; but in Petronius's time, a riſe of eight cubits preſerved the country from famine, and twelve was a plentiful riſe. For Strabo, obſerving the advantage of banks, to confine the Nile within its bed, and the water of the canals within their beds, to be diſtributed in a proper manner, as he muſt be underſtood, ſays, that in the time of Petronius (who probably opened the canals, and raiſed the banks) twelve cubits, and four added to them, making ſixteen, cauſed a great plenty of the fruits of the earth; and when it was only eight, adding four to make them twelve complete, there was notwithſtanding no famine in the land.

In Kalkaſendas's quotation of the riſe from the bottom, in the time of Almaſudi, in the year ſeven hundred of the Hegira, or one thouſand three hundred and twenty-four of Chriſt, it is ſaid, that if the Nile roſe twelve pikes only there was famine; fourteen pikes cauſed plenty for one year, and ſixteen would produce ſufficient for two years, but not for the graſs; and when it came to ſeventeen, that is, ſixteen complete, it was ſtill better; but what was feared was its completing ſeventeen, and entering on eighteen, which was an inundation.

In

	Cubits or pikes begun.	Cubits or pikes completed.
In Myris's time, a good Nile from the riſe	9	8
In the time of Herodotus, a good Nile	16	15
Indifferent Nile	15	14
Bad Nile, ſuppoſed to be	14	13
Before Petronius		17
Bad Nile		11
In Petronius's time		15
Indifferent		11
Suppoſed bad		10
In ſeven hundred of the Hegira, or one thouſand three hundred twenty-four, bad Nile	14	13
Indifferent	15	14
Good Nile	15	15
Very good	17	16
Inundations that hurt ſome lands	18	17
In Omar's time, in the year twenty-nine of the Hegira, or ſix hundred and fifty-four of Chriſt, bad	12	11
Indifferent, ſufficient for one year's proviſion	14	13
Good for two year's proviſion	16	15
Inundation	18	17
At preſent		
Bad under		16
Indifferent		18
Good	21, 22, and 23	
Inundation above		24

In Kalkaſendas's time, eighteen pikes do not ſeem to have been feared as an inundation; as may be ſeen in the paragraphs "Plurimis annis, &c." and, "Vidi in "Hiſtoria Nili, &c. *

CHAP. IX.—*An Attempt towards ſettling the real Riſe of the Nile.*

THE ſubject of the riſe of the Nile is ſo difficult, that I am ſenſible what I ſhall ſay on it, as well as what I have ſaid, will require more than ordinary attention, to be in any meaſure underſtood, and will be comprehended only by often conſidering the ſeveral authors that have wrote on it, and what obſervations have been made on this ſubject; a trouble that probably will not be undertaken by any, but thoſe who are ſo curious as to go into Egypt, and endeavour by ſeeing the Nilometer, and obſerving every thing they can in relation to this affair, to ſettle a matter of fact that has hitherto been ſo much in the dark; and for ſuch this attempt is chiefly deſigned: not that I poſitively affirm any thing; but what is writ on this ſubject is only intended as ſo many hints to be conſidered by others, in order to find out the real truth, in relation to this difficult ſubject; for there is nothing the world has been ſo much deceived in as about the real riſe of the Nile; and ſome great men have reaſoned on it, upon a ſuppoſition that it riſes near fifty feet, or twenty-four pikes, of above two feet each: and when the

* See Dr. Shaw. Excerpta e Kalkaſenda de Nilo et Nilometro.

Nile

Nile has been ſaid to be of ſuch a height, they have imagined that it had riſen ſo high above its ſurface, when at loweſt; ſo that, in order to make this affair as clear as poſſible, I have made the following obſervations.

That in the time of Omar Alketab, about the twenty-ninth of the Hegira, or ſix hundred and fifty-fourth year of Chriſt, the meaſuring pillar conſiſted of twelve pikes, and that he added two more to it; which is proved from this quotation of Kalkaſendas, from the above-mentioned abſtract: "—— Omar —— called Ali, the ſon of Abu-Taleb to the council, who adviſed that he ſhould order a Nilometer to be built, and that he ſhould add two cubits to the twelve cubits."

That from the time of Omar, they had five imaginary cubits, or pikes, below the pillar, to anſwer to the height of the Nile when at loweſt, which appears from the words of Kalkaſendas below, in which mention is made of eighteen pikes; for, otherwiſe, they could not reckon eighteen on a pillar only of twelve pikes, theſe making ſeventeen complete with the twelve, which brings to the eighteenth: and it is to be obſerved, that they gave it the name of the pike it was riſing to, as ſoon as any pike was completed.

The words of Kalkaſendas are theſe: "When the Nile has riſen to the ſeventeenth, then it goes on increaſing to the eighteenth." Theſe five pikes, which might be ſuch as I ſhall explain below, as I ſuppoſe them to be at preſent, might anſwer pretty near in meaſure to the four cubits I ſuppoſe the ancients allowed for the height of the Nile when at loweſt.

That to the firſt twelve pikes the water roſe to, they reckoned twenty-eight digits taken from the two pikes added, to make the twelve pikes of twenty-four digits, ſo many pikes of twenty-eight digits. It is to be obſerved, that in theſe the five imaginary pikes are comprehended. This is proved from theſe words of Kalkaſendas: "When they ſuppoſe the Nile to riſe to ſixteen cubits, they diſtributed the two cubits over and above, that are of twenty-eight digits (which I ſhould rather think to be a miſtake for twenty-four), to the twelve cubits of twenty-four digits, and ſo every cubit is twenty-eight digits." That therefore the two cubits added were diſtributed to the twelve firſt cubits. It is to be obſerved, that I make uſe of the word digits for the diviſion of pikes or cubits, becauſe, in ſome places, I ſuppoſe them to be different from inches.

That when the water roſe to above twelve cubits, they reckoned only twenty-four digits to a cubit; proved from theſe words of Kalkaſendas: "Every cubit contains twenty-eight digits, until the water riſes to twelve cubits, and then the cubit conſiſts of twenty-four digits."

That the manner of computation has been altered; the higheſt having been eighteen pikes, whereas now it is twenty-four; the pillar alſo ſeems to have been changed.

The account they now give is, that the ſixteen loweſt pikes are of twenty-eight inches or rather digits; that the four next are of twenty-ſix, and the four higheſt of twenty-four.

That according to the account in a drawing of the Mikias, the higheſt pike or twenty-fourth, is the beam over the capital.

That the twenty-third pike is the capital.

That the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond are pikes, marked on the pillar ſhorter than thoſe below.

That the four next pikes marked on the pillar are pikes of twenty-ſix digits, or diviſions, and it may be examined, if they are not divided into twenty-ſix parts.

That the eleven pikes above the five imaginary ones, are pikes of twenty-eight digits.

I obſerved

I obſerved the diviſions of the lower pikes, much larger than thoſe of the upper pikes.

I ſuppoſe that there are in each of the other twenty-four diviſions two digits, that is, in all forty-eight digits.

So that a little more than ſix of theſe pikes on the pillar make eleven of the pikes of twenty-eight digits, which contain three hundred and eight digits, whereas ſix pikes of forty-eight digits make two hundred eighty-eight digits, wanting only ten diviſions, of two digits each, to complete the number of the eleven pikes; ſo that poſſibly there may be ſix pikes and a half or ſeven pikes of this kind marked out on the pillar, making it as low as the Nile ever was known to fall, which poſſibly might be four pikes and a half, or even four. The reaſons for theſe ſuppoſitions are, that going into the Mikias in June, 1738, when they ſaid the Nile was at loweſt, a little more than eleven pikes were above water, beſides the capital and beam. But as thirteen pikes only, with the capital and beam, were above the water when the Nile was at the loweſt, there could not be above five or ſix under the water, according to the account they give; to ſuppoſe which does not ſo well agree with ſeveral circumſtances as the other ſuppoſition.

There are two things travellers will do well to obſerve; firſt, whether the diviſions of the ſix upper pikes are not much leſs than thoſe below; and ſecondly, whether the third, fourth, fifth and ſixth from the capital are not divided into twenty-ſix parts: and going into the Mikias at the time of low Nile, when on the laſt ſtep they might, as it were accidentally, with a long pipe in their hands, try whether they could reach the bottom; by which it would be known whether the pillar goes down ſo far or not.

It is alſo to be remarked, that it would anſwer no end to have the pillar go down lower than the ſurface of the Nile at loweſt; becauſe it was intended to ſhew the riſe of the Nile, which is a circumſtantial proof that it does not reach lower. It is alſo to be obſerved, that in the Mikias there are three flights of ſteps down; the firſt of one and twenty degrees, the next of four, and I ſaw ſeven of the laſt flight: they ſay there are fifty in all; to which I do not give credit.

When it is a good Nile, and the water about twenty-three pikes high, it is ſaid it comes to the top of Moſes's ſteps, and there are twenty-ſix of thoſe ſteps down to a landing place where the women ſtand to waſh; and when the Nile was at loweſt I ſaw two ſteps above water, that were below this place; twenty eight in all: the other ſteps in the Mikias not being ſo deep, there were thirty-three of them above water.

To this I have added what I obſerved the two laſt times I was in the Mikias. On the 17th of May, 1739, eleven pikes of the pillar were above the water, excepting the capital of the pillar; and ſix ſteps of the laſt flight were above water. They were to begin to clean out the Mikias in two days after. I obſerved, at Moſes's ſtairs, there are twenty-ſix ſteps down to the place where the women ſtand to waſh; and at this time I ſaw the water a little lower.

Returning, I ſaw them moving away the mud from the mouth of the canal that goes through Cairo, leaving a column of earth, that was then about eight feet high, which I mentioned before on another occaſion.

On the third of June following, I went the laſt time into the Mikias, after it had been cleaned. Eleven pikes and a half of the pillar appeared, and ſeven ſteps of the laſt flight were above water. I obſerved there were only twenty-one ſteps in the firſt flight, beſides the upper one, which was but half the depth of the others, and riſes above the floor; and I took notice that the top of the capital of the pillar was even with the bottom of the ſecond ſtep.

At Moſes's ſtairs another ſtep appeared, beſides thoſe I ſaw before. It was expected at this time that the Nile would begin to riſe very ſoon; and ſome ſaid that it had begun to riſe.

I here add an account I procured in Cairo, of the riſe of the Nile for three years; and in reckoning the pikes, it muſt be remembered that the firſt ſixteen, including the five or ſix firſt of the height of the Nile when at loweſt, are pikes of twenty-eight digits; the next four, of twenty-ſix, and the reſt, of twenty-four. The day they declare the Nile is riſen ſixteen pikes, they call Ophila; that is, The will of God is completed.

In 1714, on the 29th of June, the Nile was five pikes high, and roſe every day ſo many digits as are marked, twenty-eight of which make a pike for the eleven loweſt pikes, and twenty-ſix for the four next.

		Pikes
June 29	Water high	5
		Digits
June 30	the Nile roſe	3
July 1		2
2		3
3		2
4		4
5		3
6		4
7		6
8		4
		—1
9		5
10		4
11		3
12		5
13		4
14		6
		—1
15		8
16		10
17		15
		—1
18		25
		—1
19		15
20		10
		—1
21		8
22		6
23		7
24		8
		—1
25		7
26		8
27		10
28		15
		—1
29		20
		—1
30		30
		—1
31		48
		—2
Auguſt 1	the canal was cut	——
		16

In 1715, on the 30th of June the water was ſix pikes high 6 Pikes

		Digits
July 1	it roſe	2
2		3
3		2
4		3
5		4
6		5
7		6
8		8
		—1
9		7
10		8
11		7
12		6
		—1
13		7
14		5
15		4
16		5
17		4
		—1

Digits

	Digits Pikes
18	3
19	4
20	5
21	4
22	8
23	50
	—2
24	45
	—2
25	75
	—3
	16

In 1738, it rose as follows; the Nile being five pikes high.

		Digits 5 Pikes
June 20	it rose	2
21		3
22		2
23		3
24		2
25		4
26		5
27		6
28		8
		—1
29		6
30		7
July 1		6
2		5
		—1
3		4
4		3
5		4
6		3
7		4
8		3
9		5
		—1
10		4
11		8
12		10
13		12
		—1
14		8
15		7

	Digits Pikes
16	10
	—1
17	8
18	10
19	8
	—1
20	7
21	6
22	8
23	10
	—1
24	7
25	6
26	5
27	6
	—1
28	5
29	4
30	5
31	6
Auguſt 1	8
	—1
2	20
Ophila 3	50
	—2
4	8 ——
5	4 16
6	3 ——
7	5
8	5
9	6
10	5
	—2
11	4
12	5
13	4
14	3
15	3
16	4
	—1
17	4
18	5
19	3
20	3
21	4
22	3
23	4

	Digits	Pikes
		1
24	3	4 of 26 digits
25	5	
26	3	
27	4	
28	3	
29	2	
30	4	

As they publiſh ſuch an extraordinary riſe as fifty inches, about the time that they declare it is riſen ſixteen pikes, it is probable that they keep private the real riſe before that time; which may be a piece of policy of the people not to pay their rents, if it does not riſe to eighteen pikes; for unleſs it riſes ſo high they have but an indifferent year; and poſſibly, when they declare that the Nile is ſixteen pikes high, it may be riſen to eighteen; and the paſha who opened the canal, before they declared it had riſen to ſixteen pikes, might have aſſurances that it was riſen ſo high; but as it might abate ſoon after, ſo they would not pay the tribute notwithſtanding. Nobody but the paſha, or one from him, can enter the Mikias when the Nile is riſing, except the people that belong to it; and notwithſtanding, they ſay they keep the manner of computing the riſe of the Nile as a myſtery even from the paſha and his ople, which may be for the reaſons I have mentioned above.

The following account was alſo given me in Cairo, of the times when the canal was cut, on the riſing of the Nile to ſixteen pikes, for forty-ſix years before, ſpecifying almoſt every year.

1692	9 Auguſt	1711	2 July
1693	7	1712	10 Auguſt
1694	1 Sept. plague and famine	1713	6
1695	13 Auguſt	1714	3
1696	14	1715	1
1697	11	1718	26 July
1698	7	1720	22 Auguſt
1699	15	1721	5
1700	5	1722	9
1701	17	1723	15
1702	15	1724	15
1703	18	1725	12
1704	2	1727	17
1705	19 September, plague	1734	30 July
1706	9 Auguſt	1735	25
1707	10	1736	4 Auguſt
1708	4	1737	3
1709	4	1738	4
1710	9		

CHAP. X.—*Of the Method of cultivating and preparing Rice, about Roſetto: of the Manner of making Sal Armeniac; and of hatching Chickens in Ovens.*

BETWEEN the full moon and new moon in February, they take baſkets of rice well dried, with the huſk on; they tie down the cover of the baſket, and put it into the water, leaving the top a little above water, ſo as that the ſun may ſhine on it; it remains there till the ſeed begins to ſhoot; then they take the baſket out of the water,

and put it and the grain in the open air to dry. The water that comes out of the baſket of rice they throw on the land where they deſign to ſow it, but they throw away the water that runs from the bottom of the baſket; both which practices ſeem to be ſome ſuperſtition. After this, they take the rice and ſow it, as they do other grain, and immediately overflow the land with water a palm deep, and ſo they leave it for ten days; when the rice begins to grow, they draw off the water and leave it ſo for two days; afterwards they juſt cover the earth with water; but then they muſt draw off the water every day, and convey freſh water to it; and take care to keep the ground well weeded; and when the rice is about a palm and a half high, they take it up where it is too thick, and plant it in thoſe places where it is thin; and then they give it a palm of water, and leave it ſo until it is ripe, which is in about ſeven months after it is ſown. When it is ripe they cut it down, put it in a clean place, and threſh it, take away the ſtraw, and leave the rice to dry well in the ſun, putting it in heaps by night and ſpreading it out by day till it is thoroughly dry. They then put it in the warehouſe, where they have machines of iron to take off the outer huſk, as before deſcribed. When that is done, they mix ſome ſalt with it, about half a meaſure, which is ſeven okes and a half to twelve meaſures or one hundred and fifty okes, which is an adeb of rice. They put the ſalt in an oven, that it may become dry and hard, and beat the lumps of ſalt and rice together, that the ſalt may penetrate into the rice to whiten and preſerve it. After this they clean the rice well, and ſeparate all the duſt from it.

A notion has prevailed that ſal armoniac was made of the ſand on which camels had ſtaled, and that a great number going to the temple of Jupiter Ammon gave occaſion for the name of ammoniac, corrupted to armoniac. Whether it ever could be made by taking up the ſand and preparing it with fire, as they do the dung at preſent, thoſe who are acquainted with the nature of theſe things will be beſt able to judge. I was informed that it is made of the ſoot which is cauſed by burning the dung of cows and other animals. The hotter it is the better it produces; and for that reaſon the dung of pigeons is the beſt; that of camels is alſo much eſteemed. In order to make fuel of it, they mix it, if I miſtake not, with chopped ſtraw, and I think ſometimes with earth, and make it into cakes and dry it; and it is burnt by the common people in Egypt; for the wood they burn at Cairo is very dear, as it is brought from Aſia Minor. They put the ſoot that is made by this fuel into round thin vaſes of glaſs, made in Cairo, with ſhort necks about two inches diameter. They cover theſe glaſſes with a coat a quarter of an inch thick, made of earth and huſks of flax, chopped and mixed together; and when it is dried in the ſun, they lay on ſuch another coat half an inch thick, and dry it in like manner. They then fill the glaſſes within an inch of the neck. The houſe it is made in is divided into four parts, with arches built in each part, about three feet high and two feet thick, and about as far apart; between which they place the glaſſes, ſo as that they may reſt on the walls of the arches, there being about ſix glaſſes placed in one row, each three feet diameter. Between them are placed ſmaller glaſſes, about ten inches diameter; under them they make a fire of the earth of the Nile and ſtraw mixed, which I have been told they burn alſo for other uſes. A great fire is kept up, as they informed me, for ſeventy-two hours conſtantly, in which time all the ſalt is boiled up to the top. The vaſes, when taken out, are like earthenware; and breaking them, they take out the cakes of ſalt in the form in which it comes to us.

The method of hatching chickens in ovens may be reckoned among the arts peculiar to Egypt. I have been informed that only the people of one village are maſters of

of this art, and that at the proper time of the year they ſpread themſelves all over Egypt. The ſeaſon for it is when the weather is temperate, about February and March. In the apartment they keep a ſmothering fire of horſe-dung and chopped ſtraw, to be diſpoſed of in the apartments where the chickens are hatched; it is exceedingly troubleſome to go in, by reaſon of the ſmoak. The gallery has holes at top, and on each ſide of it are five rooms, about ten feet ſquare and four high, with holes at top likewiſe. They buy their eggs at the rate of ſeven or eight for a medine, or three farthings, and put them in heaps in the lower cells for eight days, laying the burning dung and chopped ſtraw along in the channel, in the gallery, and turn them by moving the heaps three times a day: they then carry them into the upper apartments, and ſpreading them ſo as only to cover the floor, and turning them in like manner, they put the fire in the channels and within the apartments, and open or ſhut the holes at top as they find occaſion. In two and twenty days they begin to hatch. They leave them in the ovens till they are perfectly dry, and then put them in the gallery, and the people come and buy them, two or three for a medine, and carry them away in ſieves. If it happens to thunder great numbers of the eggs miſcarry. This manner of hatching is not ſo natural as the common way, and the chickens often want a claw or a rump, or are ſome way or other imperfect.

CHAP. XI.—*Of the Proceſſion of the Caravan to Mecca.*

THE proceſſion was in this manner:

1. One iron cannon and ſix braſs cannon on neat carriages, each of them drawn by two horſes.
2. Four frames in embroidered caſes, I ſuppoſe of leather, for holding powder and ball, drawn by men on foot.
3. Seven camels with the proviſion of the emir hadge, or prince of the pilgrims.
4. Four camels with perſons on them that played on ſome muſical inſtrument.
5. A tartavan or litter, carried by four mules.
6. Eight light litters of the emir hadge, each carried by two camels.
7. Seventy camels loaded with biſcuit.
8. Fourteen with oil and butter.
9. Fifty with corn, and one with two long boxes of large wax candles for the ſervice of the houſe of Mecca.
10. Ten with ſugar, coffee, and the like.
11. Four with kitchen utenſils.
12. Nine with plates.
13. Eight with the kitchen tent, and tables for the cooks.
14. Eighty-ſix camels of the emir hadge, not loaded.
15. Twelve others in the ſame manner, very finely capariſoned.
16. Sixty camels of the emir hadge, not loaded.
17. Fifty-four camels loaded with water.
18. Ten loaded with tents.
19. Eight camels loaded with water.
20. Twelve with a ſort of boxes on each ſide to carry the ſick; two of the boxes being covered, in which, if I miſtake not, were medicines for the ſick; and on one were two boards, with holes in them, for waſhing the dead on. All theſe are ſaid to have been ſome private benefaction.
21. Two camels, on which were the perſons that take care of the ſick.

22. Men on camels, beating kettle-drums, as almoſt at the end of every ſtring of camels.

Near half an hour after theſe, the reſt proceeded in the following order:

23. Six camels loaded with iron frames, in which they make fires.
24. A litter.
25. Four loaded camels.
26. One camel with kettle-drums on it, and two men, each beating a drum.
27. Twenty camels without loads.
28. Two caſes for ball and powder.
29. Six camels loaded with tents and other things.
30. Five caſes for ball and powder.
31. Ten camels loaded with water.
32. One camel with kettle-drums.
33. Two caſes with ball and powder.
34. A litter.
35. Two camels loaded.
36. One with muſic.
37. Thirty-one camels not loaded.
38. Ten overſeers of camels to carry water, given by ſome Califs and Sultans of Egypt and others.
39. Three camels without muſic.
40. Twenty camels with loads.
41. Two camels with water.
42. Sixteen overſeers of the water, on horſes.
43. Three men on camels.
44. Twenty unloaded camels.
45. Four caſes for ball and powder.
46. Two camels loaded with water.
47. The Imam, or head ſheik, on a camel, who is chaplain of the caravan, and offers up the prayers at the place of Abraham's ſacrifice. His outward garment of ceremony was white; he carried a green flag, and bleſſed the people with his right hand, by holding it out, and moving it gently, as they do when they ſalute, but not bringing it to his breaſt.
48. Eleven camels not loaded.
49. Three with pilgrims on them.
50. Two camels with muſic.
51. Twenty-two without loads.
52. Two camels with ſheiks on them, who lead the way on the road.
53. Twenty camels loaded with water, one with drums.
54. Ten without loads.
55. Five loaded with water.
56. The banner of the body of ſpahis, called cherkes.
57. Thirty of their body.
58. Twenty ikiars of that body, each having a pike carried before him.
59. The ſardar of the cherkes, and his lieutenant.
60. Three or four led horſes.
61. Two ſeraches, who are ſervants under him.
62. Twelve ſlaves on horſes.
63. Sixty of the body called tuphekjees.

64. Thirty

64. Thirty ikiars, or elders of them.
65. Four ſlaves on horſeback, in coats of mail made of wire.
66. One and twenty ſlaves.
67. Twenty men on camels, moſt of them ſlaves of the ſardar.
68. Two led camels for the ſardar.
69. Two camels without loads.
70. Two camels with kettle-drums.
71. Seven with baggage.
72. Fifty of the body of the gjumelues.
73. Their ſardar.
74. Twenty ſoldiers, and ten ſlaves with bows and arrows.
75. Thirteen camels with men on them.
76. Two camels with kettle-drums.
77. Four loaded camels.
78. Two officers, called oda baſhas.
79. Two led horſes.
80. Two ſabederiks in caftans.
81. Seven camels ſaddled.
82. Two led horſes.
83. Two oda baſhas.
84. One camel.
85. Thirty-four chouſes, or meſſengers of the divan.
86. Other officers.
87. Then came the officers of the emir hadge; particularly theſe that follow.
88. A chous, or meſſenger in black.
89. Three ſtandards.
90. Five ſaddle-camels.
91. Eight led horſes.
92. Two ſeraches.
93. Two janizaries.
94. Two caias of the emir hadge.
95. The haſnadar, or treaſurer of the emir hadge.
96. Twenty-ſix ſaddle-camels.
97. Five horſes.
98. One ſaddle-camel.
99. Twenty-eight men on camels; two of them playing on muſical inſtruments.
100. Five loaded camels.
101. Next came the body of the azabs.
102. Their two ſabederiks.
103. Odabaſhas.
104. The ſtandard of the azabs.
105. Three in caftans, who walked.
106. Three azabs in dreſs of ceremony.
107. The ſardar, and his lieutenant.
108. Saddle-camels.
109. Men on loaded camels.
110. Muſic.
111. A body of azabs.
112. Then followed the janizaries.
113. Two ſabederiks of that body.

114. Two

114. Two janizaries.
115. Two ſeraches.
116. A ſtandard.
117. Three men walking, in caftans.
118. Three janizaries.
119. The ſardar of the janizaries, and
120. His lieutenant.
121. Two janizaries.
122. Two ſaddle-camels.
123. Thirty-four men on camels.
124. Eight loaded camels.
125. A body of janizaries.
126. One ſtandard-bearer.
127. Another dreſſed in a leopard's ſkin.
128. One and twenty chouſes.
129. The agas of the ſeven military bodies, with ſilver chains hanging from their bridles to their breaſt-plates.
130. Twelve beys.
131. Before each of them two ſhatirs, with black velvet turbans.
132. The trucheman aga.
133. The muteferrica baſhee.
134. The muteferrica guards.
135. The chouſler caia.
136. The guard of chaouſes.
137. Then followed the immediate attendants of the emir hadge.
138. Eighteen janizaries in their dreſs of ceremony.
139. Four officers of the paſha.
140. Four janizaries.
141. A ſtandard.
142. Two ſtandards.
143. Four Arab ſheiks.
144. Two mad-ſheiks, bare-headed, in white ſhirts.
145. The emir hadge, in a rich caftan, and on a beautiful horſe, adorned with the richeſt trappings.
146. About forty ſoldiers.
147. Two janizaries.
148. The caia of the divan.
149. Sixty ſlaves with bows and arrows.
150. Two imams.
151. Four led horſes.
152. Three ſtandards.
153. A band of muſic.
154. Four led camels.
155. Twenty-ſix camels loaded.
156. Two men on camels.
157. Then came the ſheiks of the moſques, and the ſeveral companies of tradeſmen with their ſtandards, as in the proceſſion of the hangings from the caſtle to the moſque; ſome of them dancing in the ſame manner. The fiſhermen carrying fiſh-like ſerpents, probably eels, tied to the ends of long fiſhing-rods.

158. Four chouſes of the divan.
159. Sixteen janizaries in their high dreſs.
160. The ſheik called Caſſani.
161. The great ſtandard, carried by the proper officer on a camel.
162. Five camels; three of them having trappings of very fine embroidery.
163. The covering, as in the other proceſſion.

CHAP. XII. — *The Route of the Caravan from Cairo to Mecca, from the Account of one who had been there Fourteen Times.*

Days of return.	Places.	Diſtances by deraies, each of four minutes.	Days they ſtay.	Water.	Days of departure.
					Month Shuvat.
Month Zeffer 19	Byrkè	90	four	lake	27
18	Der el Hamera	200	—	none	28
17	Adjeroute caſtle	210	one day	bad water	30
					Month Adir.
15	Newhateer	160	—	no water	1ſt
14	Wahad Te	230	—	none	2
12	Newhail	230	one day	water that ſwells the body	4
11	Allahaih	230	—	water only fit for beaſts	5
10	Soot	240	—	none	6
9	Achaba	100	two days	much and good	9
6	Darha el Hamar	160	—	bad	10
5	Sharaffa	220	—	none	11
4	Mugair ſhaip	230	—	rivulet	12
3	Ain-el-Kaſab	230	—	rivulet	13
Month Zeffer 2	Muellah	210	two days	much and good	16
29	Selma	180	—	much and good	17
28	Azilem	220	—	bad	18
27	Aſtabel	230	—	good	19
26	Weſh	180	one day	good	21
24	Akrah	240	—	bad	22
23	Hanech	180	—	none	23
22	Howra	220	—	purging water	24
21	Nubt	240	—	much and good	25
Month Mahorem 20	Houdera	220	—	bad	26
	Yemboh caſtle	210	two days	rivulet	29
					Month Zilchage.
	Bedder, a town	300	one day	rivulet	1ſt
Where the caravans of Cairo and Damaſcus meet 3					
	Kaah	250	—	none	2
	Arabugh	220	—	much and good	3
	Kudeid	220	—	much and good	4
	Azafan	220	—	much and good	5
	Wahad-el Faitmah	210	—	much and good	6
	Maccah, or Mecca	100	three days	—	10
	Arrafat	100	two days	—	13
	Munna	40	three days	—	17
	Mecca	60	from twelve to fourteen days.	regularly depart on	30

From Mecca to Bedder in ſix days, as they came; from whence they go to Medina. 7th Month Mahorem.

Days of return.	Places.	Diſtances by deraies, each of four minutes.	Days they ſtay.	Water.	Days of departure.
	Gedeedah	200	—	—	8th Month Mahorem
	Shuhada	220	—	—	9
	Medina, a town	230	—	—	13
	Biar alli	45 } theſe two	three days	—	14
	Shuhada	175 } they go in	—		
	Gedeida	220 } one day.	—	—	15
	Dahena	220	—	—	16
	Yembo	220	two days	From this place they go on to Cairo, as they came, and commonly make the ſame ſtay, as may be ſeen in the firſt column above.	19

CHAP. XIII. — *An Account of the Bey of Tunis; his Court and Government.*

HAVING met with this relation concerning the old bey of Tunis, from one who had lived for ſome years in his court, I thought it might not be unacceptable to the reader, as it will give an inſight into the cuſtoms of the eaſt in general, and of that part in particular.

The name of the bey, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-three, was Haſain Ben Ali; he was between ſeventy and eighty years old, and had been twenty-eight years bey; his father was a Greek renegado, he himſelf was a ſoldier, became rich, and was made bey as uſual, by the ſoldiers, who chuſe one that will promiſe to give them the moſt pay; and if, at the end of the month or at any time after, he cannot pay it, he is ſurely depoſed. The ſoldiers are renegadoes, and Turks of the Levant; and they had a notion that the bey muſt be the ſon of a renegado, married to a Barbareſco woman; which is probably falſe, all depending on the will of the ſoldiers. The title they gave him is Iaſede Bee. This bey roſe two hours before day, and immediately eat a ſhourba, that is a rice ſoup made of meat; after that he drank coffee, then a ſhirbet of cloves and cinnamon, or ſome other hot thing. He then went to the moſque, returned to his apartment, and performed his devotions on his beads; when it was day, he always went to the court of juſtice, without the gallery before his two apartments. In the middle of the gallery there is a fountain of water, and pillars round it: the middle room is the chamber of audience, where he ſtays moſt part of the day; it is furniſhed with looking-glaſſes and Engliſh clocks. Within the room of audience, is the ſmall room in which he ſleeps. He ſtays in the court of juſtice till half an hour after ten, for here he is obliged to be every day to do juſtice. Any one that comes for juſtice, cries out Sharallah Iaſede, that is, Juſtice, ſire; repeating it till he anſwers, and aſks him what he would have. Before eleven he goes to the audience chamber, and at eleven dines at a long table, or board, about three inches above the ground, covered with carpets, and bread is laid all along the table: he ſits at the head of it and waſhes. They ſet a large diſh before him, on which are ſmall plates of every ſort of diſh that is on the table; the great diſhes being placed along the table. The grandees ſit near him. When they have eaten, they riſe, and others ſit down, and the poor take away, in wooden plates, what is left. The food is, firſt mutton (of which they kill twelve every day) dreſſed in three manners, either with a rice pilaw, or with oranges and

eggs, or with onions and butter. The women ſend three great plates of cuſcowſow, which they eat with the broth, and they have alſo either fiſh or fowls boiled with lemon or orange ſauce. The bey drinks camel's milk, the others go after they have dined, to drink at the fountain. The dinner is ſerved in the ſopha, which is to the right of the apartment, by the audience room, where they have ciſterns of water to waſh. After dinner is over, he goes to the audience room with the grandees. He never ſmokes, nor does any one in the palace. He ſtays in this room till the hour of prayer, about three or four of the clock, when the Imams come, and all the court go to the moſque. After prayers, the imams and grandees ſtay in the audience room, ſitting and diſcourſing. An hour before ſun-ſet, he eats as before, and then retires to a room where all his officers and great people come and drink coffee, and in the ſummer, ſhirbets. At night he generally goes to the ſeraglio of women, and ſtays from one to four hours after ſun-ſet; from thence he goes to the bagnio, and thence to bed. If he does not go to the women, he goes to ſleep in his own chamber, and ſometimes gets up in the night and goes to the harem, and afterwards to the bagnio, and then to bed again, if it is not day. He has four wives, one of which only has had children. He has likewiſe four ſons: the eldeſt is Bey di Turki (General di Turki) called Muſtapha Bey: the youngeſt was but twelve years old, and was married. He was eſteemed a very wiſe man, and a good politician.

The palace of the bey is four miles from Tunis, and is called the Bardo: they ſay the palace itſelf and the buildings that belong to it, among which the bagnios where the ſlaves live are comprehended, are altogether a league round. He goes twice a year to Tunis, (before he makes a progreſs over his dominions to receive his tribute) when he goes into the cadi's houſe, takes coffee, makes a circuit in the city, and returns to the bardo. One of the ſeaſons he chooſes for going over his territories is the month of January; the other was thought to be that of July. His progreſs takes up about fifty days.

The ſeveral officers of the bey take precedence in the following order.

His prime miniſter, called Il Caſa Natale: he is alſo treaſurer and paymaſter: he lives always at the bardo in his own houſe.

Il Sapata, or the keeper of the ſeal.

The cadi in Tunis, who adminiſters juſtice when the bey is abroad in his circuits; he is obliged to lie every night at the bardo, in his own houſe, during the abſence of the bey.

The officer of the cuſtom-houſe.

Il Guardian Baſhaw di Bagni, that is of the college of the ſlaves, which is built like a cane or caravanſera, in which the ſlaves live, and ſome have ſhops in them. There are four of theſe buildings, in which the ſlaves are locked up every night: the bey has in all two thouſand ſlaves. They may be ranſomed for about five hundred and thirty piaſtres each.

Li Leukini; who are intendants of the buildings; there are ſeveral of them.

Li Guardiani de Schiavi, who go with the ſlaves to guard them at work.

The ſervants of the bey's houſe are almoſt all Chriſtian ſlaves. They are,

Il Bas Caſaca, a Chriſtian ſlave over the other Chriſtian ſlaves in the bey's ſervice.

Two officers; one called Il Baſhaw Guarda Robe, who ſerves the bey at home; another called Baſhaw Guarda Robe del Campo, who ſerves when he goes abroad.

Twelve others called by the ſame name of Guarda Robe.

Caffejee; who has the care of ſerving the coffee.

Guarda Fanali; who takes care of the lights.

Guarda

Guarda del Aqua, for the water.

Guarda Papouchi, who has the care of the papouches of all that come to court, to carry them to perſons of diſtinction who dine there.

Guarda Banda, who has the care of putting vaſes of water in all proper places.

Guarda Hamam, who attends at the bagnios for bathing.

The gardeners.

Guadaletti; there are two ſo called, who have the care of every thing belonging to the bed-chamber.

Muchachi del Camera, boys of the bey's chamber; there are of them from twelve to eighteen; two of them always in waiting in ſight of the bey for two hours, who give the bey's orders to the Baş Caſaka.

All theſe are Chriſtians, and have a chapel under the bey's apartment, where the Capuchins ſay maſs on Sundays and holidays.

Cooks; part of whom are Chriſtians and part Turks.

Grooms; who are Chriſtians.

Guardi Piki, who carry each a pike before the bey when he goes abroad.

After the bey goes the Guardo Letto, with water both cold and warm; one for drinking, the other for another uſe; and always two led horſes are ready near him.

They have a man of war of ſeventy-four guns preſented by the Grand Signior, and one of forty guns, and a little veſſel called a ſambikino, which has fourteen ſmall guns. The cities are governed by agas and cadis; an aga being ſent to every village. The agas and cadis are often taken from among the rich people, to put them out of the way, and afterwards on a pretence of mal-adminiſtration, they ſeize on all they have. He had not above three thouſand ſoldiers for his ſtanding army, who are Turks and renegadoes. The general is called Aga del Campo: the ſoldiers are all horſe, and are called Spahi. It is ſaid that the bey ought to pay a tribute to Algiers, which he had refuſed. He has to the eaſt of Tunis the ports of Mahomet, only a gulf, Suta, Jerbe: to the weſt, Farini, Caponegro, Buſerti, and Bona.

CHAP. XIV.—*The Patent of Mahomet, which he granted to the Monks of Mount Sinai; and to Chriſtians in general.*

AS God is great and governeth, from whom all the prophets are come, for there remaineth no record of injuſtice againſt God; through the gifts that are given unto men, Mahomet the ſon of Abdallah, the Apoſtle of God, and careful guardian of the whole world; has wrote the preſent inſtrument to all thoſe that are his national people, and of his own religion, as a ſecure and poſitive promiſe to be accompliſhed to the Chriſtian nation, and relations of the Nazarene, whoſoever they may be, whether they be the noble or the vulgar, the honourable or otherwiſe, ſaying thus.

I. Whoſoever of my nation ſhall preſume to break my promiſe and oath, which is contained in this preſent agreement, deſtroys the promiſe of God, acts contrary to the oath, and will be a reſiſter of the faith, (which God forbid) for he becometh worthy of the curſe, whether he be the King himſelf, or a poor man, or what perſon ſoever he may be.

II. That whenever any one of the monks in his travels ſhall happen to ſettle upon any mountain, hill, village, or other habitable place, on the ſea, or in deſerts, or in any convent, church, or houſe of prayer, I ſhall be in the midſt of them, as the preſerver and protector of them, their goods and effects, with my ſoul, aid, and protection,

jointly with all my national people; becauſe they are a part of my own people, and an honour to me.

III. Moreover, I command all officers not to require any poll-tax of them, or any other tribute, becauſe they ſhall not be forced or compelled to any thing of this kind.

IV. None ſhall preſume to change their judges or governors, but they ſhall remain in their office, without being depoſed.

V. No one ſhall moleſt them when they are travelling on the road.

VI. Whatever churches they are poſſeſſed of, no one is to deprive them of them.

VII. Whoſoever ſhall annul any one of theſe my decrees, let him know poſitively that he annuls the ordinance of God.

VIII. Moreover, neither their judges, governors, monks, ſervants, diſciples, or any others depending on them, ſhall pay any poll-tax, or be moleſted on that account, becauſe I am their protector, whereſoever they ſhall be, either by land or ſea, eaſt or weſt, north or ſouth; becauſe both they and all that belong to them are included in this my promiſſory oath and patent.

IX. And of thoſe that live quietly and ſolitary upon the mountains, they ſhall exact neither poll-tax nor tythes from their incomes, neither ſhall any Muſſulman partake of what they have; for they labour only to maintain themſelves.

X. Whenever the crop of the earth ſhall be plentiful in its due time, the inhabitants ſhall be obliged out of every buſhel to give them a certain meaſure.

XI. Neither in time of war ſhall they take them out of their habitations, nor compel them to go to the wars, nor even then ſhall they require of them any poll-tax.

In theſe eleven chapters is to be found whatever relates to the monks, as to the remaining ſeven chapters, they direct what relates to every Chriſtian.

XII. Thoſe Chriſtians who are inhabitants, and with their riches and traffic are able to pay the poll-tax, ſhall pay no more than twelve drachms.

XIII. Excepting this, nothing more ſhall be required of them, according to the expreſs order of God, that ſays, Do not moleſt thoſe that have a veneration for the books that are ſent from God, but rather in a kind manner give of your good things to them, and converſe with them, and hinder every one from moleſting them.

XIV. If a Chriſtian woman ſhall happen to marry a Muſſulman, the Muſſulman ſhall not croſs the inclination of his wife, to keep her from her church and prayers, and the practice of her religion.

XV. That no perſon hinder them from repairing their churches.

XVI. Whoſoever acts contrary to this my grant, or gives credit to any thing contrary to it, becomes truly an apoſtate to God, and to his divine apoſtle, becauſe this protection I have granted to them according to this promiſe.

XVII. No one ſhall bear arms againſt them, but, on the contrary, the Muſſulmen ſhall wage war for them.

XVIII. And by this I ordain, that none of my nation ſhall preſume to do or act contrary to this my promiſe, until the end of the world.

Witneſſes,

ALI, the ſon of Abou Thaleb.
HOMAR, the ſon of Hattavi.
ZIPHIR, the ſon of Abuam.
SAITT, the ſon of Maatt.

Thavitt,

THAVITT, the ſon of Neſis.
MUATHEM, the ſon of Kaſvi.
AMPHACHIN, the ſon of Haſſan.
AZUR, the ſon of Jaſſin.
ABOMBAKER, the ſon of Ambi Kaphe.
OTTMAN, the ſon of Gafas.
AMBTELACK, the ſon of Meſſutt.
PHAZER, the ſon of Abbas.
TALAT, the ſon of Amptoulak.
SAAT, the ſon of Abbatt.
KASMER, the ſon of Abid.
AMBTULLACH, the ſon of Omar.

This preſent was written by the leader, the ſucceſſor of Ali the ſon of Abou Thaleb; the Prophet marking it with his hand at the moſque of the Prophet, (in whom be peace) in the ſecond year of the Hegira, the third day of the month Machorem.

CHAP. XV.—*Forms of ſome Letters and Paſſports, according to the Eaſtern Style.*

I.

A Firman from the Grand Signior to an Engliſh Gentleman.

SULTAN Mahmud the fifth, the Ottoman Emperor,

To the ever glorious judges, rulers, and governors, the never-failing ſources of virtue and eloquence, who are between the confines of Germany and our happy and moſt high Porte.

To the cadis in the ſame road, that your knowledge may increaſe. And ye glorious lieutenants and generals of the janizaries, that your valour may be exalted.

When this our imperial command ſhall arrive at your hands, be it known unto you, that the illuſtrious ambaſſador of England A. B. (whoſe end be happy) has ſignified to us by his memorial preſented unto us, that one of the nobles of England A. moved by a deſire and intention to travel and to ſee divers countries, is for that purpoſe departed from England to come into Germany, and that he may afterwards come with ſafety to our happy Porte, he has requeſted of the ſaid ambaſſador to provide for him, that he may come from the ſaid confines of Germany to our imperial reſidence in ſafety, according to his intention, in his lodgings, quarters, and on the road; and that faithful aſſiſtance may be given to his ſervants with his baggage, goods and proviſions; that he may not on any pretence meet with any trouble or inſult; but that he may be protected and defended.

For this purpoſe he has entreated us to grant our royal command.

Wherefore, in tenor thereof, that this requeſt may be punctually complied with, we have cauſed our imperial order and command to iſſue forth. At the arrival, therefore, of this our high command, let every thing be done in conformity to the orders we have given.

And you, who are above named, take care diligently to execute our commands with regard to this noble perſon, to protect and defend him and all his attendance, baggage, goods and proviſions, and take you eſpecial care to put a ſtop to any trouble or inſult he may meet with.

You will not fail to fulfil the contents of this our noble command, as you will ſee and give undoubted credit to this our ſign, that we have cauſed to be put to it.

Given at Babaduk on the firſt day of the month Zilchige, 1149. (Which was the firſt of April, 1737.)

II.

The following Firman or Paſſport was granted to one who paſſed for a Merchant.

THE command directed to all judges, muſſelimes, waiwodes, ſardars, haratchjees, and other commanders, that are in the road from Conſtantinople to Adrianople, to Natolia, towards Budrum, Bruſſa, and the iſle of the Morea.

When this our imperial command comes to you, be it known to you, That the moſt noble among the grandees of the Meſſiah, A.B. (whoſe end be happy), ambaſſador of England, reſiding in our ſplendid court, has, by his memorial ſent to our high throne, repreſented, that a certain Engliſh gentleman, M. N. going on ſome affairs from Conſtantinople to Adrianople, and thence to a place called Budrum in Natolia, to Bruſſa, and from that place towards the iſle of the Morea; and in order that no gatherers of taxes be permitted to moleſt him or his two Frank ſervants, or any others, on any kind of pretence, in any place where they ſtop, or in any place where they are going, or on their journey, or wherever they ſtay on the road, either going or coming to the aforeſaid places; he has requeſted that we would grant our imperial command to this effect; concerning which the ſaid ambaſſador having ſet forth to us his requeſt, we have granted this our high command, that nothing may be done againſt the ſacred capitulations, that he may meet with no let or hindrance in his journey to the ſaid places. And we command, that when he arrives you do conduct yourſelves in the aboveſaid manner; and that you regard this our noble order with reſpect and veneration. So far, finally, you are to regard and give credit to this our noble ſign, which was put to theſe preſents at the beginning of the moon Rebuihahir, in the year 1153. (Which was towards the end of June, 1740.)

In the city of Conſtantinople.

III.

A Letter from the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, to all under his Juriſdiction, recommending to them a Clergyman of the Church of England, who was travelling in the Eaſt.

NEOPHITUS, by the grace of God, archbiſhop of Conſtantinople (or New Rome) and œcumenical patriarch.

Moſt holy metropolitans, moſt reverend archbiſhops and biſhops, all you who are ſubject to our patriarchal and œcumenical throne, moſt dear to God, and our brethren and fellow miniſters in the Holy Ghoſt.

Be it known to you all, that the bearer of theſe preſents, the eloquent father A. B. a native of the Britiſh juriſdiction, having an inclination and intention to viſit divers cities and dioceſes, both to the Eaſt and in Europe, curiouſly to view and inſpect them; to which purpoſe he has obtained a venerable order from the powerful Emperor, containing a grant of free paſſage in his intended travels; and he has requeſted from us, in a civil manner, our patriarchal letter of recommendation to your reverend lordſhips, that is, all thoſe that are ſubject to our œcumenical throne, for his intended journey; that whereſoever he arrives, or in whoſe dioceſe ſoever he travels, he may meet with a worthy reception from you, with the honour and friendſhip that are due to his eloquence;

quence; and for this reaſon we have condeſcended to comply with his commendable and friendly deſire, knowing him to be an honourable and well-deſerving gentleman. Therefore, by the preſent grant, we do require and exhort you, and every one of you in particular, to whom theſe our patriarchal letters ſhall be preſented, moſt holy metropolitans, moſt reverend archbiſhops and biſhops, that is, thoſe in whoſe dioceſe the above-named eloquent father A. B. in his travels ſhall arrive, to receive him in a kind and friendly manner, according to his merits and ſtation, that he may be ſatisfied with your kind reception. This you are required to do, and not otherwiſe. May the grace of God, and the prayers and bleſſings of our mediocrity, be with you all.

June the firſt, 1740.

IV.

Several Arabic Letters written by the Great Men in Egypt, recommending a Traveller to the Governors under them.

A Letter to an Arab Sheik, to conduct him to the Convents of St. Paul and St. Anthony in the Deſert.

What we make known to ſheik Omar of Scione.

AS ſoon as you know that one from the Frank conſul comes to you, who would go to the monaſtery of Arabia, immediately, as ſoon as he is arrived, call the ſons of the Arabs, the ſons of Vachel, and conſign him to them, that they may conduct him to the monaſtery; and when he is returned, take care of him, and do every thing for him that is neceſſary.

ABRAHIM Bey MIRLUE
Tefterdar.

Dated the 20th of Sabàn, 1150.

A Letter to the Sheik of Saccara, in order to ſee the Pyramids.

To Ahmed Sheik of Saccara.

May the great God protect you!

AFTER ſaluting you. There comes one of the nation of the Franks to the pyramids, having a deſire to ſee them. And I recommend him unto you, that no one may moleſt him, or give him any ſort of trouble. Take all poſſible care of him, becauſe he is under our protection. I again recommend him to you; and may the great God be your defence!

ALI KEKIAH.
HAZABAN GELFI.

To Sheik Haſſan of Bouche.

May the great God have you under his protection,

AFTER ſaluting you, know that a Frank of the part of the conſul comes to you, who would go and ſee the monaſtery of Arabia, and when he is returned, he would go to Faiume; ſo when he is returned from the monaſtery, ſend ſome people with him to accompany him to Faiume. And take all the care you can of him, and endeavour to prevent every thing, with all care, that may give him any trouble.

ABRAHIM Bey BELFIE
Tefterdar.

Dated on the 18th of the month Sabàn, 1150.

Guide of the great ſupport of the nobles; the chief Omar Agà, governor of the country of Faiume.

May the great God, &c.

AFTER ſaluting you much, and greeting you with all affection; be it known unto you, that one of the family of the conſul of the Franks in Cairo has ſome buſineſs at Faiume. As ſoon therefore as he arrives, take care of him, and ſuffer no one to moleſt him until he returns to Cairo. Do this by all means, and with the utmoſt care, that he may return ſatisfied. May the great God have you always in his keeping!

HASSAN Bey MERLUE.

Dated the 16th of Shaban, 1150.

To Muſtapha Bey, Governor of Girge.

WE write, after ſaluting you, that you receive the perſon who brings this letter, who is going into Said, to ſee the curious places there. I pray you to take care of him; and I deſire you again to do me this pleaſure to take great care of him, and protect him againſt any one that would do him harm. I deſire you not to fail to do him this ſervice, for the love you bear to us.

OSMAN Bey, ſenlatar;
At this time Emir Hadge.

To Emir Mahomet Kamali.

What I order.

THE perſon that brings this letter is an Engliſhman, going into Upper Egypt, to ſee whatever is curious there; ſo when he delivers this letter, take care to protect him from all harm; and I command you again to take care of him. I deſire you not to fail of it, for the love you bear to us.

OSMAN Bey MERLUE,
At this time Emir Hadge.

V.

The Letter of the Copti Patriarch of Alexandria, recommending to the Monks of the Deſerts of St. Macarius, and of the Convents of St. Anthony and St. Paul.

IN the name of the merciful God, the peace of God be with you. The reaſon of this benediction to the bleſſed ſons, the faithful prieſts, and the reverend deacons, the abſtemious monks, and religious, in the holy ſociety of the four northern monaſteries.

To thoſe of the ſpiritual congregation of the monaſteries of our father, the great St. Anthony, and of St. Paul.

May God Almighty bleſs you with his ſpiritual benedictions, that deſcended on his prophets, apoſtles, and martyrs, and the workers of his will and commandments in all ages, by the interceſſion of our Lady the holy Mary, always a virgin, and of all the holy martyrs and confeſſors! Amen. We give you to underſtand (firſt repeating that God may bleſs you, and give his ſpiritual ſalvation) that the reaſon we ſay of this our letter to you is, that one of the Franks, that is A. B. is going to you. Have the utmoſt regard for him, and receive him with the greateſt civility. And may the peace of our Lord deſcend on you! for ever glory be to God.

Dated the 29th of Afur, 1154.

DISSER-

DISSERTATIO DE GEOGRAPHIA ÆGYPTI.

PRÆMONITIO.

EN tibi, lector benevole, dissertatiunculam de Ægypti geographiâ in eum finem a me conscriptam, ut lucem aliquam tabulæ nostræ geographicæ darem, simul et eam contra objectiones præmunirem.

Istius tabulæ ea ratio a me instituta est, ut quam accuratissimè definitam exhiberem veterem geographiam Ægyptiacam. Quod ad subsidia hujus operis perficiendi attinet, scias velim, mihi in Ægypto agenti, forte fortunâ, in manus perveniisse parvam quandam chartulam manu P. Sicardi delineatam: nostra cum illâ convenit de gradibus latitudinis, sicut etiam de situ istarum partium, quascunque oculis ipsemet non lustravi, excepto quod delineationem oræ maritimæ a Delta, tam orientem quam occidentalem versus, transtulerim ex chartis nauticis. Chartula quædam alia, manu exarata, ex Ægypto allata, suppeditavit mihi chorographiam regionis quæ circumjacet SS. Antonii et Pauli monasteria: tertiam quandam chartam pro solitâ suâ humanitate mecum communicavit doctissimus præsul D. D. Nicholaus Claget episcopus Exonienſis: eam anteà videram Constantinopoli penes dignissimum virum mihique amicissimum Thomam Payne archidiaconum Breconiensem: ea descripta est signis tam Arabicis quam Græcis, in usum (ut titulus præ se fert) Chrysanthi patriarchæ Hierosolymitani, anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo vicesimo secundo. Delineator (quisquis fuerit ille) videtur se totum composuisse ad librorum descriptiones, non oculorum fidem in locis perlustrandis acutus: Inde adeò cautiùs illius vestigiis inhærendum censui. Siquid excerpserim, suis notis distinctum exhibet tabula nostra.

Binorum ostiorum Nili præ cæteris ingentium, et totius fluminis ripas usque ad cataractas, et ultra, ipse navigans delineavi. In ea navigatione, quam potui diligentissime notavi fluxus varios fluminis et situm locorum: Montium juga depinguntur prout in ista navigatione apparebant.

Loca habes suis descripta nominibus, tam veteribus quam hodiernis; illa signantur literis majusculis Romanis, hæc autem Italicis. Notas insuper vides, quibus dignoscas cujusnam auctoris potissimum fidem hinc inde sum secutus; additis insuper aliis, triplicis generis, compendio exhibentibus ἐπίχρισιν meam de vero locorum situ, quatenus dispositio nostra inniti videtur argumentis certis, probabilibus, vel demum conjecturabilibus: sub classe posteriore cadunt ea loca, quæ nullâ signantur notâ. Veterum fossarum cursus, quantum conjecturâ assequor, signavi duplici punctulorum subobscuriorum serie. Latitudinem fluvii vix 'ullo' in loco pluris æstimaverim quam quingentis passibus; inde adeo ratio magnitudinis ejus a me certo consilio amplificabatur, ut esset facultas et spatium insulas signandi. Alveum continuò decrescentem vides superne; est iste quidem error chalcographo vertendus vitio. Magnitudo fossæ seu fluvii Baher Joseph, in confinio Benesuief ab occidente alluentis, ad ipsum Nilum eam fere habet proportionem, Sicardo autore, quam nostra exhibet tabula.

Ex utrâque ripâ Nili, trans Deltam insuper, et a Copto ad Berenicen, itinera signavi, secundum Antoninum, additis distantiis. Ubicunque occurrit numerus duplex, scias velim, posteriorim a me emendationis loco haberi; quippe cum numeri olim recepti non quadrarent cum veris distantiis locorum: idem est institutum meum quoad loca in vicinio Maris Rubri, quorum latitudines ex Ptolemæo desumuntur.

Insularum, quascunque oculis ipsemet attentiùs perlustravi, margines signantur lineâ altiùs impressâ.

Sicardianæ chartæ fidem omninò secutus sum in fossis delineandis, quæ conspiciuntur circa Faiume. Hæc satis est monuisse lectorem, cujus candori me tabulamque meam committo. Errores hinc inde latere nullus dubito; neque enim ea est ipsius regionis Ægyptiacæ natura, non ii incolarum mores, ut fas sit peregrinantibus animo obsequi, aut tutò curiosis observationibus instituendis se dare. Habes tabulam cæteris forsan, quæ hactenus prodierunt, emendatiorem, quantulumcunque meæ industriæ monumentum, alienæ tamen, ut spero, incitamentum.

Dissertatio de Geographiâ Ægypti.

ÆGYPTUM ab occidente excipit Libya. Nomos prima (isto enim nomine vocabantur provinciæ ejus) occidentem versus dicitur nomos Mareotis, in qua conspicitur vicus Chymo *, habitus pro Cynosema Strabonis, quam quidem locaverim in situ turris Arabicæ: Tabula Chrysanthina turrem hanc collocat in situ Plinthines, quæ, me judice, magis ad orientem vergebat.

In ipso introitu vallis cujusdam aliquantulum recedentis a mari, et ab Alexandriâ circiter triginta millia passuum occidentem versus, adhuc conspiciuntur rudera quædam urbis cum columnis magnificis: ita nimirum memoravit mihi vir quidam fide dignus αὐτόπτης. Hanc habeo pro Taposiri Strabonis †; columnas autem pro reliquiis senaculi in quo agebatur panegyris, seu conventus publicus. Introitum vallis habeo pro termino maris Ἀνύδρου dicti.

Hinc commoda sese offert occasio disquirendi de lacubus Mareoti et Mœri. Strabo ‡ collocat lacum Mareiam seu Mareotin prope Alexandriam, latitudinem æstimans octodecim millibus quingentis et quinquaginta passuum; longitudinem triginta septem millibus et quingentis; lacum Mœrin vero probe labyrinthum. Herodotus § nullum alium lacum memorat præter Mœrion; ille, assentientibus Diodoro Siculo ‖ et Mutiano, æstimat circumferentiam ejus quadringentis quinquaginta millibus passuum; Pomponius Mela ¶ quingentis, Plinius ** ducentis quinquaginta. Hic ille lacus fuit ad labyrinthum; quantum vero ipse oculis eum metiri possem, non videbatur longitudine pertinere ultra triginta mille passus, latitudine vero sex mille; Sicardus longitudinem ejus æstimat quinquaginta passibus, latitudinem quindecim mille, Gallica scilicet mensuratione. Sicardo lubens tribuerim hâc in re laudem accuratioris observationis, ideoque in tabulâ meâ illius fidem sum secutus.

Quandoquidem scriptores supra memorati huic lacui tantam amplitudinem ambitûs uno ore tribuant, Herodotusque affirmet illius longitudinem ab aquilone ad austrum extendi, nihil prius potiusve conjectura statuendum arbitror, quam hunc lacum aliquando olim diffusum pertinuisse per totam istam vallem, maris Ἀνύδρου (seu vacui aquâ) nomine etiamnum nuncupatam. Nec vero absimile est eum etiam occidentem

* NOMOΥ ΜΑΡΕΩΤΟΥ παράλιος Χεμμῶ κώμη. Ptol. l. iv. c. 5.

† Εἶτα Ταπόσειρις ἐκ τῆς Θαλάττης, πανήγυριν δεχομένη μεγάλην. Strab. l. xvii. p. 799.

‡ Ἡ δὲ Μαρεώτις λίμνη παρακήκασα μέχρι καὶ δεῦρο, πλάτος μὲν ἔχει πλειόνων ἢ σταδίων πεντακοσίων καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, μῆκος δ' ἐλαττόνων ἢ τετρακοσίων. Strab. l. xvii. p. 799.

§ Ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη —— τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου ἐστὶ σταδίων ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι —— κέεται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ νότον. Herod. l. ii. c. 149.

‖ Την μὲν γὰρ περίμετρον αὐτῆς φασιν ὑπάρχειν σταδίων τρισχιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων. Diod. l. i. p. 48.

¶ Mœris, aliquando campus, nunc lacus quingenta millia passuum circuitu patens. Mela. l. i. c. 9.

** Inter Arsinoiten ac Memphiten lacus fuit, circuitu CCLM passuum; aut, ut Mutianus tradit, CCCCLM, a rege, qui fecerat, Mœridis appellatus. Plin. l. v. c. 9.

verſus patuiſſe uſque ad ripam lacus Mœrios; quod quidem in cauſâ potuerit fuiſſe cur Herodotus Mœrin ſilentio pertranſierit. Narrat certe opinionem invaluiſſe aquam lacûs hujuſce habere exitum verſus Syrtes ſubter juga montium Memphi imminentium; quo fortaſſe innuit, quod obſervatum fuerat ibi exitum patuiſſe, quando, Nilus ſolito inferius ſubſidiſſet, quo quidem tempore fieri potuit, ut ipſæ lacûs aquæ itidem decreſcerent intra lacûs hodierni anguſtias *.

Strabo † deſcriptionem aggreditur foſſæ cujuſdam ducentis ab Alexandriâ ad Canopum et Schediam; obſcuriuſcula ſane eſt ea deſcriptio, ſi ad hodiernam regionis faciem exigatur. Illo auctore, unâ eâdemque foſſâ ad utrumque locum navigatur; ad ripam ejuſdem ſita eſt Eleuſis, et paululum Eleuſi progreſſo ad dextram eſt foſſa quæ Schediam deducit. Nullus itaque dubito quin ea ſit foſſa quæ hodie Alexandrina appellatur, et ob hanc cauſam ſignavi tramitem cujuſdam foſſæ pertingentis ab hodiernâ foſſâ Alexandrinâ ad Canopum et alveum fluvii Canopicum: et in genere lectores Strabonis admonitos velim, foſſam Canopicam aliud quiddam ſonare quam alveum Nili Canopicum.

In chartulâ Chryſanthinâ, alvei Nili fere omnes ſuis deſtituuntur nominibus; alveus Canopicus ad trajectum nomine Madeam, in ea ſignatur tanquam foſſa quædam perexigua; ad oſtium ejus conſpicitur exitus fluvioli cujuſdam, cum vico Ideu ad ripam ejus, quam delineator habet pro veteri Schedia. A Bikiere duarum leucarum intervallo pervenitur ad trajectum ſeu Madeam habitum pro oſtio Nili Canopico. (Urbs autem Canopus, nomen traxiſſe dicitur a Canopo Menelai navis gubernatore ibi ſepulto.) Ad locum trajectûs alveus fluvii admodum coarctatur; interiùs vero ſeſe diffundit in latitudinem peramplam. In tabulâ Sicardianâ hæc latitudo pertingit fere uſque ad ipſum Nilum; ſignantur etiam tres foſſæ ex hoc alveo ducentes ad Nilum infra Fouam; quarum unam ipſe conſpexi. Auctor eſt Strabo ædes Canopicas ad foſſam fuiſſe conſtructas; ideo collocaverim Canopum ad exitum foſſæ in ipſum fluvium, urbem vero Heracleum haud procul ab oſtio alvei Canopici, unde nomen alterum oſtii Heracleotici ‡. In eo quod aſſerit foſſam communicari cum lacu, hoc velle videtur, ſcilicet eam ferri pene contiguam margini lacûs, quod quidem fit hodie: et eſt error fere communis verſionum Strabonis, curſum itineris ad fluvium ad Canopum et Schediam recta patere per lacum; cum vox ταύτῃ referenda potius eſſet ad διώρυξ. Credibile eſt tam exitum foſſæ Canopicæ, quam oſtium alvei Canopici majorem olim amplitudinem habuiſſe: cumque flantibus aquilonibus aqua marina in lacum impellitur, eæ faucium anguſtiæ prohibent quo minus aqua fluviales in iſtis partibus falſitudine depurgetur; et hæc imprimis videtur eſſe cauſa cur urbs Alexandria ex alia potiſſimum parte fluvii aquam Niliacum ad ſe deportari maluerit. Signare veros tramites veterum alveorum Nili eſt iſtud quidam difficilius §, plenum opus aleæ: Herodotus recenſet

* Vid. not. præced.

† Ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς Κανωβικῆς πυλῆς ἐξιόντι, ἡ διώρυξ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ Κάνωβον συνάπτουσα τῇ λίμνῃ· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Σχεδίαν ὁ πλοῦς ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν πολαμὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Κάνωβον, πρῶτον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλευσῖνα· ἔστι δ' αὕτη καλοικία πολυπλεθρος τῆς τε Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς Νικοπόλεως ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ Κανωβικῇ διώρυγι κειμένη —— Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσῖνος προελθοῦσι μικρὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν ἡ διώρυξ, ἀνάγουσα ἐπὶ τὸν Σχεδίαν· διέχει δὲ τετρακοσίους τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡ Σχεδία, Strab. l. xvii. c. 800.

‡ Κάνωβος δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν ἕξκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας πεζῇ ἰοῦσι, —— πᾶσα γὰρ ἡμέρα καὶ πᾶσα νὺξ πληθύει τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολυτελέσι καλουμένοις καὶ καλοχειμένοις φορτίδων μέχρι τῆς ἑκάτης ἀκολασίας, καὶ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν· τῶν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Κανώβῳ καλαγωγὰς ἔχόντων, ἐπικειμένας τῇ διώρυγι —— Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κάνωβόν ἐστι τὸ Ἡράκλειον· τὸ Ἡρακλέους ἔχον ἱερόν· εἶτα τὸ Κανωβικὸν κῶμα καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς Δέλτα. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 801.

§ Σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδούς, καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς νῶτον τρέπεται καλεῖται Ἡλιῶσιον κῶμα· ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν κῶμα κέκληται· ἡ δὲ δὴ ἰθεῖα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νάλῳ ἐστὶ πάντῃ, ἄνωθεν ἐρχομένῳ, εἰς τὸ ὀξὺ τῆς Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου χεῖλος μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἔξεισι, ὅτε ἐλαχίστῳ μοίρῃ τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτῃ, ὅτε πλείστῳ ἐνομαστῶ,

recenſet tres præ cæteris amplos, Canopicum, ad partem Deltæ maxime Occidentalem, Peluſiacum ad Orientalem, et Sebenniticum utriſque interjectum; e Sebennitico profluxiſſe ait Saiticum et Mendeſium: Bolbitinum et Taniticum artis opere, non naturæ fuiſſe elaboratos. Intra omnes ſcriptores convenit de alveis Orientali et Occidentali; Taniticum etiam ferunt fuiſſe proximum Peluſiaco, niſi quod Herodotus addit quendam nomine Bucolicum (eundem ipſum fortaſſe cum Tanitico:) convenit etiam inter omnes proximum eſſe Mendeſium et Bolbitinum excepto Canopico fuiſſe maxime Occidentalem.

Obſcurior eſt Strabo, in eo quod, mentione facta de Sebennitico et Phatnico, ſubjungit "amplitudinis ratione pro tertio habetur," quæ deſcriptio procul dubio intelligenda eſt de Sebennitico.

Herodoto memorante, Sebenniticus alveus, per medium Deltam ſecans iter, introierat ad partem ejus maxime Auſtralem, ubi Sicardiana tabula exhibet quandam foſſam, quam in meam tranſtuli. Eodem auctore, alvei Saiticus et Mendeſius profluxerunt e Sebennitico, unde conjecturam facio, Phatnicum eundem eſſe cum Saitico, et hoc nomen traxiſſe ex eo quod proflueret e Saitico ad urbem Sain, ſecundum repræſentationem in noſtrâ chartâ.

Alteram foſſam, quæ ducit a Sebennitico ad Phatnicum, crediderim fuiſſe opus recentioris ævi, in eum finem elaboratam ut conjunctio fieret Sebennitici alvei cum Buſiritico et foſſa Sabuniaca: Arthribiticum fluvium e Sebennitico orientem verſus crediderim profluxiſſe et poſtea deductum fuiſſe in duo ψευδοστόματα, Pineptimi et Diolcon. Variæ inſuper occurrunt foſſæ tranſverſæ, per quas navigatur directo tramite ab uno alveo ad alium; verbi gratia, Thermuthiaca Ptolemæi videtur pertigiſſe a Canopico ad Sebenniticum, Buſiriticum at Phatnicum: Foſſam Sabuni habuerim pro fluvio, qui, teſte Ptolemæo, exiit e Bubaſtico ſeu Peluſiaco ad urbem Athribin (forte Sakir) in Pathmeticum, quo fere in loco exiit etiam Athribiticus.

Bubaſticum fluvium deduxi ſeptentrionem verſus uſque ad Manſouram; ex ea parte exiiſſe videtur Taniticus. Nullus dubito quin Bubaſticus fluvius ferebatur olim curſu magis ad orientem vergenti; (iſte ipſe eſt curſus hodiernus foſſæ Bubaſticæ;) nec ulla

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ὀνομαστήν. τὸ καλεόμενον Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποχωσθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν, τοῖσι ὀνόματα κέεται τοῖδε, τῷ μὲν Σαϊτικὸν αὐτέων, τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον, τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματά ἐστι, ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά. Herod. l. ii. c. 17.

Ἐξίησι δ' ὡς τὸ θαλάσσην ἐπὶ στόμασιν, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρὸς ἥω κεκλιμένον καὶ πρῶτον καλεῦται Πηλουσιακὸν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Τανιτικὸν, μετὰ Μενδήσιον καὶ Φαρμικὸν καὶ Σεβεννυτικὸν, ἔτι δὲ Βολβίτινον, καὶ τελευταῖον Κανωβικὸν, ὃ τινὲς Ἡρακλειωτικὸν ὀνομάζουσιν. Diod. l. i. p. 29.

Μετὰ δὲ στόμα τὸ Κανωβικὸν ἐστὶ τὸ Βολβίτινον, εἶτα τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καὶ τὸ Φαρνικόν· τρίτον ὑποάρχον τῷ μεγέθει παρὰ τὰ πρῶτα δύο, οἷς ὥρισται τὸ Δέλτα —— τῷ δὲ Φαρνικῷ συνάπτει τὸ Μενδήσιον· εἶτα τὸ Τανιτικὸν καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ Πηλουσιακόν. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τούτων μείζω, ὡς ἂν ψευδοστόμαται ἀσημότερα. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 801.

Sunt in honore et intra decurſus Nili multa oppida, præcipue qui nomina dedere oſtiis, non omnibus (duodecim enim reperiuntur) ſuperque quatuor, quæ ipſi falſa ora adpellant, ſed celeberrimis ſeptem, proximo Alexandriæ Canopico, deinde Boibitino, Sebennitico, Phatnico, Mendeſio, Tanitico, ultimoque, Peluſiaco. Plin. l. v. c. 10.

ΝΕΙΛΟΥ στόματα ἑπτά.
Ἡρακλεωτικὸν στόμα.
Βολβίτινον στόμα.
Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα.
Πινέπτιμι Ψευδόστομον.
Διολκὸς Ψευδόστομον.
Παθμητικὸν στόμα.
Μενδήσιον στόμα.
Ταυιτικὸν στόμα.
Πηλουσιακὸν στόμα.

videtur

videtur esse alia methodus commodior, (incommodam utique dixeris nostram) conciliandi Ptolemæum cæterosque scriptores, quàm si fingamus hunc fluvium socialibus alterius fluvii ab austro venientis undis fuisse adauctum, et Pelusium demum alluisse. Fluvii exeuntes per ostia Pelusiaca, Canopica, Bolbitina, suo quisque nomine signabantur, nimirum Bubastico, Agathadæmone, et Tali; ab ostio tamen aliquando ad fluvium nomen transiit. Huc forsan referenda est ambiguitas nominum Bucolici et Tanitici, quorum forsan illud fluvium, hoc vero ostium primitus denotabat.

Ptolemæus recenset tria Delta, primum et quidem maximum, alveis Orientali et Occidentali interjectam: Alium, cognomine Parvum, fluvio Bubastico et alveis Busiritico Phatnicoque comprehensum; et tertium demum ab Oriente terminatum fluvio Busiritico et Pathmetico alveo, ex altera parte a fossâ quæ ducitur ex Bubastico fluvio ad fluvium Pathmeticum juxta urbem Arthribin, neque audiendus est Ptolemæus (nec enim sibi constat) dum affirmat hanc fossam conjungi cum Pineptimi. Et hæc quidem de alveis Niliacis ostiisque eorum dicta sunto: ea omnia quâ potui accuratione charta nostra exhibet descripta; vestigia veterum scriptorum nec indiligenter sum secutus, ut nodos expedirem quibus laborare solet hæc materia præ cæteris vexatissima; quam ut plenius intelligat, iterum iterumque monendus est lector, ut eosdem illos scriptores evolvat, dispositionesque chartæ nostræ ad vetera illa monumenta attento animo studioque referat.

Ab Alexandriâ, naviganti secundum Strabonem, Eleusis prima occurrit, sita ad fossam Canopicam: ulterius progredienti ad dextram sese offert fossa, quæ ducit ad Schediam; itinere scilicet deflexo versus Euro-austrum; unde conjecturam facio Schediam recte collocari in vico hodierno Damanehour, nec alium vicum denotare τὸ Circu Itinerarii, quippe cum ab Alexandria æquali distat intervallo, ut auctor est Strabo cum Itinerario collatus.

Crediderim alveum Canopicum occlusum fuisse in eo fere loco unde exiit Balbitinus, et viam postea sibi fecisse triplici ista fossa quam charta nostra exhibet descriptam, (quotiescunque scilicet altiori flumine insurgit Nilus.) Naucratin collocaverim ad vicum Foua ex adverso fossæ Alexandrinæ hodiernæ; eam ipsam esse veterem illam auguror quâ olim itum est ad Schediam. In vico Samocrate aliquetenus australiore agnoscere videor reliquias veteris saltem nominis Naucratis.

Sain veterem constituerim ad ripam occidentalem fossæ illius quæ exit ex ostio Sebennitico; Ptolemæo nimirum teste, ea urbs isti fluvio et Canopico alveo interjicitur, nec tamen negaverim urbem Sakir sitam in ripa Orientali conservare reliquias istius nominis parcè detorti: ea urbs a Naucrati distabat duorum schœnorum seu decem millium passuum intervallo. Sicardus eam habet pro veteri Xoi, ego vero ad Aquilonem magis vergere statuerim; Ptolemæus utrumque nomon Sebenniten ab austro spectare Arthribin; inferiorem scilicet, cui metropolis Pachnamunis, superiorem, cui Sebennitus.

Xois * haberi solet pro urbe insulari; nimirum objectu fossarum quarundam fit insula. Ptolemæo statuente, sita erat hæc urbs inter fluvios Thermuthiacum et Athribiticum, ideoque in terrâ continente: Strabo collocat eam in nomo Sebennitico. Ptolemæus autem recenset nomon quendam Xoitem, ævo forsan recentiore desumptum ex Sebennitico, ab hac urbe profluxisse videtur appellatio illa totius regionis, quæ occurrit in sacra scriptura, scilicet Terra de Zoan.

* Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῇ ὑπὲρ τῆ Σεβεννύτικῆ καὶ Φάτνικῆ γόμαι Ξοΐς ἐστι, καὶ νῆσος καὶ πόλις ἐν τῷ Σεβεννυτικῷ νομῷ: Strabo, l. vii. p. 802.

Ptolemæus habet Thmuim pro primaria urbe nomi Mendesii, Strabo autem Menden; unde conjecturam facio eandem esse urbem, duplici insignitam nomine: Herodotus etiam recenset nomon quendam Thmuiten; hinc factum ut hicce nomos etiam duplex sortitus sit nomen. Mentione facta de alveo Tanitico, Strabo eum appellat Saiticum, quam binomiam sunt qui augurantur ortam fuisse ex eo quod urbis Tanis primitùs appellata fuerit Sais: Cum vero neminem Straboni suffragantem legimus, statuerim potius Strabonem erravisse, et Saiticum eundem esse cum Phatnitico. Busiriticus fluvius, secundum Ptolemæum, effluit ex alveo Bubastico in Phatnicum, adeoque habetur tantum pro fossa quadam transversa inter eos alveos.

Sicardus auguratur se reperisse vestigia veteris Cynopoleos apud Chiu.

Tertium Delta * statuitur inter fluvios Busiriticum, et eum qui effluit e Bubastico in Pineptimi (dicendum forsan erat, in Phatniticum;) eum ego habuerim pro fossa Sabuni, quæ ex Nilo ducitur ad urbem Abousir. Dum Ptolemæus fluvium appellat Bubasticum, tam hic quam ubi mentionem facit de ortu Busiritici, intelligendus est innuere velle Taniticum ex eo adhuc inferius defluxisse, forsan apud Mansouram, quo in loco, conjecturæ meæ aliquantulum tribuens, collocavi Tanin; cumque Bubasticus eo in loco deflectit versus orientem, eum habuerim pro Tafne, ob captivitatem Ludovici IX. in bello sacro satis famosa. Recentiores quosdam lectitavi recensentes rudera quædam urbis adhuc conspici apud Themaie, intervallo septem leucarum a Mansoura orientem versus: In iis signare posse videor reliquias veteris Heracleopoleos parvæ, seu, memorante Sicardo, Balbeios: Primaria quidem urbs fuit illa nomi Sethroitæ, Sethri nomine olim appellata. Secundum Itinerarium, hæc urbs recedit a Pelusio intervallo viginti duum mille passuum.

Fossa Regalis pertinebat a Phacusa, quæ sita erat ad alveum Bubasticum, usque ad mare Erythræum: in eo cursu videtur lacum quendam pertransisse, forsan etiam impedito aquarum cursu fecisse, et præterlapsam Heroopolin exiisse demum ad urbem (Arsinoem hodie) Suez: et intervallo circiter ducentorum quinquaginta passuum ab occidentali parte Suez animadverti vestigia veteris cujusdam alvei.

Fossa Trajani extendebatur a Babylone, vel vetere Cairo; et disertis verbis dicitur allabi Heroopolin; hoc autem fieri non potuisse statuunt aliqui, nisi exaruerit fossa Regum: Mihi quidem facilis videtur esse nodi hujusce explicatio, si secundum chartæ nostræ repræsentationem fingamus hanc fossam Trajani influxisse in illam alteram Regalem supra memoratam. Apud veterem Cairo adhuc conspicitur quædam fossa vergens ad Euro-aquilonem; Sicardus eam terminari fingit in lacu Birk-el-Hadjee; aliis autem memorantibus audivi eam rivulo quodam illapsam lacui, in ulteriora deferri.

In parte chartæ nostræ Euro-aquilonari conspicitur fluvius Sihor, qui disterminâsse dicitur Palæstinam ab Egypto †: In textu biblii originali vox sonat Torrentem Egypti, et apud LXX. redditur Rhinocorura: tabulæ nauticæ hîc loci exhibent rivulum quendam, inservientem aquationi nautarum; nec desunt probati scriptores qui mentionem faciunt de torrente de Rhinocorura: vici itidem Gazæ ‡ pertigisse dicuntur usque ad torrentem Egypti; falsos itaque habuit quosdam ea opinio, voce ista innui Nilum.

Lacum Sirbonim colloco apud Faramidastangoni, eique pro limitibus antiquis constituo insulas istas, seu rupes, quæ notantur in charta nautica. Hic ille lacus est apud

* Λέγοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ τρίτον Δέλτα μεταξύ πως τῶν εἰρημένων, καθὸ σχίζεται ὁ Βουβαστικὸς ἐς τὸν δι' Αθρίβεως πόλεως, καὶ τοῦ Πινέπτιμι στόματος ῥέοντα, ὃ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τρίτου Δέλτα θέσις. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

† Esaiæ xxvii. 12. ‡ Josuæ, xv. 47.

poetas

poetas ob Typhonem ſubter poſitum famoſus: longitudine patuit viginti quinque millia paſſuum, latitudine autem ſex millia et quingenta. Aliquandiu ab eo ad mare exitus dabatur per alveum quendam nomine Ecregma. Strabo ſcribet hanc foſſam objectis arenis aruiſſe: poſtea temporis crediderim impetu maris diuturno receſſiſſe ripam iſtam anguſtam, cujus objectu lacus olim diſterminabatur a mari; cumque hoc modo viſum minus accuratum effugiat, lacus iſte, non miror quoſdam a recentioribus ſcriptitâſſe Sirbonin jam diu arenis eſſe oppletam. Conjecturam noſtram confirmant duæ chartæ geographicæ manuſcriptæ ex oculorum, non aurium fide deſcriptæ, quæ mihi Venetiis agenti in manus pervenerunt, et ſinum quendam lacu Sirboni exhibent: animadvertendum eſt Strabonem, dum recenſet quædam memoratu digniora de hoc lacu, videri eum parùm diſtinxiſſe a mari Mortuo.

Ad ripam orientalem oſtii Peluſiaci collocatur Carabez in tabula manuſcripta; eam crediderim ſignare locum Chabriarum; quas, ſicuti etiam Gerras, ſcribit Strabo fuiſſe ſitas in loco depreſſiori et paluſtri; Plinius habet Chabrias pro Caſtro.

Hic loci animadvertendus eſt error Itinerarii Antonini, quo numerante recenſetur certe nimis longum intervallum ducentorum et tredecim mille paſſuum a Peluſio ad Alexandriam.

Peluſium in tabula Chryſanthina dicitur Attineh, etymologia prorſus conſimili in utrâque linguâ, tam Græcâ quam Arabicâ; Tine enim Arabicè, πηλὸς Græcè, ſonat Cœnum.

Inter proficiſcendum a Nilo ad Mahallam, dimidio (ſcilicet duûm mille paſſuum) itinere confecto pertranſimus foſſam quandam exiguam deductam ex magnâ illâ quæ pertingit ad Borlom: ad ripam ejus Borealem conſpicitur vicus, quo ferè in loco jungitur cum aliâ quâdam majore ad Thraciam vergente. In ripâ iſtius majoris foſſæ, iter erat quaſi duorum mille paſſuum, quo confecto, eam cymbâ trajecimus, aliamque porrò, cui ſuperimponitur pons lapide quadrato, ad orientalem partem urbis Mahallæ. Hinc Euro-aquilonem verſùs iter eſt ad Baalbait quaſi novem mille paſſuum, inde devenitur ad ripam occidentalem prædictæ foſſæ, aliamque porro cymbâ trajecimus, quartamque vado; et duûm mille quaſi paſſuum intervallo demum pervenitur ad amplum quendam alveum a Nilo deductum infra Semmenud, et in mare profluentem ad orientalem partem lacus Brulos: Accolæ eam appellarunt Thabaneam; ego verò ſtatuerim eam eſſe ipſum Mendeſium, e Phatnico profluentem, quem itaque eo nomine diſtinxi, Herodoti mentem, ni fallor, aſſecutus.

In hujus mei itineris curſu cum ſola extrema alveorum legerim, nec in interiora regionis delatus fuerim, hæc notâſſe ſatis habui, neque ſatis ſubſidii ſum aſſecutus, ut de alveorum curſu quidpiam auderem mutare.

Sunt qui Babylonis veſtigia quærunt in ipſâ vetere Cairo, eo autem diſconvenit eos inter et Strabonem *, quod hic aſſerit per clivum aſcendi a Nilo ad Babylona, planities autem mille paſſuum latitudine patens extenditur inter Nilum et veterem Cairo: Lubens itaque Babylona collocaverim in colle Jehuſi, ſitu a vetere Cairo euro-auſtrali; in quo quidem adhuc conſpiciuntur ædificiorum collapſorum rudera; huc adde, quod hic ſitus apprimè quadrat cum Herodoto afferente Babylona e diametro ſpectare verſus pyramidas.

Memoriæ proditum accepimus Memphin abfuiſſe a Deltâ quindecim mille † paſſuum, quinque à pyramidibus; lacu ad aquilonem et zephyrum fuiſſe terminatam; ad orientem

* Ῥᾶχις δ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆ σταλοπέδα καὶ μέχρι Νάλα καθήκουσα, δι' ἧς ἀπὸ τῆ ποταμῆ τροχοὶ καὶ καχλάκες τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνάγουσιν. Strab. l. xvii. p. 807.

† Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις αὐτὴ τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. ἔστι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆ Δέλτα τρίχοινον ἐς αὐτὴν —— —— Τετρακόσια δ' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους προελθόντι, ὀρυκτή τις ὄφρυς ἐστὶν, ἐφ' ἧ πολλαὶ μὲν Πυραμίδες εἰσί. Strabo, l. xvii. c. 808, 809.

ab ipso Nilo; intervallo quasi duodecim mille passuum, versùs austrum ingentem portendi aggerem in eum finem coacervatum, ut Nilus, relicto veteri alveo, in quo alluebat radices collium occidentales, nec infrequenter terras demissiores aquâ inundabat, medium iter institueret inter colles orientales et occidentales *.

Verum Memphios situm et rudera frustrà quæsiveris in ipsâ regione: attentiori vero disquisitione veteres scriptores perscrutatus eam collocaverim haud procul a Mocanen; in eo nomine apparent vestigia nominis Moph, quo a sacris scriptoribus indigitari solet; hinc austrum versus a planitie, per quam itur ad Faiume, adhuc supersunt tumuli arenosi, reliquæ, ni fallor, aggeris supra memorati.

Acanthum Strabonis collocavi apud Osman, nullâ habitâ ratione calculorum Ptolemæi, qui eam Canthon appellat; constituit abesse decem mille passuum intervallo a Memphi versus austrum.

Tabula Chrysanthina, in definiendo urbium situm, præcipuam rationem similitudinis nominum videtur habuisse, e. g. Βάγχιν habet pro ipsa Bacchi, eamque collocat ad fossam Josephi apud Bahnesam quadraginta mille passuum intervallo a lacu Mœri, ad cujus ripam eam constitisse auctor est Ptolemæus.

Si similitudinem nominis sequamur, in Selinge agnoscere posse videmur Selinon; quo quidem in loco rudera quædam adhuc supersesse dicuntur: Repugnare tamen videtur intervallum, quo distare a Panopoli hodie Akmim dicitur in Itinerario.

Regionem istam urbis Thebarum, quæ dicebatur Memnonium, constituerim apud Medinet Abou, quæ quidem vox sonat Civitas Papa, seu Patris, (quo nomine forsan Memnon apud vulgus audiit;) huc refer urbem Papam Itinerarii: cumque vox Abba seu Abbou a primævis temporibus sonaverit pater, in eâ quæsiverim etymon Abydi urbis cujusdam Mediterraneæ prope Ptolemain palatio peramplo Memnonis conspiciendam.

E tabula Sicardiana desumpsi descriptionem fossæ, in quâ occurrit insula satis ampla Edfou; eâ itidem duce signavi intervallum, quo ea insula distat ab Ombo, minus forsan quam par est; cum vero meæ observationes nihil habeant certi, cui satis possum fidere, nil mutandum duxi.

Ad mare Erythræum signantur duo portus, nomine Cosseir, neuter quidem stationi navium satis tutus; ad novum, quæ ad austrum magis vergit, statuerim Berenicen fuisse sitam: Versus aquilonem ulterius naviganti sese offert alius perquam commodus, nomine Hamrosse: nescio fane quonam intervallo absit a Cosseir, ideoque incertus an veteri portui Leuco sive Myo respondeat.

* Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στενῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύξαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ ἑσπέρην, τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει. Herod. l. ii. c. 99.

AN

AN ACCOUNT OF WEST BARBARY.

BY LANCELOT ADDISON,
Chaplain to His Majeſty in Ordinary *.

WE find a commonwealth compared to a ſhip, and the weſtern part of Barbary hath fulfilled the allegory, not only in reſpect of the inteſtine broils wherewith it has been ſo long toſſed; nor yet in regard that the government thereof hath been continually floating from one faction to another. But in this eſpecially, that there remains no track, or impreſſion, no regiſters to acquaint us with what hath paſſed, except ruins and devaſtations, the genuine memories of a deſolating war. For to demand of atalib (one of the moſt learned ſort among the Moors) the annals of remote viciſſitudes, or an account of the traverſes that bear a freſher date, were to baffle his obſervation, and thereby affront his adored literature.

Now the likelieſt reaſon, that can be rendered of this ignorance, is the neglect of preſerving records of their tranſactions, for the Moors truſt all to an illiterate tradition; inſomuch that the beſt chronique can be now compiled of their late changes, muſt for the moſt part be collected from ſome aged grandſire's memory; a frail foundation to ſupport an hiſtorical credit.

As for the ancient model of the Moreſco Polity, it is ſo miſerably convulſed and ſhaken through manifold alterations cauſed by prevailing intereſts, that not many of its firſt maxims, nor much of its old conſtitution, are viſible in the preſent ſtate; and this ſuperſeded my curioſity in making reſearches into the Moor's politics, further than to be informed of the methods uſed to aſcend to government by the aſpiring factions of the laſt age, of which I have given an account in the foregoing narrative. And therefore without the ſolemnity of any larger introduction, I ſhall give a faithful narration of the preſent cuſtoms of Barbary in the ſucceeding chapters.

CHAP. I. — *The Soil, Productions, Commodities, and Huſbandry of the Country.*

LEO Afer delivers two etymologies, which are ſo agreeable both to the nature of the language, and glebe of the country, that they may ſeem to have been impoſed by Adam, the primitive nomenclator. For if we liſten to the Moors' language, Barbary ſeems to be deſcended from Barbàr, which ſignifies an inarticulate murmur and grumbling noiſe without accent or harmony, for their ſpeech is harſh, being very guttural: which is eſteemed an argument of its antiquity. And indeed it hath gained the vogue of no leſs ancient a pedigree, than to be bred of the old Punic and Arabian.

Another reaſon why this country bears the name of Barbary, may be taken from the frame and diſpoſition of the earth, which being full of wild and unkindly tumours, well

* Father of the celebrated Addiſon. Printed at the Theatre, Oxford, 1671, 8vo.

challengeth the name of Bar (a word not known to the preſent inhabitants), ſignifying a deſart, and the duplicate of the monoſyllable Bar-bar implieth that of old, Barbary was nothing but a great ſolitude. And for this derivation, Leo Afer tells this ſtory: King Iphycus being driven out of Ethiopia, fled into Egypt, where finding himſelf much preſſed by his enemies, and dubious what courſe to run for his ſafety, he aſked his adherents what they thought was the moſt probable way to ſecure themſelves; whereupon they all, with an unexpected conſent, anſwered Barbar, meaning thereby that the hopefulleſt method of protection was to paſs over Nilus into the deſarts of Africa. And finding this etymology to bear ſo fair a proportion with the complexion and ſurface of the land, I ſhall not ſcruple the occaſion of its impoſition.

But when we look from the outward ſhape, to the productions of the country, we ſee the uncomelineſs thereof recompenſed in the fertility, which forbids us to judge of internal dowries by the outward model: Providence uſually ſupplying the defects of the body with the abilities of the mind, it being the fate of many excellent parts, like Galba's, to be ill lodged. The ancients accounted wood and grain, the more natural and uſeful iſſues of a country, as having a more immediate tendency to ſupply mankind with the greater neceſſities of lodging and diet. But in this canton of Barbary, the woods are ſcarce and mean, and fitter to warm the houſe than build it. For ranging their groves, I found them conſiſt chiefly of cork-trees, which ſeemed to differ but little from the ſcarlet-oak, excepting the indenture of their leaves. Their fruit is a ſmaller kind of acorn, woody within: at the root of theſe trees is uſually found the lentiſco, which is generally but a ſhrub, and of little other ſervice to the Moors than to feed their goats. The juice whereof, mingled with other ingredients, is uſed by the potters to give a faint colour to their earthenware, which they find to enhanſe the price, and advance the ſale.

The next remarkable ſort of wood is the alcaróbe, a tree of great curioſity, and meriting a larger note. The alcaróbe bears a cod, in quantity and likeneſs much reſembling the Engliſh bean; the inner ſubſtance thereof is ſweet, and lodgeth hard ſmall kernels. This fruit is eaten by the Moors of inferior condition, and by all at the feaſt Aſhoràh: but it is chiefly preſerved for their horſes, to whom it is both phyſic and repaſt. For as a Moor, well ſkilled in that animal, told me, the fruit of the alcaróbe hath two excellent properties, to drench, and make their horſes fat.

Some have called the fruit locuſta, and ſuppoſed that it was the Baptiſt's food in the wilderneſs: but others conjecture that St. Matthew's Ακρίδες, were only the tops and extremities of herbs and plants. And there are alſo ſome judicious critics, who interpret the Baptiſt's locuſts to be a kind of fly or graſhopper, which in warmer climates are very large and many, and were formerly dried and eaten by the inhabitants. But they were obſerved to yield but ſmall nutriment, and ever thought fitter for medicine than alimony. I was told (but by a traveller) that in Egypt theſe flies come in ſuch clouds, that they darken the ſky where they appear, and that in a ſhort ſpace they conſume the fruits of the earth where they are permitted to fall. To prevent which miſchief he told me that, the people obſerving the ſeaſon of their coming, prepare againſt them, and keeping them from ſettling by diſcharging guns into the air where they are diſcovered. That theſe locuſts and graſhoppers were eaten by the barbarous nations, may be concluded from the law that made them forbidden meat to the Jews, Levit. xi. 22.

But to leave the Moor to this ſort of flies, whereof he hath no ſcarcity, there is a greater probability that the fruit of the alcaróbe is the ſame with the prodigal's ceratia,

or

or huſks; for it doth excellently accord with their deſcription ſet down by that great intelligence of divinity in his note. B. S. Luke xv.

In ſome parts of this country there is great plenty of white mulberry trees, nouriſhed on purpoſe to feed the ſilk-worm, a creature that doth afford the curious many delightful ſpeculations; but the Moor regards it only for its emolument. The ſeaſon of the worm being paſſed, they feed their cattle with the reſidue of the mulberry leaves.

The towns of commerce, and converſation, have pleaſant orchards of orange, lemons, and limes, with gardens yielding plenty and variety of ſallad. And that which maketh their gardens both profitable and delightful is, that they are always fruitful and retain a refreſhing verdure. And this they effect by keeping the ſoil conſtantly in a temperate moiſture: for the water-courſes are ſo providently contrived that every garden receives it in due proportion, and at a certain hour; which running among the little trenches, affords a very equal and fertile irrigation.

Beſides the ſallad ordinary in other countries, they have one ſort rarely to be met with in Europe, which they call by a word, ſounding Spaniſh Tomátos. This grows in the common fields, and when ripe is plucked and eaten with oil: it is pleaſant but apt to cloy. Barengénas, as in Spain, grow creeping like cucumbers upon the ground; theſe are boiled with beef and mutton, and of no vulgar eſtimation among the Moors.

Some Cavílas (a diviſion in the country that much reſembles that of counties in England) have large and fruitful vineyards, and the blood of the grape, though it be utterly prohibited them by Mahumed their prophet, yet of late, through the licentiouſneſs of the times, it is liberally quaffed by many of the Moors. But that they might not herein give offence to the weaker Muſſulmen, nor betray any contempt of the law, they are generally cautious in this liberty, and uſe it, as we ſay, *under the roſe.*

The plants of this country are very obſervable for their variety and ſtrangeneſs, for many are to be found in Barbary, which cannot be met with in colder climes. And ſome, which are uſual in other countries, are in this found to differ much from their deſcriptions in common herbals. This I learned from a worthy friend (well read in this part of nature) who had enterprized, and would doubtleſs have finiſhed, a collection of Barbary ſimples, if his too early immortality and immature death had not deprived the world of that profitable endeavour.

The grain in this differs not from that in other countries, excepting that here are two ſorts of grain, ſcarce well known in other parts of the world. The one they call Pharoùk, which is of a leſſer ſize, hungry and courſe, much reſembling, if not altogether the ſame, with the Spaniſh Panizo, and it is only the more beggarly Moors that uſe this for bread. The other is known among them by the name of Tourkiá, which is a larger body than the former, and yields good flour, whereof bread is made for the nobles of the land. As the barley and beans are reaped in April, the wheat in May and June, ſo is September the uſual ſeaſon for gathering the other kinds of bread corn.

The rains are to the Moors, what the Nileſcope is ſaid to be to the Egyptians, for according to their plenty or ſcarceneſs, they are able to foretell the dearth and plenty of the year. But there is a ſort of religioniſts among them, who meaſure the products of the earth by the ſins of its inhabitants, and who divine of the ſucceſs of their tillage from the obſervation of their Ramadàn (or Lent) and the due celebrating of their [Eaſter] Hìd Seguèr, or the little feaſt that concludes it.

If the clouds are ſparing in ſhowers at ſeed-time, and earing, the crop is little lean; and in their beſt harveſts, they ſeldom reap more than will bring about the year, ſo that the failure of one crop brings an inevitable dearth upon the land. The Moors

are very obſerving of the trade rains, (for ſo they may not improperly be termed, as never falling but at ſuch a time.) The former rain is called by a word importing bleſſing, and the latter [Naſon] or Holy-water, of which names I could meet with no other rational but tradition.

There appears but little induſtry in the Moors' huſbandry, for their tillage is ſo mean, that he that ſees it may juſtly wonder, that the land under ſuch ſmall improvement ſhould be ſo fruitful. In moſt parts they plough but with two oxen, careleſsly tied by the horns, and in ſome Cavílas with a like number of aſſes, mules, camels, and a baſer breed of horſes. The plough turns up no more mould than ſufficeth to bury the ſeed: for (ſay they) if the furrows ſhould be deep, and the drought begin, ere that the corn hath broken the earth, it would not be able to force a paſſage through the ſtiffened clods. They uſe no labour to aſſiſt the Arbale by manuring it, except that the order of their towns is caſt out, not ſo much to enrich the glebe, as to keep themſelves cleanly. But this painful part of huſbandry is ſupplied by the anniverſary burning of the withered graſs and ſtubble, which ſerves to help the ſoil, and deſtroy the vermin, which otherwiſe, eſpecially the ſcorpion, would render the country very dangerous for habitation.

When the Moors have reaped their corn, they tread it out with oxen, camels, &c. and winnow it upon the place where it grows, and then ſet the chaff on fire; in which particulars they are an excellent comment upon the like, reflected upon in ſacred writ. Inſtead of granaries, they have caves bricked or wrought with ſtone, called Matamóras, in which they repoſit their corn, where it is preſerved from the worm and other enemies. The ſtraw they chop and keep for their horſes; for although there be abundance of herbage, yet no part thereof is cured and preſerved for a winter ſtore of hay, which I impute to the Moors' ſloth, rather than the needleſſneſs of ſuch a proviſion.

After I had taken this ſurvey of what appeared upon the earth by nature, or its improver, huſbandry, I found ſufficient inſtigations, both by curioſity and reaſon, to dive into its entrails, which I have been told are in many places as rich as the beſt ores can make them. And of this truth there have appeared large ſpecimens about Tituàn, Alcaẓàr, Ghebèr, &c. And the reaſon why the Moors purſue not ſo advantageous a temptation, may be charged upon their ignorance, idleneſs, or fear; as in another place I may have occaſion to demonſtrate. The commodities of this country bearing the name of Mercántil, are chiefly honey, wax, hides, marokins or córdavans, dates, almonds, coarſe twine, mats of a curious ſtraw and workmanſhip, mantles, alheicks, and in ſome places great ſtore of ſalt-petre. As for the fabulous abundance of gold reported to be found in Barbary, I leave its legend to the poets.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Beaſts in Barbary, tame and wild.*

THE ſurvey now paſſeth one ſtair higher, from vegetable to ſenſible creatures, whereof Barbary has no leſs plenty than of graſs to maintain them, but looking into their flocks and herds, I found the latter more numerous, yet not to that quantity as report informed me. And enquiring why the Moors were more for the ſtall than the fold; they replied, that cows yielded them more conſtant relief than ſheep, and were more ready to furniſh out both their tables and purſes. Their horſes are both few and mean, and for the moſt part much inferior to thoſe of other nations, which at firſt created my wonder, becauſe of the great repute the Barbary horſes had obtained in moſt European countries. But they have a peculiar caſt of barbs able to maintain this renown, which the Moors carefully preſerve, never employing them in low and baſe offices, but keep them only for the ſaddle and military ſervice; and to the great eaſe

of their horſes, the Moors have ſtore of camels for their foreſt drudgeries. Now the camel is a creature of ſtrange bulk and humour, whoſe diet is mean and incredibly little; for they will travel great journies under heavy loads, without further allowance than the tops of thiſtles or any mean herbage. Nor are they leſs abſtemious in their beverage than meat; being ſo patient of thirſt, that they travel four days without touching water, and then at one drinking take in as much as will ſerve them as many days more. The Moor from obſervation hath this general rule concerning camels, viz. that thoſe which when young drink much and often, are of a degenerate lineage, and will never prove ſerviceable.

There is a preſumption that the camels engender backward, but Ali Mulùd, an ancient and inquiſitive Moor, would often ſwear by the hairs of his chin (an oath that he had learned in the time of his being a ſlave in Spain) that he had much enquired after the manner of the camel's copulation, but could meet with no certain information therein; for (ſaid he) theſe creatures are ſtrangely baſhful in their embraces; which makes them very ſecret in the time of their amours; and to retire, if poſſible, even from their keeper's eye. At the ſeaſon of their coition, both ſexes are very furious, and like their Moreſco maſters, they never forget to revenge the injuries done them at that time. I was told by an Alàrb, who had no temptation to abuſe my credulity in ſuch an unconcerning ſtory, that the mácho, or male camel, generated with the female when ſhe is aſleep, and that the female brings forth in a kind of negligent ſlumber. But I leave the curious inquiſitors of nature to diſcover the frailties of this ſtory, and paſs on to remark the docile gentleneſs of the camel, which is evident in their ſubmiſſion, kneeling to be loaden and unloaden at their driver's pleaſure. And we find it reported in the hiſtory of beaſts, Jonſon. Hiſt. Quadrup. that camels have been taught to dance exact meaſures, which is no more ſtrange than the Ballétto di Caválli, that not long ſince graced the nuptials of a duke of Florence.

But intending no zoography, I paſs from this and other tame quadrupeds, to obſerve that Barbary hath all ſorts of beaſts that are called wild: lions, leopards, wolves, foxes, &c., with great plenty of jackals, ſo much famed for catering for the lion. They uſually hunt in packs, opening with a ſhrill yelping noiſe, and are deſcribed to be mongrel creatures, of an equivocal generation, deriving rapaciouſneſs from the wolf their ſire, and cunning from the fox their dam; they are very ravenous, eating carrion, digging up dead bodies, and will feed upon that which a genuine fox will not deign to taſte.

Wild boars are no rarity in this dioceſe, which the Moors hunt and kill in a manly paſtime, they being no way ſubſervient to the trencher, becauſe all ſorts of ſwine's fleſh is forbidden meat by their law. But their ſlaves, that are Chriſtians, have permiſſion to dreſs and eat them, and know from experience that they are very wholeſome and ſtrong food.

But I ſhall ſurceaſe to travel further among theſe inhoſpitable ſalvages, with whoſe deſcriptions natural hiſtories are ſo largely repleniſhed, and therefore I will ſhut up this chapter with this general remark, that Barbary hath variety of all ſorts of beaſts, birds, and ſerpents; the land affording habitations moſt ſuitable to ſuch unſociable beings.

CHAP.

CHAP. III. — *The Diviſion of the Inhabitants, different Manner of Living, their Genius, their Entertainment of Foreign Miniſters.*

THE family of Noah (ſaith the Jewiſh antiquary Flav. Joſeph.) being jealous of a ſecond deluge, durſt not deſcend to cultivate the plains, but dwelt upon the talleſt mountains: till at length, Sem ventured to inhabit the valleys; where they lived in a cluſter, and ſeemed ſuſpicious of the divine command, bidding them diſperſe and overſpread the earth, fearing that this might be a deſign to ſcatter them, that they might the more eaſily be deſtroyed, for which reaſon they long time kept together in a cloſe neighbourhood. Out of which ſtory nothing is needful here to be collected, but that mountains have ever proved the refuges of the diſtreſſed, and the people that inhabited them valued for their antiquity above the reſt of the land. Of which truth, Barbary yields a pregnant inſtance in the diviſion of her inhabitants, of which there are two ſorts known among them, by the uſual names of Alárbes and Barabàrs.

The Alárbes are uſually by the Europeans ſtyled mountaineers, from the place of their greateſt reſidence. And theſe think themſelves the elder natives, and therefore of the better houſe. They are not altogether ſo civilized as the other, but live more rudely and rovingly, ſhifting from mountain to mountain according to their exigencies, never confining their rambling humours to any ſettled manſion. They live in haimas or tents, made of a coarſe browniſh cloth, which the women work and weave of the bark of palmitoes mingled with goats' hair; and theſe itinerary habitations they remove from one place to another, in obedience to their fickle humours and cogent neceſſities. Robbery is their maſter-piece and beſt livelihood; and in this eſtate they much glory, as coming ſo near the condition of Muley Mahuméd's firſt votaries. About an age paſt they were very numerous, but the late civil wars have made great abatements of their muſters.

The other ſort of Moors are vulgarly called Barabàrs, but by a dialect Brébers: theſe have fixed dwellings, and live in neighbourhood; and finding converſation to be uſeful and ſafe, affording comfort and profit, they are combined into aldéas or villages, where their cottages are ſo diſpoſed, that there is not any conſiderable diſproportion among them in reſpect of their diſtance from the giemma, or church.

Over theſe Barabàrs are ſubordinate governors or almocadens, to whom they pay a dutiful obſervance. Their vocation is tillage and grazing; and live much after the condition of the Labaradóres in Spain, the peaſants in France, and the boors in Flanders. The Barabàrs of late are grown more numerous than the Alárbes, and for ſeveral years have inhabited both the mountains and champaigns. But albeit they have taken the hills from the Alárbes, yet they have left them the reproach of robbery, though they themſelves are no novices in that myſtery.

But notwithſtanding their different mode of living, they unite in the general character of body and humour: for they are all of a large ſtature, ſtrong conſtitution, ſtately carriage, and differing in complexion according to their converſing with the ſun and air. Thoſe whom for diſtinction I muſt call the gentry, are according to their rules of chivalry well ſkilled in managing of the horſe, and dexterous at the lance, for they ſcorn all toil that is not military, and account no employment ſo noble as that of a ſoldier. They agree likewiſe in humour, for both are jealous and revengeful. Their jealouſy is palpable in their carriage towards their wives, whom they keep in great ſubjection and retirement, which makes adultery a ſtranger to their beds: nor can it reaſonably be otherwiſe, ſeeing that the wife is fully aſſured that the very attempt to pilfer

pilfer a pleaſure, if diſcovered, will coſt her her life. They are likewiſe implacable in their hatred, and impatient till they have avenged an injury; for they are taught by their Prophet, that revenge is a virtue. But leaving theſe paſſions to the juſtification of the Moreſco law and cuſtoms, the Moors are guilty of a cenſorious ſuſpicion towards ſtrangers, which hath no colour to be excuſed. This I firſt obſerved in their carriage toward Don Diego de Palma, a cavalier of the habit of St. James, who being ſent to compliment Gaylan from His Catholic Majeſty, and chancing to ſmile at the Moor's deportment, as not anſwering the ſtarchedneſs of his own nation; the Moors, who were very circumſpect in obſerving every tittle of the Don's deportment, were ſo ſagacious as to find in this caſual ſmile a deriſion of their courtſhip, which they left not unrevenged in intriguing his errand. Now it is obſervable, that the Moors are very moroſe and abſtemious in point of laughter, eſteeming thoſe who are much thereunto addicted, to be ſcornful and fooliſh.

And now having promiſed to give an account of the Moreſco manner of receiving public miniſters, and finding that they have no ſolemn and fixed rites; I conceive the deſcription of their entertaining the Spaniſh envoy, may ſerve for a ſpecimen of their carriage toward all perſons of the like character: which take as follows.

The envoy, Don Diego Felippe de Palma, having from Ceuta (a Spaniſh garriſon on the Barbary coaſt) adviſed Cidi el Hader Ben Ali Gaylan, that he was come from the crown of Spain on a meſſage to His Excellency (that was Gaylan's title), and deſired to know when and where he ſhould have permiſſion and ſecurity to deliver it: Gaylan returned him anſwer, concerning the ſet day and place for the Don's reception, which was according to our ſtyle, the tenth of September, in the one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-third year of grace, and at a place equally diſtant from Ceuta and Tituàn: where, to grace the entrata, Gaylan appointed a parade of the beſt horſe of his own cavíla, and committed them to the conduct of his brother Cidi Tobib Ebn Ali, who marched with them from Arzíla to Tituàn, whither according to appointment, Gaylan's father-in-law, almocadèm of the cavíla of Angerà, had ſent his ſons with about ſixty of their couſins, to join with Tobib, who with many more went to receive the envoy at the prefixed time and place: where the Moors, having paid him their greetings, they all marched in this order.

In the firſt troop came the two ſons of the almocadèm of Angerà, with about ſixty of their kindred, all bravely mounted, and according to their gallantry, richly accoutred: theſe, in ſeveral rings, exerciſed the lance with laudable agility, the muſic of Tituàn ſtill playing before them.

In the next rank came Cidi Tobit, attended with about fifty horſe, maintaining a very ſlow march, as if they intended to revie or deride the Spaniſh gravity. Next to them rode the envoy, Don Diego Felippe de Palma del Habito de Sanjago, with a ſingle trumpet ſounding before him: next came led ſix ſtately horſes trapped in blue cloth; after them fourteen mules loaden with trunks; and in the laſt place rode the governor of Tituàn, with the Alárbes muſic tinkling before him, and attended with a large and well ordered train. Vaſt multitudes were flocked thither, having no other buſineſs but to gaze, being ſtrangers to ſuch a proceſſion.

In this order was Don Diego conducted to his lodgings in Tituàn, where he courteouſly received the Chriſtians that came to give him the parabien to Barbary, and declared a great readineſs to ſerve my comrade and myſelf, whom he knew had no other concern in thoſe parts, but ſecurely to travel and view the country. After two days refreſhment at the Moor's charge, the Don began his march towards Arzíla, but firſt cauſed the horſes to be richly trapped, and led in ſtate through the ſtreets of

Tituàn; which being done, they came into a plain a little out of the town, where the people made a ſpacious circle, in which the Moreſco cavalleres ſhewed their active horſemanſhip, and dexterous darting of the lance; after which, about fifty negroes and Alárbes began a dance, which they performed with pleaſant variety of geſture, and ſtrange agility.

Theſe deſports being finiſhed, the envoy advanceth his journey, and found the ways crowded with ſpectators, invited thither by Gaylan's politic friends, who deſigned that the people might take notice of the honour done to Cidi El Hader, and that his friendſhip was ſought by one of the greateſt of Chriſtian monarchs. But there were many that came not ſo much to be ſpectators, as to reap the fruit of a common report, that the Don would caſt great ſtore of realitoes among the poorer Moors. But their hopes were deceived in the rumour of the Spaniard's bounty, who did not herein degenerate from the nature of his nation, which has ever been noted for a backwardneſs to ſuch inſignificant profuſions. The envoy being ſafely arrived at Arzíla, he was lodged in an apartment of Gaylan's palace (pardon the word); where I leave him to lodge, and eat, if poſſible, worſe than he did at home.

The buſineſs and deſign of this embaſſy met with diverſity of conjectures: by ſome it was ſuppoſed that Don Diego was ſent to ſolicit larger privileges for the Spaniſh garriſons on the Barbarian coaſt. Others concluded that the Duke of Medina Celi, envious at the Earl of Tiveot's ſucceſſes againſt the Moors, and his truce concluded with Gaylan, cauſed this meſſenger (a creature of his own) to be ſent with inſtructions, to interrupt and diſturb the new correſpondence and amity betwixt Tanger and El Hader. But to find out the riddle, I ploughed with one of their own heifers, having employed a Moor verſed in public affairs, (and recommended to me by that great lover of the Engliſh, Cidi Abdelerim Nacſis, then chief governor of Tituan,) who from the Spaniard's inquiſitiveneſs after the ſtate and condition of Tanger, the number of the ſoldiers, the quantity of the conſtant guards, the heighth and ſtrength of the walls, the ſituation and number of the guns ready mounted, &c. with his deſign in a Moreſco habit to take a narrow view of the whole place, (which in Gaylan's company within few days after he performed) filled us with jealouſies that ſome miſchief was purpoſed againſt Tanger. And it is very certain, that the fore-mentioned duke had an evil eye upon the immortal Tiveot, for the renowned victories, which, under the moſt Chriſtian King he atchieved againſt his nation's intereſt in the Low Countries, which aged choler he found highly inflamed by the victories gained by that indefatigable captain over his Moreſco neighbours, which inſtigated the duke's ſpleen not ſo much againſt Tanger, as its reſtorer Tiveot, who being at this time in England, took the advantage of his abſence to diſgrace him (if any ſuch thing had been poſſible) with his new confederate Gaylan. And acquieſcing in this account of the embaſſay, I purſue my province in ſetting down the exact account of the preſent cuſtoms of the Moors.

CHAP. IV.—*The Moreſco Compellations, Reverence to Superiors, Complexion, and Converſation of the Women, pious Manner of Salutation and Style.*

I HAVE not found any nation ſo rude and barbarous as to be utterly devoid of all rites of civility and reſpect: for ſome tokens of honour and kindneſs, ſome terms of diſtance and familiarity are uſed by the moſt uncultivated. And the Moors, though they are very ſparing in compliments, yet they uſe both words and geſtures of reſpect. Towards all ſuperiors they indifferently uſe the compellative Cidi, which is as extenſive as [Sir;] to women of better quality they uſe Lala, ſignifying as largely as

Madam doth now in England. And as to their outward demonſtrations of reſpect, there is little variation; for a grave inclination of the body, with a putting the right hand firſt to the heart, next to the forehead, and then kiſſing the two foremoſt fingers laid acroſs the lips, is the exacteſt manner of ſaluting the grandees; whoſe hand, knee, or bottom of the veſt is kiſſed by the vulgar. Thoſe that are familiar, and of equal rank, at their firſt meeting ſtrike hands, but ſhake not, and then lift them up and lay them to their breaſts. And their greetings are in the ſecond perſon ſingular, uſing [Thou] to all from the ſlave to the King: wherein they obſerve the eaſtern cuſtom. But in their addreſſes to their prince no people can teſtify more ſignal tokens of humbleneſs and piety; for at the entrance into the royal preſence, they bow their bodies to the ground, ſaying, *Sálam Allíg Allá Enſorúck Mulèy*, Peace be to thee, God preſerve King Fuláno; and theſe words and geſtures are devoutly repeated at every pace they advance toward the King. And if any come with petitions they kiſs the earth when they preſent them to his royal peruſal. The like reverences are diſcharged when they depart the preſence. But I paſs on to view the female Moors, who if preſerved from the injuries of the ſun and weather, are generally well complexioned, full bodied, and of good ſymmetry. Thoſe that live in great towns, together with the wealthier ſort in the country, are inclined to paleneſs, which may be imputed to their ſedentarineſs, or want of motion; for they ſeldom ſtir abroad, except it be to viſit the ſepulchres of their deceaſed friends in devotion, to pray for their felicity, and in the night time to the baths for health and cleanlineſs. As to their Friday-meetings, I ſhall ſpeak of it another chapter. They never ſtep without the threſhold but ſo cloſely veiled that no part is viſible but an eye. In the ſtate of matrimony their principal ſtudy is to pleaſe their huſbands, to whom they are taught by their Alcoran to bear a dutiful obſervancy, and to omit no art that may render them delightful to their converſation. Thoſe huſbands that are able allow their wives negroes or black women, to do all the ſervile offices in the family; but yet there is no quality that ſits idle; for the chief of the Moreſco dames employ their time in ſome thrifty houſewifery. And this prevents that cuſtom of expenſive goſſippings, with which in ſome nations ſo many wives are debauched, and huſbands beggared. And yet the married women want not their friendly converſations, for they viſit one another's houſes in token of good neighbourhood, but without the company of their huſbands; no male, though he be never ſo much a relative, can be admitted into their ſociety. And to prevent it, ſhe that makes the viſit firſt, ſends to know whether the huſband be at home: if the anſwer be negative, then without further ceremony ſhe goes ſtraight to her goſſip's apartment, where ſhe is entertained with a liberality that never injures her huſband; who if returning home in the interim of the viſit, is careful to give no interruption, but upon notice quickly departs the houſe; yet they give ſuch ſignals that he has been there, as are eaſily perceived by the viſitant, who thereupon ſhortens the viſit, otherwiſe it commonly laſts a whole day. But theſe being offices that are ſeldom in their returns may juſtly be pardoned in their length.

But foreſeeing that I ſhall in another place have occaſion to ſpeak again of the Moreſco women, I ſurceaſe to enlarge the paragraph that here concerns them, and therefore proceed to view the pious forms uſed by the Moors in their ſalutations and letters.

And indeed there is none that has had any intimacy with the Moors in this particular, but he might obſerve a great appearance of piety in all their cuſtomary expreſſions. And this I learned both from the diſcourſe and practice of thoſe with whom I journied, who at their ſetting out in the morning would with zeal and humility look up to

heaven, and in a low voice ſay, *Biſmillah*, that is, In the name of God; which is alſo done at the beginning of any labour or travail. By which they intend that nothing ought to be enterpriſed, but in the power and hope of the divine favour and help. And when the work or journey is finiſhed they ſay, *Ham der illah*, Thanks be unto God; in which words they deny all aſcriptions of ſucceſs to themſelves. When they meet one another upon the road, &c. their greetings at large is this thankſgiving, *El ham dillah al ſalam tiqsi*. i. e. God be praiſed that I ſee thee well: but in paſſing by one another the ſalutation is uſually this prayer, if there be no more but one, *Salam alleq*, if more than one, *Salam alleq cum*, Peace be with thee, or you. At the hearing of one another ſneeze, they ſay, *Era hanig allah*, *Dios tenga V. M. en ſumano*, God be your keeper. When one Moor goes to ſee another at his houſe, the firſt that receives him ſaith *Mar bába*, or Welcome, which, if repeated thrice, is an undoubted mark that they are glad to ſee him; which kind reception he requites with ſaying, *Allah ellah miq*, i. e. God pay you. And the like air and genius of devotion and piety is obſervable in thoſe letters that the Moors write in their own language; a taſte whereof you have in theſe two enſuing, tranſlated out of Moreſco.

In the name of God gracious and merciful, whoſe bleſſing be upon our Lord Mahomed and his family.

To the mighty, honourable, glorious, and moſt excellent Lord and Governor of Tanger the Earl Tiveot.

GOD perpetuate Your Excellency's honour and glory, and vouchſafe your perſeverance in grandeur and felicity. Happineſs unto you with the odours of a glorious name, ſhall continually breath out their fragrancies, and let God continue and proſper both you and your eſtate agreeable to your wiſhes.

Furthermore, to adviſe us of your abundant love, and eſpecially generoſity, there came to us the worthy gentlemen your ſervants in their ſhip, with the honourable commanders of it, the conſul and the captain, and they behaved themſelves amongſt us like men, touching your command, which they obſerved, and accompliſhed our deſires according as we expected in the going forth of our men, they returning home to us in health and ſafety, ſo that we now re-enjoy their company according to the beſt of our wiſhes. And let God in our ſtead largely reward and recompenſe you, who have ſo highly obliged us herein.

Your meſſengers ſtaid with us for ſome days, till we had performed ſome of their deſires, ſo that we ſent along with them two excellent horſes, and of the beſt ſort that hath been in our time, one whereof was for our own riding, and the other is of the ſame breed; likewiſe forty good choice beaſts, both bulls and cows, and a flock of about fourſcore ſheep, as a preſent to Your Excellency, which out of your grace and favour you would vouchſafe to accept from us. For the deſerts and merits of your honour, God alone can recompenſe.

We gave alſo to your legates two ſpecial horſes and a few cattle as the time permitted, and they likewiſe bought ſome horſes as the time ſerved, and then departed from us well contented. But we are always with you in that inviolable love and friendſhip, which neither diſtance of place nor length of time ſhall ever diſſolve. And as for our country Barbary, (bleſſed be God) all of it that is loyal and in obedience to us, whether mountains, plains, or cities, you have free paſſage into in love and friendſhip, to converſe and trade as you pleaſe, and to manage all your affairs. And this will be of great advantage unto us, if it pleaſe God we live, and the general take the caſtle

of the port town, and the rebels return wholly to their obedience, and then you ſhall not apologize for us, or excuſe us in any ſervice we can do you. But we requeſt you to excuſe us at preſent, as to the reſt of your deſires, being aſſured that we ceaſe not to encounter and fight thoſe enemies which have broken covenant with us, that ſo they may ſhortly (if God pleaſe) return to their allegiance.

And we intreat you to grant our ſervants, the inhabitants of the port, your beſt aſſiſtance in whatever they ſhall have need of your help and ſupply. And whatſoever of our conſorts ſhall come to you, we beſeech you not to be wanting in your care towards them.

But the moſt earneſt and important buſineſs which concerns us to mention to you is, for a great ſhip to lie at the port between us and the enemy, on purpoſe to cut off all relief by ſhipping from the enemy, and pray let it be haſtened with its fraught, proviſion, and all other neceſſaries. This is our chief buſineſs which we entreat you to accompliſh, according to our deſires. And any of the ſhips that ſhall come to this port ſhall drive away whatſoever merchant ſhips they find there, and ſeize their goods. For the only thing we are wanting in, and in need of aſſiſtance, is this buſineſs of the merchants. Thus we have given you the full' of our deſires in what we have written. And let God accompliſh all your deſires. Farewell.

Written the third day of the week, being the twenty-fifth of the month Dulhevil, the laſt month of the 1073 year of the Hegira.

The ſervant of God who truſteth in him Abdalla ebn Mahamed ebn Abebeker, of bleſſed memory.

The ſuperſcription,

To the chief of the nobles, Lord and Governor of Tanger the Earl Tiveot, whom God preſerve.

Another Letter.

IN the name of God the greateſt of all great ones, whom we worſhip and ſerve, and none other.

To the moſt excellent Count Tiveot, Captain-General of Tanger, the juſt and valiant, greeting and deſiring that he may have health and proſperity which we value much.

We received the ſervants of Your Excellency in our country, for whom we have done what we are able, and have commanded our veſſels to guard them to Tanger. The preſent made us by Your Excellency we kindly receive. God augment your honour and happineſs.

In all that is required at our hand, let it be upon our head, that we ſerve you with much willingneſs, being that we are made friends we eſteem your friendſhip much. My ſon and couſins greet Your Excellency, deſiring God that you may have health. Subſcribed Almocadem Caſſian Shat.

This Shat is father to one of Gaylan's wives, numerous in alliances, and reported to be an Andaluſian, one of the race of the Moors baniſhed Spain; he hath hereditary to his family the command of Angera, which is a large caviſa adjoining unto Tanger. And having lodged at this grandee's houſe, I may from our entertainment there be able to give you an account of the Moors' hoſpitality, which differs not in the faſhion, however it may vary in the ſtuff.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.—*The Moreſco Entertainment, Faſhion of Travelling, Hoſpitals, Diet, Reverence to Corn, forbidden Meats.*

IN the year of ſalvation, 1663, September the ſixth, at the going down of the ſun, we came to an aldéa, called Angerà, at the utmoſt bounds of a mountain of that name, where we repaired to the houſe of Cidi Caſſian Shat, whom we found ſitting at his door, environed with about twenty aged Moors of the neighbourhood. Alighting from our horſes, we delivered our ſegúra, or letters of ſafe conduct, to the old man, who, when he had peruſed, returned them with a grave nod, the teſtimony of his approbation, and the ſignal of our welcome. This done, we were called to a little upper room, which we could not enter till we had put off our ſhoes at the threſhold, not for religion, but cleanlineſs, and not to prevent our unhallowing of the floor, but defiling the carpets wherewith it was curiouſly ſpread. At the upper end of the room was laid a velvet cuſhion, as large as thoſe we uſe in our pulpits, and it denoted the moſt honourable part of the room. After we had repoſed about an hour, there was brought in a little oval table, about twenty inches high, which was covered with a long piece of narrow linen; and this ſerved for diaper. For the Moors, by their law, are forbidden ſuch ſuperfluous utenſils as napkins, knives, ſpoons, &c.; their religion, laying down this general maxim, That mere neceſſaries are to be provided for: which cauſed a preciſe Moor to refuſe to drink out of my diſh, when he could ſup water enough out of the hollow of his hand. But this ſtraitneſs has of late years begun to be enlarged, and the prohibition is interpreted to reach no farther than their churchmen, and chief miniſters of juſtice; ſo that thoſe who are able to provide handſome furniture for their tables, have a diſpenſation which they ſeem not prone to make uſe of, if the humour of the reſt may be divined by that of this grandee; at whoſe houſe the table was adorned as before, and for ſupper there was placed upon it an earthen pot full of mutton, beef, cabbage, raiſins, potatoes, berengénas, &c. all boiled together, and extremely hot with dimicuto and garlic, which is their immutable ſauce. This hodge-podge was in imitation of the Spaniſh olla podrida, excepting that it wanted bacon, an ingredient ſo indiſpenſable to the Spaniſh olla, that there can be none without it, which occaſioned this proverb, No ſermon without St. Auſtin, nor olla without bacon: *Ny ſermòn ſin Agoſtino, ny olla ſin locino.* But to proceed in our bill of fare: our next courſe was a ſingle pullet cloven down the belly, with the four quarters ſpread out at large, by a way of cookery peculiar to the Moors. And theſe two diſhes, with ſtore of good bread, made up the feaſt. Our drink was ſtrong wine newly brought from the preſs, which ſtood by us in a great ſtone jar, with a ſort of wooden ladle in it, out of which we drank. Our poſture was laying round about the table, according to the cuſtom of the country. Our company was the ſecond ſon of this family, a debonair Gentile perſon. Having ſupped, and ſolaced ourſelves with muddy beverage and Moreſco muſic, we all compoſed ourſelves to ſleep: about twenty were allotted to lodge in this ſmall chamber, whereof two were Chriſtians, three Jews, and the reſt Moors: every one made his bed of what he wore; which made our Engliſh conſtitutions to wiſh for the morning, which no ſooner appeared but we quitted our lodging, leaving our entertainer *ſans adieu*, not tarrying to return thanks for his hoſpitality; which could incur no diſpleaſure, as conforming to the ſtyle of the country. And this breviate of Cidi Caſſian's hoſpitable houſekeeping, is an eſſay of the reſt; for the Moors have all one faſhion of living, and their houſes, diet, and apparel vary not, but in the matter.

Now

Now that which makes journeying in Barbary ſo full of fatigue, is the want of houſes of public entertainment (like the venta's and poſáda's in Spain; the caborets and hoſtelries in France; and inns in England), whereby the travellers are conſtrained to carry their proviſions with them. The Moors' uſual viaticum are raiſins, parched beans, onions, garlic, and ſtore of bread. They rely upon the fountains for their drink, which are kept in great decency and cleanlineſs: at every fountain there being a diſh made of cork, faſtened with a ſtring, out of which man and beaſt drink for refreſhment. Many of theſe fountains are provided with a large ſmooth ſtone, whereon the Moor, after he has performed his preparative waſhing, celebrates his ſalla, or oriſons. And the bigots that live near theſe fountains, every day repair thither to pay their bigotage, or ſuperſtitious devotions.

They uſually ſhut up their journey at the going down of the ſun; and if there be an aldéa or village at hand, they turn thither for houſe-room, and lodge commonly in a cottage, as mean as that wherein Ovid's aged couple entertained the pilgrim gods. But if it be ſummer, or the weather fair, then they repair to ſome ſhady tree, under whoſe protection they ſleep and eat. If the place be ſuſpected for bad neighbours, the travellers watch by turns, and do the like in places that are troubled with wild beaſts.

When I ſaid that the Moors have no houſes of accommodation, it was with exception of the Almamóras, or chambers maintained by the revenues of the church, built on purpoſe to receive ſtrangers of any perſuaſion. Theſe houſes afford nothing but room to lodge in; but if it happen that travellers are in want of meat, the villagers are ready to ſupply them. The alfaqúi, or prieſt of the place, hath inſpection and ſuperintendency of theſe hoſpitals. The Moors have likewiſe peculiar places, reſembling the Infirmatories or Lazarettos in other nations, for thoſe that fall ſick in their journies, whom they treat with a laudable care, till they either recover or die: and if the infirm die, not leaving wherewith to bury him, there is care taken for his funeral, and a Muláto, or ſome baſer Moor, is appointed to beg the alms of the place to defray the expence of the ſtranger's interment. In theſe almamóras, the ſtranger is permitted to ſtay till the weather and his health diſpoſe him for his journey: but they repine at his abode, when it is not urged by neceſſity.

In later years, every town of traffic hath erected a ſort of inns, called Alfandách, which affords nothing but houſe-room for man and beaſt, the market yielding proviſion for both. Thoſe that farm theſe fandáchs, cannot exact above a blankil a night both for man and beaſt, which is in ſterling money about two-pence. The horſes lodging coſting equally with his riders.

Theſe fandáchs were at firſt built by the wealthier ſort of Moors, who dying in a pious humour, gave them to the giámma or church, to hallow, ſay the Moreſco Rabbies, the filthy lucre raiſed by their employment. However, the giámma has its revenues greatly augmented by ſuch donations. And whatever was the deſign of their inſtitution, we find them of late under a great degeneracy, being little better than tipling ſhops, where the Moors quaff the fruit of the vine. But that which herein moſt raiſed my admiration, was to ſee the incomes of theſe fandáchs, appropriated to the maintenance of the alfaqúis or prieſts, and that that holy order, having the diſpoſal of ſuch houſes, ſhould not ſee them under a more regular adminiſtration.

But to go from theſe public houſes to view the Moors in their private roofs, I find them in their careſſes frugal without parſimoniouſneſs, and placing no character of good houſe-keeping in abundance of viands. They have two diſhes in ſingular eſteem, the chief whereof cuſcuſsòu, which is made of water and flour, or grated bread, boiled into

into a conſiſtence, into which they put butter, or any kitchen-ſtuff: and this they eat without ſpoons; for when it is ready, every one that is admitted to taſte it, dives into it with his hand, and dancing it in his fiſt till it be ſhaped into a ball and cooled, then caſts it into his mouth. The other diſh is known by the name of pillów, vulgarly pronounced plàw, and it is the ſame with that which I ſaid has ſo near a reſemblance with the Spaniſh olla podrida. Beſides theſe two diſhes, the Moors of a better allay make their breakfaſts of bonuélos, or ſmall loaves boiled in oil, which they eat with ſugar or honey.

The country Moors feed much on milk, which they are by their law forbidden to taſte, if it has been touched by a dog. They have ſtore of cheeſe, but very coarſe and homely. And as for their butter, we may ſuſpect their cleanlineſs in making it; for they churn it in a ſheep or goat ſkin, dreſſed or fitted for that office, which they ſhake between their hands.

But not much delighted with their dairy-houſe, I leave it to obſerve their reverence to bread and corn, which is both great and general; for from the throne to the plough, if any ſee a crumb of the one, or a grain of the other caſt out or ſcattered, he ſtoops to take it up, kiſſeth it, puts it to his forehead, and looking up, ſaith, *Dillan*, It is from God; and then gives it to the firſt creature that will eat it.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Moreſco Giammas, or Churches: their Foundation, Conſecration, Manner of Structure, Subordination.*

ALL religions in their firſt model and conſtitution have had ſome leſs intelligible articles and things of a remoter ſignification, mingled with their eaſier doctrines and more obvious inſtitutions. And there has ever been found a catholic agreement, not only in the main article of the Deity, but alſo in ſome ſolemn manner of his worſhip. Upon which conſideration there were ritual circumſtances eſtabliſhed, for the more decent celebration of religious miniſters. In the number of which ritual circumſtances, I eſteem a dedicated place, ſeparate time, ſolemn actions, preſcript forms, and above all a diſtinct order of perſons, by whom the exterior religion is to be officiated, and to whom for the power and ſacredneſs of their function there have ever been decreed convenient obſervances and revenues. How determinate the Alcoran is in theſe particulars, falls not within the compaſs of theſe remarks, but it is evident to thoſe that attentively read it, that the author thereof ſeems not in any thing to be definitive. But whatever the mind was of that impoſtor concerning the mentioned rites, we find his ſectaries have in all their dominions made proviſion for ſolemnity in their worſhip; being guided thereunto either by the more laſting and regular principles of reaſon, or in imitation of ſome people of another perſuaſion, which they eſteemed wiſe and deliberate. Nor can Mahumed be blamed for not leaving decretals in the rites of worſhip, becauſe their nature is of ſo great an indifferency, that no religion doth acknowledge them to be determined in every particular by any law, meriting, or uſurping, the title divine: neither is there any thing in themſelves to make them originally neceſſary.

And therefore, without enquiring into the motives by which the Moors or others have been induced to the uſage of the acceſſories of religion, I only obſerve that the Moors are not therein defective; having churches, prieſts, times, revenues, &c. appropriate to the Divine adoration.

I ſhall begin with their giámmas, moſchs, or churches, in which this country abounds, and to which the Moors perform a great reverence and liberality, never ſuffering

ſuffering them to be profaned, nor to want a competent ſtock to keep them in repairs. The manner obſerved in the erection of a new giámma is orderly and laudable, which is thus: when a conſiderable number of people have agreed and reſolved to ſettle together in neighbourhood, they ſeek out a piece of ground convenient for their purpoſe, which by mutual conſent is divided, every family being allowed ſufficient room whereof to rear an habitation. This done, their next care is to ſet apart a ſpot of earth for the foundation of their giámma, with great regard that it have no conſiderable inequality of diſtance from their ſeveral habitations. After they have thus framed their deſign, the giámma is firſt built, to which holy work all ages, ſexes, and qualities of perſons contribute their labours gratis, every one valuing it for a peculiar felicity and honour to have his hands and ſhoulders wearied in ſuch a ſacred employment. The fabric or giámma being finiſhed, they dedicate it to no patronage but the public worſhip, nor uſe any other ceremony of conſecration, but only chooſe one that is able to read the Alcoran, whom they accompany to the new giámma, where ſome parcel of their law is read, and their ſallas, or offices performed, and from that time it is accounted a holy place. And the giámma being thus raiſed to its full ſtature, every family begins a cottage for itſelf, and when they are built, they ſeek for an alfaqui, or prieſt, to officiate in their new church, with whom they agree for a yearly penſion.

But we muſt reſtrain this cuſtom of building churches to the Barabárs who have fixed manſions; for the Alárbs who retain no place of conſtant habitation, have for their giámma a large tent ſtanding exactly in the middle of their dwelling-tents, whither they reſort at canonical hours to their oriſons, in which they are conformable to the other Moors.

The giámmas do all agree in the faſhion of ſtructure; being all long and generally narrow, not running into aiſles, nor branching into chapels and quires. Their ſituation is eaſt and weſt, without any windows at all, nor have their giámmas doors but on the north ſide. [They are without the too eaſy accommodations of ſeats, pews, or benches.] The floor of the giámma is handſomely matted, and ſo are the walls about two feet high. If the roof be large and weighty it is ſupported with pillars, among which hang the lamps, which are kept burning all the night.

Every giámma has a turret, on whoſe top is placed a creſcent, or half moon (a Mahumedan cognizance): from this turret the almudén, or ſexton, with a loud voice invites the people to prayers, which ſupplies the forbidden uſe of bells. The Moors keep their giámmas in a very reverend decency, never permitting any dilapidations. None are vouchſafed to enter them but the males of their own religion, which makes it dangerous for Chriſtians or Jews to look within them; yet if this happens they think not the holy place to be thereby any way defecrated. But this ſignal reſpect to their churches renders not their devotions elſewhere performed to be invalid; yet if poſſible they never fail to be at their giámmas, attributing much to the ſtatary prayers made in the church.

In greater towns there are many giámmas: in Tituàn fifteen, in Alcázar more, in Arzíla five, and in Fez ſeven hundred; among which there is a ſubordination, for the Giámma Gheber, or great giámmá, being the cathedral, or mother-church, commands the reſt, and is the cure of the alcalib, or chief prieſt. To the Giámma Gheber all the other giámmas conform in the hour of public offices, and though all the reſt are hung with lamps, yet this has one of a peculiar ſhape and quantity, called Ettouria, or the maſter-lamp, in teſtimony of the church's prelacy.

CHAP. VII.—*Of the Moreſco Prieſts, their Education, Orders, Office, Reverence of the Prieſt, Revenue, the Almudén, Penalties for Abſence from the Giámmas.*

THE Moors have at this day no ſchools of ſcience, like the European univerſities and colleges; which may be a main reaſon of their growing ſtupidity and barbariſm; for the want either of leiſure, or lack of opportunity to ſtudy arts and ſciences, becauſe their whole time is ſpent in gaining whereon to live, through a deficiency whereof the politeſt nations will ſoon degenerate into ignorance and ruſticity. As for the college called Amarodóch in Fez (whoſe ſtructure coſt King Aba Henen 480,000 crowns, and which has been ſo amply celebrated for the concinnity of its building, delightfulneſs of ſituation, carved roof, Moſaic arches and brazen gates), it is now wholly deſtitute of ſtudents. And if the Moors were not careful to keep up great ſtore of petty ſchools they would ſoon decay and fall into a total illiterature. In theſe petty ſchools the alfáqui, or prieſt, takes in the firſt rudiments of his learning, without any poſſibility of climbing higher than to write and read; and if a youth be found towardly and capacious, and bearing a good affection to the prieſthood, when he has arrived to the firſt form in the ſchool, he is removed thence, and placed with one of the beſt learned alfáquis in the town, or cavíla where the ſchool is kept. And this new tutor inſtructs his pupil to read the Alcoran with perſpicuity, and to underſtand the principal points it contains: the tutor likewiſe informs him of all the rites of the giámma, which being both few and eaſy, are quickly obtained; and when the ſcholar is deemed competent both for age and learning to be a prieſt, then his inſtitutor calls two or three alfáquis more to examine the candidate, who being found deſerving, they grant him teſtimonials of his willingneſs and abilities to be an alfáqui; and this is all the education and orders which I could obſerve to be beſtowed upon their prieſts. But it is very remarkable, that among the Moors none are admitted to this holy dignity but ſuch as are of a competent age, and married; for the former they render this reaſon, a novice ought not to be admitted to the prieſthood; but I conceive that their jealouſy, with which they are notoriouſly gifted, is the fitteſt account can be given of the latter.

The Moors ſuffer no giámmà to be vacant, becauſe they eſteem an alfáqui to be altogether neceſſary to exterior religion; and that common perſons, or the laity, performing the ſolemn offices of religion, doth make them common. For holy rites are no more to be diſpenſed by all, than the ſecular laws; and though all men have common intereſt both in religion and the laws, yet all cannot be adminiſters of either; and upon this conſideration, that in the combinations and communions of men religion cannot ſubſiſt without ſome to guide, officiate, and preſcribe the miniſteries thereof, the Moors are diligent to provide an alfáqui for every giámma, that there may be no vacancy nor omiſſion in the ſervice.

To the alfáqui the lay Moors pay a ſignal reverence, giving him the more honourable hand and place. They plough his ground, dreſs his vineyard, reap his corn, &c., to the end that by no ſecular cares he may be interrupted in his function; and by this I am guided to look into the office of the alfáqui, which is firſt, to preſerve the giámma in decency, and to provide that the ſtructure be not dilapſed, and that the lamps and matts be duly ſupplied. But the prieſt never puts his hand to any ſervile work, having thoſe under him upon whom all the drudgery is diſcharged.

The ſecond part of the alfáqui's office is to inſpect the inſtitution of the children; to which purpoſe he hath uſually under him one that is fit for the toil, and reſerves to himſelf no more but the examination of the children's proficiency, which he doth once a week; and thoſe whom he finds remiſs receive his correction, but the diligent the

marks of his approbation. They have no free ſchools, but pay a weekly ſalary to thoſe whom the alfáqui doth appoint to teach, for none can be a ſchoolmaſter without his licence and approof.

His next care is to take notice who abſent themſelves from the giámma, having power at his own diſcretion to puniſh whomſoever he obſerves to be therein delinquent. He is very vigilant to aſſiſt the ſick, whom dying he accompanies to the grave. If there happen any diſagreement among the neighbours, the alfáqui mediates a reconcilement, but if the quarrel exceeds ill language, and be concerning meum and tuum, he is not permitted to intermeddle.

If the alfáqui diſlike his cure, he hath liberty of removal, being not confined to any parochial giámma above a year, and he ſeldom contracts for a longer ſpace. And for that time he is the ſuperintendent of the moſque, out of whoſe rents he defrays all the charges for reparations, &c., taking the ſurpluſage for himſelf.

And now the remark paſſeth to the revenues of the giámma, which chiefly ariſe from the donatives of the dead. In ſome places the incomes are very large, in all comfortable; for the Moors exerciſe a great benevolence to places dedicated to religion: whereby they reproach many ſtyled Chriſtians, who caſt aſide the leaſt ſheaf for the tenth, and who are ſo far from enlarging the church's patrimony, that they are ready to devour the pitiful remainder that ſhe ſtill enjoys.

Muley Mahumed, in his third commandment, enjoins his Muſalmim liberality, and alms-deeds, which proceeding from goods honeſtly gotten are, according to the Alcoran, meritorious of Paradiſe. He likewiſe prefers private alms before the public, and declares the devil to be an implacable enemy againſt this expreſſion of mercy. And indeed there are many ſuch pious doctrines in the Alcoran, but they are but as ſo many good ears of corn in a good field of tares, or as ſo many ſingle grains loſt in a heap of chaff: it having been the ſubtilty of the old ſerpent in all ages to gild over his poiſonous pills, and to blend truth with falſehood, that the latter might be embraced for the ſake of the former. Beſides it is an ancient miſtake to think, that truth and falſehood are of too great a contrariety and diſtance to mingle and concorporate; which makes many, when they have found ſome truth in doctrine, to conclude no falſehood to be joined with it. And thoſe truths which are diſperſed up and down in Mahumed's law, being evident to its profeſſors, make them credulous of the whole ſyſtem. And though they are zealous for all the precepts, yet for none more than that which concerns alms-deeds; for they have their aſhoràh, which is an anniverſary feſtival whereat they beſtow a certain quantity of their ſubſtance upon the poor. But the greateſt bounties are towards the giámma, to which every one at his death leaves a portion of his eſtate, by which method the giámma has conſiderable endowments, which are under a continual improvement, and made capable of no manner of alienation.

To every giámma there belongs an almudèn, or a kind of ſexton, whoſe office is to call the people to church at the hours of prayer; which he doth from the top of the turret, (mentioned above) crying with a voice articulate and loud, *Illáh Ghebèr*, God is the great; and ſometimes, *Laillàh La Mahumèd Reſúl allá.*, There is but one God, and Mahumed the meſſenger of God. And theſe words the almudèn pronounceth at every corner of the turret, beginning at the eaſt, and ending at the point that looks towards Mecha; by which they ſignify, that all the corners of the world ſhould look towards Mecha in worſhipping the Deity, that is, be Mahumedans.

The next office of the almudèn is to open the doors of the giámma, to trim the lamps, and keep the matts in repair and cleanlineſs. He alſo informs the alfáqui, who hath an inherent power to puniſh thoſe who can ſhow no good reaſon of their abſence.

But the penalty is very tolerable, being no more than five or ſix pounds of cuſcuſſòw, which the offender brings to the giámma, where it is eaten by the prieſt and the aſſembly. None are found to offend therein through contempt or wilfulneſs, nor yet through the purſuance of their pleaſures; for there is ſo ſtrict an obſervance of the church-ſervice, that the huſband will leave the ſociety of his wife to be there, if he hears the almudèn ſpeaking the invitatory. The laſt branch of the almudèn's office is to diſmiſs the people, which he doth at the end of the ſalla, or oriſons, in the ſame words that he called them together. And now before I cloſe up this chapter, I cannot, ſpeaking of their eccleſiaſtic penance, but obſerve that the Moors have no ſuch thing as excommunication, ſo that they are for no crime debarred the giámma; but, on the contrary, the greateſt mulct inflicted by the prieſt is for their abſence, above three times in twenty-four hours, from that holy place.

CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Moreſco ſet Times of Prayer. The Preparation, Entrance into, and Deportment in the Giámma. Church Muſic.*

THE Moors' ſeaſon of prayers returns five times in twenty-four hours, or a natural day: the firſt is, alowilíc ſhah, and comes about noon; the ſecond they call allahiric luli, which is about three o'clock in the afternoon; the third atelthah asèr, at the going down of the ſun; the fourth alarbèe aſhá, a little within night; the laſt, alhamſah magnib, which is in winter a little before day. At every aſſembling the prayers are the ſame, except that at the allahiríc luli they repeat the la illa gheber but thrice. The Moors eſteem the prayers made in the giámma to be of the greateſt efficacy, and therefore all endeavour to perform them there; but thoſe who cannot repair thither, do diſcharge this duty where the ſolemn hours find them.

In their addreſſes to theſe holy celebrations the Moors uſe great tokens of reverence, being very punctual in fitting themſelves for the giámma. Their general preparative conſiſts in waſhing; which is ſuch a neceſſary right, that without its obſervation it is impoſſible to be of their religion. And it is notorious to all acquainted with the Mahumedan inſtitutes, that waſhing is a great part of that law; nor need this create any man's wonder, ſeeing that all the Muſalmim of the Alcoran uſe waſhing in a myſtic ſignification of internal purity, and that the ſoul receives the benefit of their corporeal lavors. None among them return from natural evacuations, but they waſh the parts liable to defilement; nor will any, who is a virtuoſo in the ceremonies, eat with unwaſhed hands; which at firſt I interpreted a mere civil cleanlineſs, becauſe they uſe no knives, &c., but tear their viands in pieces with their fingers, but upon farther ſcrutiny I perceived it to be reckoned by the ſuperſtitioſi among the actions of religion.

In places where they have hot baths, (which are in few places wanting) they uſe them after concubinate and all improvident pollutions; but their greateſt exactneſs in waſhing is at their going to prayer. Then every part where nature diſburdens her excretions is warily cleanſed, and the other parts alſo which are more egregiouſly obnoxious to pollution. If any Moor, after he has waſhed at home, in his way to the giámma chance but to belch, he dares not enter the holy roof until he has uſed the lotion; and therefore in the foundation of a giámma, great care is taken that it may ſtand near ſome ſpring, or receptacle of water, that thoſe who come to the church may be provided with that element in caſe of any contingent defilement, without the trouble of returning home to waſh.

When they come to the door of the giámma, every one puts off his ſhoes at the threſhold, and then enters with a ſlow pace, erect body, and eyes baſhfully looking towards

towards heaven: in this poſture they advance directly to the ſouth ſide of the giámma, and they always make their prayers toward that point, becauſe in all their devotions they are commanded to make them toward Mecha. While they are in the giámma none dare openly to yawn, cough, walk, diſcourſe, ſpit, ſcratch his head or face, but if any has need but to wipe his lips, he doth it unſeen, covering his countenance with his alheìc, which is a looſe garment generally worn by the Moors.

And by theſe reverences in their carriage toward holy places and performances, they are taught to upbraid the Chriſtians, whoſe behaviour at ſacred ſolemnities ſome of the Moors have obſerved to be of a far different character. And this I learned from a Moor who had unluckily been in England to make the animadverſion, with whom when I diſcourſed about this point, he told me with anger and indignation in his looks, that it was a ſhame to ſee women, dogs, and dirty ſhoes, brought into a place ſacred to God's worſhip, and that men ſhould walk and diſcourſe in a moſque, as in a public borſa or exchange, and that they ſhould have chairs there to ſit in with as much laſcivious eaſe as at home; which with other actions of the like irreverence he zealouſly repeated to reproach the Chriſtian; and indeed I was not furniſhed with arguments to (nor could in conſcience) excuſe any conſiderable part of his animadverſion: only I told him, that as for the excluſion of women from the public offices of the moſque, it was a doctrine of the Alcoran, grounded upon conceits of imperfection peculiar to that ſex, which are not ſo far to be owned, as for them to exclude the females from the means of their chiefeſt felicity. Beſides, this excommunion of women was an article of intereſt and policy, and which Mahumed adopted into his religion on purpoſe to compleaſe the Jew, who at this day begins his public prayer with a thankſgiving to God, *que no le hizo muger*, that he did not make him a woman, a creature not allowed to ſerve him in the ſynagogue; and that ſeeing we wanted reaſons which moved the Moors to this practice, we could incur no ſcandal by its rejection. As for his objecting our bringing dogs into the church, I told him it was an uncomely and irreverend permiſſion, and wholly abhorred by knowing Chriſtians; that there was a proviſion made againſt it, and that it had been his ill hap to look into a church where the ſanction in that particular met with a remiſs execution. Next, as to our having ſeats in the moſque (for I was to ſpeak in his own dialect), and to ſit at ſome parts of divine ſervice, cuſtom and innocent convenience were all that any one could pretend to hallow it. But as for walking in the church in time of divine ſervice, or therein at any time to diſcourſe of ſecular concernments, that it was only the practice of profane and ill-diſciplined minds, the miſcarriage of the rude, contrary to the rule, and a certain argument of a relaxed diſcipline and negligent ſuperintendant.

Pudet hæc opprobria.—

But I return to the giámma, whither the alfáqui comes not till a conſiderable number of the people are aſſembled; who in the prieſt's abſence ſpend their time in a devout repetition of the ſallah, a word that ſignifies the whole form of their prayers. And when the alfáqui is come, he advanceth ſtraight to the ſouth ſide of the moſque, and the people fall orderly into ranks behind him. Upon this the prieſt begins the prayer, in a voice moderately elevated, which the people humbly repeat after him. At the pronouncing of *Illah el ghcber*, that is, God is the great, they all uſe an elevation both of hands and eyes to heaven: at the name of Mecha, they all kiſs the ground; but when they mention Muley Mahumed, and the mercies he procures them, they fall proſtrate, and upon the ſudden, in a kind of rapture, reaſſume an erect. When the

prieſt

prieſt hath repeated *La illah Mahumed reſul allah* four times, the almuden diſmiſſeth the people; and when they leave the giámma, the alfáqui goes firſt, as a token of his prelacy above the people. Their falláh or ſervice is very ſhort, for if it took up any conſiderable time, the frequency of its return would take up moſt of their leiſure, and thereby be a ſenſible impediment to their temporal vocations.

In the cloſure of this chapter, I thought to have ſpoken ſomething of the Moreſco muſic in the moſque, but this I found to be a delightful piece of devotion, wherein they ſeem to be very ignorant. I have been told, that in former time they had in every giámma ſome lay-perſons that underſtood the cadences of the Alcoran, and which could ſing it in its original metre, which muſt needs be very harſh harmony, if any at all, in regard of the incapacity that is in the Alcoran language to fall into ſyllabical meaſures and tunable proportions. Beſides, the Moors have very harſh and ſawing voices, as they will have cauſe to obſerve who have had their ears grated with their amorous ſonnets, in which all are wont to expreſs their ſweeteſt and beſt moving accents.

CHAP. IX.—*Of the Moreſco Church Government. The Alcalib, or High Prieſt. The Inſtruction of the Women. Forms of Prayer. Charms compoſed by the Marabitós or Marabouts. Sabbaoth, its Inſtitution, Celebration.*

SOME have laid it down for a great reach in Muley Mahumed, that he reſerved the church government to himſelf and his ſucceſſors; which is ſtill viſible in the Grand Seignior and the Sophi; for albeit the one hath a mufti, and the other a muſtard-dini to inſpect the eccleſiaſtic affairs, and to be as the oracular interpreters of the Mahumedan law, yet their election is incommunicably in themſelves. And albeit that theſe principal churchmen are had in ſo great eſteem with their princes, that their deciſions are ſcarce ever contradicted by them, yet when their determinations are not conſiſtent with the intereſt of the public, theſe great oracles are diſmiſſed, and others introduced, who are not ſo ſcrupulous in their ſentences. By which it is evident, that the Mahumedan princes are in effect the heads of the church, and chief expoſitors of religion. But not much of this can be obſerved in the Moors' church government, who have in every cavíla (or county) an alcalib, or high prieſt, in whoſe nomination the ſecular power doth not at all interpoſe, for he is choſen out of, and by the alfaquis, over whom he is inveſted with a power, whereby he is enabled to depoſe, or otherwiſe chaſtiſe the offending clergy. Immediately upon this arch prieſt's election, he is poſſeſſed of the giámma gheber, or great church: wherein upon every Friday he expounds ſome text of the Alcoran, unto which exerciſe he always goes accompanied with the chief perſonages of the neighbourhood; and being entered the church, he immediately aſcends the albambár (which is a bench about five ſteps from the ground) with a tall ſtaff in his hand, wherewith he often beats upon the bench to expreſs his zeal, and to awaken the people to a more ſignal attention to what he then delivers. This diſcourſe, homily, expoſition, or ſermon, exceeds not an hour and a quarter in length, and is delivered exactly by heart. And when it is ended, the almuden diſſolves the congregation, and the alcalib returns to his houſe accompanied with the chief of the place, and in his paſſage he receives the cuſtomary tokens of reſpect from the people. And whatever ſome curſory review of this country tell us of the other prieſts making ſermons to the people, yet having with ſome diligence made enquiry into this particular, I found that the office of preaching was peculiar to the alcalib, or chief prieſt, and that no ſermons were celebrated at any other church,

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but at the giámma gheber, (that which I may Engliſh the cathedral.) This eminent church-man is ſeldom ſeen in public, but at this exerciſe; for to make himſelf the more reverenced he affects retirement, ſpending his hours in the ſtudy of the A'coran, and in reſolving ſuch caſes as the laity preſent him, who eſteem his reſolutions infallible; and this, with a careful inſpection into the deportment of the inferior clergy, doth conſtitute the office and government of the alcalib. As for his revenues, they are ſuitable to his condition; and as to his life, it is auſtere and reſerved, he affecting a peculiar gravity in all his carriage. Every alcalib has his diſtinct dioceſe, out of which he has no power, ſo that the alcalib of Beni-Aròs hath nothing to do in Minkél, for every one is abſolute in his own cavíla.

At the public inſtructions of the giámma none are preſent but the males, for the women, as I ſaid, are denied admiſſion into the aſſembly, yet are not wholly deſtitute of the means of being taught religion: for upon every Friday they repair to the houſe of the alfaquí, where his wife is bound to inſtruct them: but her lectures uſually concern good houſewifery, and how they ſhould demean themſelves to their huſbands, in obedience and ſubmiſſion, and to live in peace with their fellow-wives. All the while the women are at the prieſt's houſe, he is not to return home, nor ſtir out of the giámma, but hath his meat brought him thither. But for what reaſon the prieſt ſhould be under this reſtraint, I leave any one to imagine, who has heard of the Moreſco jealouſy. But now in caſe the prieſt has no wife, who ſeldom wants four; or that by any indiſpoſition ſhe is not able to perform this office, then it is diſcharged by ſome aged matron of the place; and for a further ſupplement of the women's being debarred of the giámma, their huſbands repeat unto them ſuch leſſons as they have heard there; and this is all that on this account I could obſerve of the Moors' women.

Muley Mahumed ſtyled prayer the key of Paradiſe, and the pillar of religion, that he might the better recommend its practice to his converts, who generally maintain ſo careful a performance of this duty, that no ſecular buſineſs can detain them from, nor any thing divert them at, their devotion. I once endeavoured to collect their prayers into an order, the better to take a diſtinct view of this pillar of their religion, but I found them reduced to no certain form extracted out of the Alcoran, but were a collection of ſome incoherent ſentences magnifying the power and mercy of God. Their firſt prayer, or rather their creed, is that which the almuden proclaims with a loud voice, when he calls the people to the moſque; as there is but one God, and Mahumed his meſſenger; and this admits of no variation. The ſecond prayer is the firſt chapter of the Alcoran, wherein there is ſome difference according to tranſlations (in which the Alcoran hath been very unhappy); but thoſe which I have ſeen in Latin, Spaniſh, and French, agree in this traduction of the chapter.

In the name of God, gracious and merciful, King of the Day of Judgment: thou art he whom we adore: it is from thee that we require help: guide us in the right way, in the way of thoſe with whom thou art pleaſed, againſt whom thou art not angry, and we ſhall not go aſtray. This prayer is repeated with the former, after the ſame manner as the Papiſts repeat their Pater-noſter with the Ave-Maria: for the Moors have their teſſeræ precariæ, or their beads, wherewith they number their prayers. And the whole corona or roſary conſiſts of ninety-eight, which the devoti, or religiouſly affected, carry always about them. They have a cuſtom to repeat often together the firſt words of the prayer, which they conclude to be a great act of charity, as ſupplying by this repetition the defaults of ſuch as are remiſs in this duty.

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In the name of God, merciful and gracious, is the proeme of every chapter in the Alcoran, and were the firſt words that Mahumed is ſaid to have ſpoken when he came out of his epileptic fits, which he made the people believe were trances. And with the ſame words the Mahumedan doctors begin all their diſcourſes; and the letters written in Moreſco language, if the pen-men are preciſe, are likewiſe introduced in the ſame form. There is a learned man, that tells of a prayer among the Mahumedans, which is called The Prayer of Jeſus the Son of Mary, ending thus, And let not ſuch an one bear rule over me, that will have no pity upon me, for thy mercy ſake, O thou moſt merciful. But having diligently enquired, I could not find that the preſent Moors have any ſuch litany in their uſes. There are few who are able to read, that want manuals of private devotions, which are compoſed by the morabitos, or morabouts, and are indeed rather to be termed charms, than prayers. Now theſe morabitos, or morabouts, are a ſort of Alárbes which are ſkilled, or ſo pretend to be, in the law of Mahumed, ſevere in their converſation, bearing a great oſtentation of ſanctity, pretending to propheſy, or predictions. They compoſe all ſorts of charms, to which the Moor is ſo addicted, that he has one for every occaſion: I have ſeen a whole book thereof, containing ſome for the child-bearing women, to facilitate their travail; ſome for the paſſenger, to guide him in the way; ſome for the ſoldier; and one for the horſe, which is much in the ſervice of the ſaddle: this they hang under the beaſt's neck, and believe that it keeps him from being blind, or dim-ſighted. They have likewiſe ſpells to keep their cattle healthy, and make them fruitful, all compoſed by the morabouts and prieſts; the latter, of late, being much given to this ſort of compoſures.

And now from theſe ſhort notices of the giámma and its appendages, I paſs to ſpeak of the Moreſco Sabbaoth. That the fifth day of the week is the weekly feſtival of the Mahumedans, to diſtinguiſh them from the Jew, who keeps the ſixth, according to our account, and from the Chriſtian who obſerves the ſeventh, is known unto every one that knows any thing of this ſubject. About the inſtitution of this Sabbaoth, variety of opinions may be met with: for ſome derive its original from the veneration Mahumed bore to the new moon, which is ſaid to have appeared on Friday, the ſame day he began his impoſture; and in memory of ſo happy an abodement, he ſet apart this for ſolemn worſhip. There is another conjecture which fetcheth its inſtitution from ſome heathen rites paid on this day to Venus, whoſe name Friday bears. But there is little ground of this opinion, further than it may well ſuit with the genius of Mahumediſm to have a day ſacred to the goddeſs of carnality. But that opinion herein ſeems beſt to agree with the chronicles of Mahumed, which makes his eſcape from the conſpiracy of the nobles of Mecha, to have been the occaſion of this Sabbaoth, from which deliverance the Mahumedan hegira had its original and name. And in this Mahumed undoubtedly imitated the ancient Chriſtians, who took their æras from ſome notable perſecutions. But whatever was the original of this Sabbaoth, I obſerved that it has no great marks of reverence above other days: for on it the Moors go to plough, hold their markets, open ſhops, and omit little of their ordinaries, ſo that I muſt retract my calling of it a Sabbaoth.

They indeed on this day have an expoſition at the giámma gheber, and on it they put on their whiteſt alheics, dreſs their locks, and are ſeen in their beſt accoutrements. The women likewiſe on this day viſit the ſepulchres, and ſtrew the graves of their deceaſed friends with green boughs and herbs: and this is all that I have been able to remark upon this ſubject.

CHAP.

CHAP. X. — *Of the Moreſco Judicatory, Chief Miniſter of Juſtice, Rule and Manner of Proceſs, Teſtimony upon Oath, Recovery of Debts, Puniſhment of Forgers of Writings.*

THE Moors have no judicatories, or public houſes where they aſſemble about judicial controverſies; neither have they any mercenary advocates, or profeſſed lawyers, but all is decided by an alcaddée, who is appointed by the ſupreme ruler to be the miniſter of juſtice in the cavíla and town where he lives. Now every cavíla hath a peculiar alcaddée, from whom they cannot appeal to any other but alcaddé gheber, or the chief of theſe juſtices, who is appointed to receive ſuch appeals, and is in conſtant attendance upon the King, or chief governor. But it is not permitted to uſe theſe appeals, except in cauſes which are ſuppoſed to be too difficult for the deciſion of the local alcaddées; and when the matter is of that importance that the parties are unwilling to acquieſce in the ſolitary ſentence of one ſingle alcaddée.

Theſe juſticiaries take no ſtate of retirement, nor do they weary out the poor clients with tedious attendances; but to ſignify the facility of acceſs, and their readineſs to relieve and ſuccour the oppreſſed, theſe alcaddées ſit in the gates of the city, or ſome open and public place, to hear and determine all caſes that are brought before them. And albeit that this manner of doing juſtice be conformable to the cuſtom of the greateſt and beſt antiquity, as alſo very ſignificative of open and clear dealing; yet the Moor renders another reaſon thereof, and that it is to avoid all ſuſpicion and jealouſy of corrupt carriage in the alcaddée with the female plaintiffs that ſolicit him for divorces.

Every one of theſe local alcaddées has two aſſeſſors, who in abſtruſer pleas aſſiſt him with their counſels: but the chief employment of theſe ſideſmen, is to copy out the ſentences of the alcaddée, and to draw up all the contracts that come to be confirmed by him; for there is no bargain eſteemed legal and authentic, till it be certified under the hand and ſeal of the topical alcaddée.

The Moors, as all other Mahumedans, acknowledge the Alcoran to be the immutable rule both of civil juſtice and religion, and therefore according to the letter and interpretation thereof, the alcaddée frames all his definitions and judgments. Here is no intriguing the plea with reſolutions, caſes, precedents, reports, moth-eaten ſtatutes, &c.; but every thing is determined according to the freſh circumſtances of the fact, and the proof of what is alledged. The teſtimony of two men, if they are of known ſobriety, is ſufficient to make good the allegation; but there muſt be twelve to ratify it, if their converſation be ſuſpected: for the Moors believe, that amongſt twelve men as much honeſty may be met with as will equal what can be found in any two. If any alfaquí or prieſt be introduced to give evidence to the depending conteſt, his bare affirmative or negative depoſition is of validity to put a period to the diſpute, and the alcaddée ſuperſedes all enquiry, when the prieſt hath declared the ſtate of the cauſe: and in this, as in all other inſtances, they give a reverend eſtimation to their prieſts, whoſe preſence ſecures the civil diſquiſitions a great veneration with the many.

In taking the teſtimony of a Moor upon oath, the ſervant of the alcaddée carries the deponent to the giámma or moſque, where in the preſence of the alcaddée he ſwears by that holy place, that he will declare all what he knows concerning the matter, to which he is to give evidence. But oaths are never adminiſtered to any in another man's caſe, but ſuch as are ſuſpected perſons, and they are uſually numbered among

the rogues and faithleſs, who have no credit without them; beſides it is never permitted for a man to ſwear in his own caſe, but for want of witneſſes, or when the accuſation is of that nature, that the impeached cannot otherwiſe receive purgation. As for the Chriſtian and Jew, they are ſuffered to give teſtimony according to the rites and cuſtoms of their own religions; but the Moors are not forward to put them upon this trial, as doubting that fear of puniſhment ſhould tempt them to perjury, and thoſe who are thereunto acceſſary (according to the Moreſco principle) are involved in the guilt.

In pleas of debt, it is required that the reality of the debt be firſt manifeſt, which being done before the alcaddée, he ſignifies it to the almocadém of the cavíla where the debtor lives, who upon his ſignification commands a preſent payment to be made; but if the debtor refuſe or be unable to give the creditor ſatisfaction, the almocadém remits him to the alháb's, or priſon, (which is always near the almocadém's houſe) where he ſtays till bailed thence by ſufficient ſureties, or perſonally pays the debt.

And to ſecure their courts of juſtice from interfering, or claſhing one with another; the alcaddée of one cavíla may not intermeddle with any thing that is tranſacted in another, but every one moves orderly in his own ſphere, and confines his proceedings within the punctual limits of his aſſigned juriſdiction. And that herein there might be no colluſion, covin, or impoſture, every alcaddée has his privy ſeal, wherewith he firms the contract, or other things that paſs under his hand. And the ſeal is uſually engraven with the name of the alcaddée, and place of his office. And yet notwithſtanding this care to prevent, they have the villany of forging deeds, which is done by ſome ſkilled in the alcaddée's office. But upon detection he that produces the forged paper is immediately impriſoned, and remains without hope of enlargement, till he declares the forger, and after that the alcaddée puts upon him a pecuniary mulct; but he deals much more ſeverely with the principal in his forgery, who for the firſt conviction receives a ſharp reprimand from the alcaddée, and after that the almocadém is ordered to burn his houſe; but if he be found to repeat his offence, the forger dies without mercy, which juſt rigour ſecures them from the miſchiefs of counterfeit writings to the prejudice of another's right. So that this is a villany through the whole world condignly puniſhed; and by our own laws, a ſecond forgery of deeds concerning another's land after a former conviction, is felony.

CHAP. XI. — *The Moreſco Puniſhments of Fornication, Adultery, Thievery, Retaliation, Murder, Bribery, Uſury, Alcaddée's Revenue, Opinion of the Jews.*

IN the Moreſco catalogue of crimes, adultery and fornication are found in the firſt comma, whoſe difference in the Moors' opinion may be collected from their penalties. For adultery, it is always capital, inſomuch that without regard of any eminence or quality, the convict thereof is certainly ſtoned to death, which is done with moſt notorious circumſtances. For firſt the day of execution is publiſhed, then the criminal is brought to the Calvary, where buried up to the naval in a mat mora, or a pit digged for that purpoſe, every one preſent caſts one ſtone, and no more at him, ſaying, this is for thy filthy tranſgreſſion of the law; but if the adulterous be perſons of condition, their friends have licence to diſpatch them privily, to prevent the open reproach to their family.

In the puniſhing fornication they are leſs rigorous, as finding the miſchief thereof not to be of ſo large a derivation, as that of adultery. And if the perſons convicted of this unchaſtity are in the ſtate of cœlibate, they are only chaſtiſed with ſcourges: but

but if either be married, or under matrimonial contract, death is the certain penance. But the Moors are no leſs ſolemn in whipping the fornicator, than in ſtoning the adulterer. For on Friday, after the arch prieſt has ended his lecture, the offender, if a man, is placed at the great door of the giàmma guebèr, or cathedral church, naked down to the middle, and in the preſence of the congregation receives an hundred ſtripes on his back from an officer appointed for that purpoſe, who has a certain number of blankéles (or Moreſco twopences,) for his ſervice; the Moors as they paſs by the chaſtiſed, uſe theſe deprecatory words, *Allah Jffecni min had El ham.* i. e. God deliver me from this wicked fellow. The woman who hath been partner in the filthineſs, ſuffers her puniſhment in the night, when ſhe is whipt through the ſtreets, but with more ſeverity than the man, becauſe the Moors ſuppoſe the female to be of a predominant allurement in ſuch unclean commixtures.

The Moors who live in a roving condition are much addicted to thievery, againſt which the alcaddée proceeds by theſe ſteps of puniſhment: for the firſt theft the convict is publicly whipt in the alſóuck or market; for the ſecond, he loſeth his hand; for the third theft he may truly be ſaid to die without mercy. For the Moors obſerve Caligula's ſeverity in making the offender exquiſitely ſenſible of his death, which they inflict. Againſt the day of the thief's execution, the youth of the place are advertiſed to prepare their inſtruments of blood, which are little dry canes, made in the faſhion of darts, accurately ſharp pointed, theſe they hurl at the naked body of the malefactor, till his whole ſkin be ſtruck therewith full of holes, and when they find him ſinking under the torture, they drag and hang him up by the heels upon a gate, or the like, where he breathes out his laſt in torments, and being dead he is loathſomely expoſed to the birds of prey.

In bodily injuries they obſerve the law of retaliation, as an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, &c. but it is in the power of the maimed party to receive a pecuniary reparation, or without any ſatisfaction to remit the wrong; but this is not permitted till the matter hath been tried before the alcaddée, and the hurt party publicly declared that he is willing either freely to forgive the injury, or to accept ſo much money in full repair.

And however the municipal laws of ſome countries put a vaſt difference between murder and man-ſlaughter, as appears in their defined puniſhments, yet in Barbary all homicide, or killing of a man by a man, is capital.

And the Moors have herein two conceſſions. The one is to licenſe the next kindred of the ſlain, to take money for his blood of him that ſpilt it. The other to permit the relations of the murdered to kill the murderer, without any judicial procedure, if he be not already in ſafe cuſtody; which is no more than a purſuance of that poſition, Revenge is no ſin. Of this there happened a famous inſtance, not many months before I left Barbary, an account whereof, as it was given me by my old friend Cidi Alli Mulud Ben Ali, take as follows.

A Moor of Targa not far from Tituàn having his brother treacherouſly murdered by one of the vicinage, undertook to purſue the fugitive murderer, with deſign to avenge his relation's blood, and coming to Alcazer Gheber, he was informed that the perſon he fought for had ſome days before been there, and that he had put on a pilgrim's habit, with full reſolution to pay a holy journey to Mechà; upon which the purſuer put on the like habit, and in proſecution of his deſign purpoſed to perform the ſame pilgrimage; but being come to Morocco, he overtook and lodged with the murderer in the pilgrims' hoſpital, where early the next morning he ſlew him; whereupon being apprehended and examined upon the freſh circumſtances of the fact, he

produced a certificate under the hand of the alcaddée of the place where he lived, that his brother was ſlain, and that he had undertaken to avenge his death, the murderer being fled, and likewiſe anſwered them, that that was the homicide whom he had killed, whereupon he was ſet at liberty, and the corpſe left to his diſpoſal, to which giving a decent interment, he returned home to receive the praiſes of his gallantry.

But to return to the alcaddée, whom I ſhall here only obſerve in his revenue and office; as to the former it is very conſiderable, for he ſigns not a paper without a fee; and as to the latter it is very honourable and careful, for all civil affairs paſs through his hands, and he daily ſits attending on all qualities of perſons without varying his reſpect to any. If he be corrupt in this charge, the alcaddée gueber, upon mature conviction, turns him out of office, which is his extremeſt penalty.

But indeed the miniſters of juſtice have no opportunity to be colluſive, as being free from the great allurement of dealing falſely, for bribery is not known amongſt them. Uſury (which I promiſed to intimate in this chapter) is totally forbidden by their law; for Mahumed hath made it an irremiſſable ſin, and the uſurer in as bad a condition as the devil, leaving him neither will nor hope to be ſaved.

Yet notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the law, and the ſuppoſition of this crime; the Moors have a cuſtom which much favours it; for he that borrows money of another wherewith to traffic and gain, gives the lender an equal ſhare of the profits, and in caſe the borrower loſe the whole principal, he is obliged to make it good to him that lends it, but if only part be loſt, the remainder is employed to regain it. And it is uſual with the lender to forbear the borrower, till he perceives him fraudulent, careleſs, or unfortunate.

And becauſe the ſin of uſury is ſo notorious among the Jews, the Moors believe that for it they are oppreſſed of God, and live exiles from their own Canaan. But it is eaſy to obſerve a ſort of antipathy between theſe people, notwithſtanding that they are conjoined in neighbourhood, commerce, and in very many rites both civil and religious. But the contempt is reciprocal; for if the Moor by way of proverb ſay, As deceitful as a Jew, the Jew repays, As unbelieving as a Moor. And this enmity I remarked in a Farabár of my acquaintance, who obſerving the Jews very much frequent my lodging, he very roundly reproved that converſation, and angrily told me, that the Jews were born to cheat both the Moor and the Chriſtian, that he was aſſured that they were not deſcended of Adam, but that they were breed of the bone of a dead beaſt, and when he conjectured my incredulity of his ridiculous ſtory, by my ſmiling thereat, he told me in angry zeal, that he would pledge his head for the truth of his aſſertion; whereupon I demanding what he conceived of thoſe Jews who turned Moors, he anſwered that there was ſuch efficacy in their religion that it made all thoſe good who embraced it.

CHAP. XII. — *The Moreſco Opinion of Marriage, Manner of wooing, Marriage Solemnity, carrying home the Bride, offering Wedding Feaſt.*

THAT marriage is honourable among all men, if it were not a truth dropt from an inſpired pen, might be proved by induction, and the œcumenical conſent of all nations, which pretend to any ſettled rites in religion or policy. As for Mahumed, he had matrimony in ſo peculiar an eſtimation, that he made it the ſecond of his eight precepts, and enjoined every ſubject of his law to marry in the vigour of his age, making the predominant end thereof, the propagation and maintenance of his ſect. He like-

wife told them that chaſte celibate was impoſſible, and that thoſe who pretended to live therein, were juſtly to be ſuſpected for unclean converſation. And hence perhaps it comes to paſs, that the Moors (who are the Puritans in Mahumetiſm,) are ſo generally obſervant of this commandment; for few among them are found to live out of the ſtate of wedlock, if they are able to purchaſe a wife. But many are not very prone to take all the liberty in marrying indulged them by their Prophet; for albeit he permits them plurality of wives, yet there are ſeveral families that for many ages have confined themſelves to one: and I have met with thoſe who abhor that filthy poſition fathered upon Muhumed, that the more they are ſpiritual, the more liberty and abilities they have to be carnal.

Unto the perſons that are to be married there is no converſation permitted till the knot be tied, ſo that both parties take one the other upon truſt, and the man perchance never ſees the woman till they be brought to the bride-chamber; a cuſtom that would be very hardly digeſted by the Utopians, who think it very unreaſonable that a man ſhould take a wife with leſs ſcrutiny than he doth his horſe, and that he ſhould bring one to be the perpetual partner of his life, with leſs information than he doth a horſe to his ſtable, which he may part with the next day.

But the contriver of the New Atlantis finds all theſe inconveniences avoidable by the cuſtom of Benſalem: where (ſaith he) near every town there is a couple of pools (which they call Adam and Eve's pools); in theſe it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, another of the woman, to ſee them ſeverally both naked. And the Moors have a cuſtom not much differing from this of Benſalem, for upon the deſign of marriage two of the man's female friends, who have lived long enough in wedlock to underſtand its perquiſites, are appointed to view the intended bride, and to give the ſuitor an account of her bodily accompliſhments and defects, which is exactly entered in the contract, and if any infirmity be concealed for which the huſband afterward diſlikes her, he may put her away; and this makes them very cautious to omit nothing in the ſearch or report; but there is no ſuch examination paſſed upon the man, becauſe he is daily expoſed to a free cenſure.

If this inquiſition be paſſed with ſatisfaction, then they proceed to frame the articles of marriage, which is always done by the neareſt friends or relations of the parties to be contracted. And when they have finiſhed them, they are brought to the alcaddée to be confirmed under his hand and ſeal; for unleſs the bargain be thus ratified, the woman in caſe of her huſband's death, or her own divorce, cannot recover the portion that was promiſed her, or rather the price that was to be paid for her by the man; for I ſuppoſe that few are ignorant of the Moreſco cuſtom of buying their wives. When the paper containing the bargain has paſſed the alcaddée, it is carried to the alfaquì, who having peruſed and declared his approbation of its contents, he bids the man take home the woman when he pleaſeth to be his wife; and this is all that is done by the prieſt in this, according to their eſtimate.

And after this ſhort diſpatch of wooing, contract, and marriage, the bridegroom's next conſultation is with his own convenience in order to fetch home his bride: in which the warm clime ſuffers him not to be tedious. But herein he is obliged to obſerve the appointed times; for neither all weeks in the year, nor all days in the week, nor all hours in the day, are free for this ſolemnity. For the taking home the bride is altogether prohibited during their Ramadàn, or Lent: the like prohibition reacheth unto the Tueſdays, Wedneſdays, and Fridays of every week, and on the canonical or regular days the afternoon and evening are the accuſtomary hours. At the time when marriage is celebrated, they uſe all poſſible ſignifications of joy and hoſpitality; and it

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is the cuſtom for the friends of the married to contribute ſomething to grace their nuptials. Therefore if the married pair live both in the ſame town, then at their ſet time the bridegroom goes attended with his neareſt kindred, who coming to the lodgings of the bride are not ſuffered to go in, but wait at the door till the Negroes, which the huſband hath bought or borrowed for that day, bring the bride from her chamber under a canopy of alheicks, and place her in an almaria, or cloſe chair (much reſembling a tub), which they cover with ſcarfs and ribbons. And in this manner ſhe is borne through the ſtreets by Chriſtians that are captives, and for want of theſe by Negroes, or by a meaner ſort of Whites. When they begin their march from the bride's houſe to the bridegroom's, the muſic, colours, and drums paſs in the firſt rank; next to them go ſome ancient women, who have been a long ſpace married, all cloſely veiled; immediate next after the almaria, or bride-chair, march thoſe who carry the clothes and preſents of the bride, which have been made her by her friends, who follow immediately after in a regular diſpoſition. When they are come to the bridegroom's, the chair being lighted, the Negroes take out the bride, and under a canopy of alheicks conduct her to her apartment, where ſhe is received by ſome aged matrons, who inſtruct her in the important offices of a good wife, and the rules of that relation, but they are wary of betraying any diſcouraging ſeverity, and therefore intermit their documents by taſting the good cheer provided for their entertainment. While the bride is thus careſſing the matrons, and receiving their maternal counſels, the bridegroom entertains his comrades, feaſting them with the beſt cuſcuſſow, and briſk wines, if their over ſcrupulouſneſs debar them not the cheerfulneſs of that beverage. But the bridegroom is not licenſed for that time to drink freely of any ſtrong liquor, for reaſons not worth the mentioning.

In the interim of this entertainment, the bachelors make a kind of offering to their wedded companion; in which they obſerve this method: the bridegroom placeth himſelf upon a little low ſeat, behind him ſtand two Negroes bending his head moderately back; then come the bachelors, who cover the bridegroom's forehead and brow with metacales (or ſingle coins of gold) and blankéles, according to their affection and ability: and as they lay them on, the Negroes ſtroke them off into a baſin ſet for that purpoſe in the bridegroom's lap, who all the while ſhuts his eyes. The Negroes likewiſe call every one by name who offer, ſaying *Fulano* (or ſuch an one) lays on ſo much, God enlarge his life and riches. And this continues till all the bachelors have been at the corban. About eight of the clock the company breaks up, with reſolution to reaſſemble the next morn; and when they are gone, the bridegroom viſits the bride, whom he undreſſes with his own hands, firſt taking off her ornaments, then untieing her drawers, and in every point prepares her for his bed; none being admitted to aſſiſt, or to be preſent at this office. And this they ſay he doth, in ſignification that ſhe is wholly and only at his diſpoſal.

Some conocidos, or intimate aſſociates of the bridegroom, ſtay behind the reſt of the company to congratulate the firſt pleaſures of his marriage. For about midnight he leaves his bride to manifeſt unto his ſelect companions the evidences of her virginity, by traditional arguments authentic with the Moors. This good news they all celebrate with increaſe of jollity; and now they venture to warm the bridegroom with his own fires, and endeavour to return him to his bride crowned with his own vine. But if ſhe yield not theſe teſtimonies of virginity, it is in his power to put her to death, or otherwiſe to diſpoſe of her as he pleaſeth. For they eſteem that the moſt unpardonable ſort of cozenage, which takes a man's ſelf and his money for that which is impoſſible to be made

made good. And thoſe women are accounted egregiouſly impudent, who conſcious of their own failures dare put themſelves upon this adventure.

But if for this injury he returns her to her friends, ſhe meets with that rigour at their hands which ſhe might eaſier have undergone from her huſband; for all her couſins think themſelves diſhonoured in the debauchery of their kinſwoman, which they imagine cannot be expiated but either by death or ſome more durable purgatory. And by reaſon of this juſt ſeverity, the Moreſco damſels are very cautious of their behaviour, and ſcarce in half an age hath any one been convict of this delinquency; however, the man is circumſpect not to omit the ordeal.

When the bridegroom and bride have refreſhed themſelves apart with their choice companions, all are diſmiſſed till the next day, when the feſtival is re-aſſumed, and laſts a conſiderable time; the wedding feaſt of the pooreſt continuing a week; and for this time the new-married man has a privilege to be abſent from the moſque without fear of mulct. Some grandees are not ſeen abroad, from the day of their wedding till they can ſhew the pledge thereof in their arms: but theſe are bound to have a diſpenſation from the alfachi for their abſence from the moſque, and to obſerve the times of prayer in their chambers.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of the Moreſco Polygamy, Concubinage, Divorce, for what Reaſons, in what Caſes it is allowed.*

THAT the Muley Mahumed might the better compleaſe the looſe humours of his firſt ſectaries, he made his religion to contain many carnal indulgences, denying nothing to believers of his doctrine, that had any ſenſible compliance with their brutal affections. And of this we meet with an example in his conceſſion of polygamy and concubinage; for firſt he granted to every profeſſor of his religion the liberty of marrying four wives; he likewiſe taught that they might take as many concubines as they were able to maintain, but in this alſo the more illuminated Moors confine themſelves to one of their own perſuaſion, eſteeming concubinate with infidels (under which name all are comprized that profeſs not Mahumatiſm) to be an unexorable uncleanneſs. As for polygamy it is looked upon as a divine inſtitute, and when any object againſt it, the Moors vindicate it by the frequent examples and univerſal cuſtoms thereof, in the patriarchs and worthies of the Hebrew world. And I could meet with none who aſſerted plurality of wives upon politic conſiderations, as that it was convenient for the propagation of the empire, increaſe of people, and enlargement of their religion; but that it proceeded from God, was uſed by the holieſt of his ſervants, and the economy of the old law.

When the inconvenience of theſe plurality is objected, and that their economics cannot but be much diſordered, by reaſon of the inquietudes and ſtrifes that will inevitably ariſe among ſo many female co-rivals for one man's affection; they tell you that this is a diſeaſe whoſe remedy is of a very eaſy procurement, by reaſon of that abſolute dominion which the huſband hath over his wives, whom, if they prove diſagreeing, he confines to their ſeveral apartments, without allowing them any further converſation among themſelves than that their ſociety at meals affords them. And if this will not cure the unpeaceable humour, then divorce proves an infallible receipt; of which give me leave to give this brief account.

When the woman finds herſelf aggrieved by her huſband, or any of her fellow wives, her only reparation and ſuccour is to ſeek a divorce. And in this caſe ſhe has liberty to addreſs herſelf to the alcaddee, who has the ſole power of diſſolving, as well

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as of tying, the knot of matrimony. And when the woman has declared her condition, and ſpread before the alcaddee the reaſons upon which ſhe grounds her deſire of divorce, the alcaddee preſently ſends for the huſband, and examines him concerning the verity of the complaint brought againſt him by his wife; if he deny it, then the matter is decided by the voice of the neighbours; but if the huſband have a willingneſs to be quit of his wife, then he need but confeſs that whereof he is accuſed, and the alcaddee tears in pieces the bill of their marriage which he had confirmed, declares the marriage void, and certifies the divorce under his ſeal; and from hence forward they are both at liberty for new nuptials; from which the woman is bound to abſtain till it be apparent that ſhe is not impregnate by her laſt huſband, who is ſtill obliged to provide for the iſſue that ſhe ſhall bring into the world five months after the divorce; but if ſhe cannot tarry ſo long, then the alcabla or midwife, has her in examination, who is bound to return a juſt and true report, upon pain of being ſtoned to death. The Moors call the divorce and widows by the ſame word, and enjoin them the ſame laws of fecond marriage.

The chief cauſes of divorce on the woman's part are either diſquiet and froward carriage to the family, eſpecially when ſhe will not live in amicable ſociety with the ſharers of the ſame bed; or when ſhe is unpleaſing to her conjugal embraces, or when ſhe will not endure his familiarity with his women ſlaves. But if ſhe be found guilty of adultery, the injury is too great for divorce to repair, and in this caſe ſhe is ſolely left to the pleaſure of her huſband, who has abſolute power both to be her judge and executioner; and albeit the Moors are not ſparing in the revenge of their kindred's death, yet they applaud the huſband who kills their kinſwomen, whom he has certainly found treacherous to his bed.

The occaſions of divorce on the huſband's ſide are his refuſal of paying his wife marrital due, or ſome other ſort of unkind deportment. But after all the wife's complaints, the huſband is at liberty to retain or put her away; and he may at any time divorce his wife, in caſe he will make good the marriage contract.

It is uſually ſaid, that the wives ſeek for divorce when their huſbands deal unnaturally with them; and albeit this is ſaid to be done with a great deal of modeſty, the crime being ſignified by the turning up of a ſhoe; yet in Barbary examples of this kind are very unuſual, for the Moors abhor the villany, believing that it is not in man's nature to be ſo prepoſterous; and that it was at firſt the malicious invention of ſome vile and impudent ſtrumpet.

The children which are begot before divorce follow not the woman, but are left to the huſband's charge. And it is obſervable that the Moreſco women ſeldom prove unfruitful; for in a town of above twelve hundred married women, it was reckoned for a great rarity that there was one died barren. But the wife, different from the Jewiſh cuſtom, ſuffers no diſhonour for her ſterility, and if the huſband takes a ſecond wife who proves alſo childleſs, the huſband bears the imputation. Mahumed in the fourth chapter of his Alcoran, adviſeth the huſband whoſe wife is barren to ſwear by her belly, and aſſerts it a means to make her conceive. A devotion which, as I have been told, is ſtill in uſe among the Alárbes, but quite worn out of faſhion with the other Moors.

In the nurſing of children the mother abhors that unnatural pride of ſuckling them with other breaſts, while her own are ſufficient for that affectionate ſervice. And to ſhew that there is ſomething more than common kindneſs in this particular, the Empreſs herſelf is obliged for the firſt ſeven days to give her child ſuck.

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And now, before I diſmiſs this remark, I cannot but acquaint you with all the material ceremonies of the ſecond, third, and fourth marriages. Every former wife upon the introduction of another, lives ſeven days deprived of all manner of ſociety with her huſband, who for that time devotes himſelf entirely to his laſt bride; whom on the ſeventh day after marriage he ſolemnly brings into the acquaintance and fellowſhip of his other wives, whoſe brows the laſt married is bound to kiſs, and tells them that they are not to be angry that their holy law hath entitled her to a ſhare in his affection as large as any of theirs. The huſband likewiſe exhorts them all to reciprocal kindneſſes, aſſuring them that without fraud, or any partiality, he intends to divide himſelf among them.

Now that which ſeems moſt nearly to concern the wives, and proves the greateſt and moſt incentive of their wrath is their huſband's liberty of taking as many concubines as he liſts; which for the moſt part are blacks, the Moors doting much on that Spaniſh ſaying, *la negra tiene turmentina en ella.* But thoſe that keep concubine ſlaves, are not permitted to aſſociate with them in the night, and if any of them bear their patrons children, ſhe thereupon receives her liberty, and the child is coheir with thoſe begot in wedlock.

CHAP. XIV.—*Of the Moreſco Admiſſion of Renegados, Circumciſion, Impoſition of Names, Surnames.*

EVERY religion has had ſtill ſome rites appropriated to the admiſſion of ſuch as undertook its profeſſion, and by which they were characterized and diſtinguiſhed. Concerning this the author of Mahumatiſm was much diſtracted, not knowing what inaugurating ceremony to ordain. His two aſſeſſors, Sergius the monk, and Abdalla the Jew, divided him with their opinions, while each pleaded for the character of his forſaken faith. But the wary impoſtor (labouring to keep up the credit of his pretenſions, in being ſent to be the reconciler of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religion, and to compoſe a law comprehending both) to comply with Sergius, who ſtood ſtiffly for baptiſm; he ordained daily waſhings to all thoſe who became Mahumetans, and aſcribed thereunto no leſs efficacy than the cleanſing of the ſoul. And that he might not diſguſt Abdalla the Jew, he made circumciſion admiſſive of proſelytes into his law; but did not inſtitute it under any notion of abſolute neceſſity, and indiſpenſably required of all who undertook the profeſſion of his religion, but made the want of it no impediment of future happineſs. And therefore in the admittance of a renegado, or the denyer of his firſt religion, circumciſion is not exacted of the Moors, for fear that the undergoing of ſuch a painful ſacrament ſhould deter the proſelyte. But when any deſires to be of their perſuaſion, they carry the new Muſſulman on horſeback, in a kind of triumph through the ſtreets, and proclaim that ſuch an one being turned Moor, deſires the aſſiſtance of their prayers that he may not apoſtatiſe.

But their male children are initiated by circumciſion, and becauſe the child may die before it can be circumciſed, therefore the lack of this rite in ſuch a caſe is concluded to be no hindrance of its enjoyment of Paradiſe. When the child is ſeven days old, the Moors give it a name, and the father of it makes a feaſt. But the impoſition of the name is done in the public aſſembly; for the father at the evening-ſallah carries to the church ſeveral diſhes of cuſcuſſow, of which he ſets one apart for the prieſt, and the reſt to be eaten up by the people. And when the prayers are ended, the congregation demand of the father what he will call his child, and if the name he gives it be not ſatisfactory to the people, they decide it by lots what he ſhall be called, for every man

here has a vote in the naming of his neighbour's child. And when they have agreed the point, all pray that the child may live, prove rich and valiant, and underſtand the Alcoran; then they eat up the cuſcuſſow and depart. It is obſervable that the prieſt, neither at the naming nor circumciſion of the child, has any appropriate office, of which I could find no other reaſon, unleſs the Moors eſtimate of theſe ceremonies, which they never reckon among the eſſentials of religion.

There are ſome who have aſſerted, that there is an inevitable time of circumciſion among all the Mahumetans; but if they had lived in Barbary, they might have leſſened the propoſition, for the Moors circumciſe their children when they pleaſe, being by law not bound up to any particular day or hour. But it is generally grown into faſhion, to circumciſe at the animadverſary feaſt called Mulud, kept in December in memory of Muley Mahumed. And few or none defer the circumciſion of their males at the firſt Mulud after their nativity. Now there is no perſon ſet apart for this office, but the child is circumciſed by any that has a gentle and nimble hand, to whom the parent gives a bountiful reward.

When the ſons arrive to a due maturity, they are diſpoſed of to vocations, among which the ſword is reckoned the moſt honourable, as a privilege of primogeniture belongs to the firſt born. The reſt betake themſelves to ſuch callings as beſt agree with their inclinations and fathers fortunes. Many of the wealthier ſort put their ſons to be talbyes, that in caſe they be reduced to want they be in capacity to be received into the prieſthood and be maintained by the church.

The Moors have no ſurnames, which want they ſupply by adding to the child's name either the name of ſome remarkable time when it chanced to be born, as the Ramadan, Mulud, Aſhora, and the like; or the name of the father by prefixing Ben, as Hader Ben Abdalla: being the ſame with Thomas Fitz Williams, &c. and the higher they derive the pedigree by reckoning up their anceſtors, it is accounted the moſt honourable. And in this they follow the ancient cuſtom, for to add to a man's proper name the proper name of his father by putting [ſon] before it, was of old inſtead of that which we now call ſurnames: and in ſome parts this is not yet worn quite out of uſe. Whether the names now given by the Moors, are ſignificative of any virtues deſired or foretold by thoſe that impoſe them, to be in the children, hath not yet fallen under my comprehenſion.

Curioſity tempting me in purſuance of this note, to enquire into their child-births; I found that therein they obſerved a decency conformable to the beſt civilized people. For the pregnant wife perceiving the approach of her pangs, calls for the alcabla, or mother, the ſame with our midwife, to aſſiſt her travails, who never leaves her till the ſeventh day after her delivery, for ſo long ſhe keeps her bed, and tarries forty days before ſhe aſſociates with her huſband. Who if he be ſcrupulous will not embrace his wife from the time ſhe appears impregnate, till the laſt minute of the forty days after her delivery be accompliſhed.

CHAP. XV. — *Of the Moreſco Funeral Rites, Teſtaments, Mourning for the Dead, Eſteem of Interment, Sepulchres, Places of Burial, &c.*

THE Moors are very careful that nothing be wanting or diſorderly in the rites of burial, wherein the ſurviving relations ſignify great ſentiments of humanity and affection toward the deceaſed: whom when they underſtand that they are ſick, they delay not to viſit, on purpoſe to admoniſh them of their faults, and to exhort them to look forward to the great pleaſures of Paradiſe. The prieſt never omits this good

office of aſſiſting the ſick; and I have been told, that there are certain azaoras or parcels of the Alcoran, appointed to be read on this occaſion to the infirm, who if he die not while thoſe azaoras are thrice read over, it is an omen of his recovery; but if the agony be obſerved to increaſe in the time of reading, they conclude that the patient will not eſcape: which when the ſick man obſerves, and ſees that in all probability his diſtemper will terminate in death, he begins an exact diſpoſal of his eſtate, whereof in the firſt place ſome part is bequeathed to the parochial church where he lives, and ſome ſmall legacies to the alfachí and almudén, and the reſt he leaves to be divided by the alcaddée among his wives and children: in which diſtribution, a ſon hath twice as much as a daughter, and the wives can claim no more than is ſet down in their contract of marriage.

In ſignification of their love to the dead, the near kindred of both ſexes uſe tokens very expreſſive of ſorrow: the men teſtify their griefs by putting on their coarſer alheícks, and not wearing any thing that is very white about them, which at other times is a chief part of their bravery: for they account white to be no leſs a token of cheerfulneſs than innocence, and therefore account the wearing thereof very improper for ſuch ſorrowful occaſions. The men likewiſe (that are of near alliance to the dead) cut not their beards, but declare their penſiveneſs; they ſuffer a great neglect in all thoſe accoutrements, in which at other times they are very curious; and by a peculiar fancy they have ſome hairs hanging over their eyes in token of a careleſs ſorrow. But this is done chiefly for ſuch as come to untimely ends.

The women are very loud and dolorous in their lamentations of the departed, and they intermit not to howl over the corpſe while it is in the houſe, which is not long, for as ſoon as the breath is expired, the dead body is waſhed with ſoap and warm water, by thoſe of the ſame ſex with the departed. Then the body is wrapt in white linen and laid in a coffin (though a coffin is but the lot of a few) on the right ſide, with the face toward Mecha, in which poſture it is alſo buried. When the corpſe is carried out to burial, the prieſt goes next unto it, who coming to the grave or ſepulchre, prays that the ſins of the defunct may be remitted, and that he may have a portion in the promiſed delights. Returning home from the burial, they have a feaſt to comfort thoſe of the family who are not permitted to dreſs any thing while the corpſe is in the houſe; and this conſolatory feaſt is great or ſmall, according to the condition of the dead.

They account it a great unhappineſs for one of their faith to want a decent interment; and therefore if any die without an eſtate ſufficient to diſcharge his funeral expences, they ſupply it by a neighbourly contribution. Thoſe that are more wealthy and honourable have ſepulchres, which vary both in materials and faſhion: for ſome are built of rough ſtone, others of coarſe marble, but the moſt of brick: ſome in form of a half moon, others open upon pillars; and ſome round and cloſe, and to be entered by a door. But the vulgar lie in common graves, covered with green turf and boughs. At the feet and head of thoſe that are thus buried, they fix large ſtones, in which are written the name of the interred, with the year of his age and hegira. As for epitaphs, they are quite worn out of requeſt, yet they were in great eſtimation of old, as may be gathered from that collection which John Leo made thereof, and preſented it to a brother of a King of Fez.

Upon every Friday the women repair to the graves of their deceaſed friends, whoſe deaths they bewail with a very loud and bitter lamentation, recounting the great ſatisfaction and pleaſure which they once enjoyed in their ſociety. And becauſe they believe that on every Friday the ſoul returns to the body, they ſpread the graves with ſweet flowers and green boughs on purpoſe to refreſh it, and to adorn the grave. But

there are ſome Moors which hold this rite for a myſtery in their religion, and therefore pretend not to give any account of its uſage. They have one thing in burial, obſerved no where elſe, which is not to bury another in the ſame grave where one has been interred before, and therefore they uſe certain marks to ſecure them from miſtakes.

It has been often told me, that the Moreſco women in their weekly lamentations of the dead, uſed to aſk them what reaſon they had to die, ſeeing that they enjoyed loving friends, wanting none of the comforts of this life, &c. But I found this was an idle ſtory, and a Moor aſſured me that they had no ſuch cuſtom, and that it could be the calumny of none but a deceitful Jew.

Neither is that other ſtory of more credit, which makes the Moors reſerve a vacant place in the grave, to give the dead carcaſe room to riſe up and kneel before two pretty angels, who come to confeſs the departed concerning the great points of the law; namely, paying of tithes, giving of alms, and obſerving of rámadon; for upon mature enquiry, I was aſſured that the Moors had no ſuch article in their creed.

The places of burial that belong to great towns, are in the fields: but in the country they are generally by the high-ways, which may be to put paſſengers in mind of their mortality. The ground which is ſet apart for this employment, is uſually the donative of ſome devout perſon, or purchaſed with legacies bequeathed for that purpoſe. And that there might be no fraud practiſed in this particular, both alfachí and alcáddee keep regiſters of all ſuch donations, which are tranſmitted to poſterity. When the ground is once devoted to this ſervice, the Moors call it bleſſed and holy, and account its alienation an unpardonable wickedneſs. Neither the Chriſtians, nor any of another religion, are permitted to tread within theſe burial places, unleſs they be their ſlaves, whom they admit to any thing capable of ſervice, and uſe as ſorely as their dogs. Theſe ſlaves always wait upon the women to the ſepulchres, but for no other intent than to carry their flowers and boughs, and to aſſiſt them therewith to dreſs the graves.

There is no aldéa or village that has a church, but it hath alſo a peculiar burying place, given or bought as hath been already mentioned.

CHAP. XVI.—*Of the Moreſco Ramadán, its Inſtitution, Moveableneſs, Manner of Celebration.*

SOME have imagined that for twelve years after the promulgation of the Mahumetan law, the ſectaries thereof kept the ſame faſts with the Jews: but Mahumed being diſpleaſed with that refractory people, and ſcorning to borrow any of their inſtitutions, commanded his proſelytes to abandon their faſts, and appointed in their room the moon ramadàn, to be kept in an anniverſary abſtinence. But others date this Lent from the ſecond year of Mahumed's propheſy, and that it fell out in the month September, at which time the Alcoran is ſaid to have been ſent from Heaven. But it is not likely that the faſt was in memory thereof, becauſe ſo great a bleſſing (in the Mahumedan's eſtimation) deſerved to be kept in mind by a far different memorial, great mercies having never been celebrated with penances and corporeal humiliations, but rather with feſtival expreſſions of joy, and actions ſignificative of exaltation.

The ramadàn is moveable, and depends on the appearance of the new moon, which, if through the cloudineſs of the weather they cannot diſcern, they tarry till it may be preſumed by the courſe of nature that it is changed. And thoſe who are leſs learned

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in the lunar mutations, continue the faſt for thirty days, being aſſured that in that period the moon muſt fulfil her courſe.

A winter ramadàn is very welcome to the Moors, becauſe their labours are not then ſo preſſive, and better then to be endured, by reaſon of the coldneſs of the ſeaſon: and the faſt is not ſo afflictive, becauſe the days are ſhort, and the nights long to revel in.

Though this be the ſevereſt precept in the Mahumedan law, yet it is not without all capacities of indulgence, for therein is had ſpecial regard to the wayfaring and infirm, who have licence to eat in the day time, with this caution, that at the end of their journey, and upon their recovery from ſickneſs, they perform the full account of their Lent. As for the reſt, they are enjoined no more than a diurnal abſtinence, having the night at liberty for all fruitions they can procure, wine only excepted, which by thoſe who at other times liberally drink it, is for this moon totally renounced. The breach of this faſt they puniſh with ſtoning to death, and there is no neceſſity can privilege any (except travellers and infirm perſons) to eat or drink till the evening ſtar witneſſeth that the day is ſhut in.

They make great proviſion for this ramadàn, wherewith they furniſh out their nocturnal feſtivals; and for this end, uſe a great frugality before for ſome days.

They place a great ſanctity in this faſt, which yet to a ſcrupuliſt ſcarce would ſeem to deſerve that name, for the day is uſually paſt away in a loitering ſleepineſs, and the night in junketing: the one is at beſt but a drowſy Lent, and the other a luxurious carnival. Yet there is a devouter ſort of bigots, who ſpend the day in the church and devotion, and are very reſerved in their nightly carreſſes, living for the whole moon ſeparate from women, where they ſupererogate, their law no where exacting this ſeverity: for ſuch was the carnal temper of their prophet, that he thought it an impoſſibility to live a whole day continent. Both ſexes are bound to begin this faſt at the twelfth year of their age, and it is placed among the articles neceſſarily requiſite to the conſtitution of a perfect Mahumetan.

The laſt day of the moon, the Moors ſpend in doleful lamentations of their deceaſed relations, and with their yearly commemoratives end the faſt.

CHAP. XVII.—*The Moreſco Feaſts.*

AT the end of their Lent, Mahumed inſtituted a feſtival ſolemnity, as hath been imagined in imitation of the Chriſtians' Eaſter. The Turks call it Bairam; the Moors, El Ed Geer, or the little feaſt: little, not in reſpect of its duration, but expence; for it laſts three days, which equals it in length with any of the reſt.

On the firſt day thereof they ſpread the floor of their giámmas with coloured leather, and then entertain each other with honey, ſweet butter, and wafers. And according to the performance of this feſtival, they divine, as the Egyptians by their Nileſcope, the bleſſings and plenty of the deſcending year.

About two months after, the Moors have another feſtival, by them called, El Ed Gueber, or the great feaſt, in reſpect of the expences and charges thereof. This feſtival ſtill commenceth with a ſermon, which the alcalib or chief prieſt makes concerning its inſtitution, with amplification of its praiſes. Returning home from the ſermon, the Moors fall to killing ſuch ſheep as they have made choice of for their entertainment at this ſolemnity, and there is not the meaneſt fortune but now has his ſheep, which is killed by cutting the throat thereof, with their faces towards Mecha, and ſwearing by Alquiblá. This done, every family takes the heart and appurtenances, and immediately

mediately dreſs it with ſaffron, red and black pepper; then, with ſtore of bread, they bring it to their pariſh church (where every quality knows his ſtation), and eat it in communion. Returning from this eccleſiaſtic ordinary, they paſs the ſecond and third day in eating and drinking. This is alſo called the mutton feaſt.

The next to this is their Aſhorah, which laſts but one day, and called a feaſt of fruits, nothing being then eaten but dates, figs, parched corn, and all ſuch natural cates as their ſubſtances can procure. This feſtival is not held in giámmas, but every father of a family treats his houſhold under his own roof. And the rich on this day give a portion of their eſtates to the poor, who on the morning of the feſtival go from one giámma to another, and receive the yearly alms, which are proportionably divided amongſt them. None caſt into this treaſury who have not a certain ſum of money in poſſeſſion, and he that has leſs than ten metacáles (which ſomething exceeds our five ſhilling pieces) is exempt from this corban.

At the receipt of theſe alms, the poor pray that God would increaſe the givers' ſtore, and enable them to beſtow more the next *Aſhorah*, telling them, that this fulfilling of the law, is the beſt aſſurance of rendering their petitions ſucceſsful.

Anſerah is another Moreſco feſtival, which laſts but a day; and with the Andaluzian Moors bears the name of Saint John Baptiſt's, or the feaſt of the Chriſtians. On this feſtival, thoſe who live within ten leagues of the ſea come thither to waſh themſelves; and thoſe who cannot, by reaſon of diſtance, repair to that great monopoly of waters, take ſalt and throw it into the fountains at home, and bathe themſelves in that counterfeit ocean. This is exactly at mid-ſummer, and held in commemoration of that great bleſſing of water. The viands of this feaſt exceed not their ordinary proviſions, only they eat them with greater alacrity.

Mulud is the yearly feaſt for circumciſion, and continueth three days; on the firſt whereof, they make a gátcha, or hodge-podge of flour, water, butter, and honey, and carry great quantities thereof to the church, whither they invite one another, ſaying, come, let us go to the Allamdillah, or to the feaſt that is made to Mahumed for God's ſake: and when they have eaten of this homely diſh in the church, they leave ſtore thereof to be devoured by the poor, and ſpend the two following days in good neighbourhood and plentiful collations. This is their chief feaſt, becauſe at it their males are circumciſed, and may ſeem to have a reference to the old Whitſuntide among the Chriſtians. But I forbear to ſwell theſe remarks with ſuch conjectural references, which if I ſhould enterpriſe, I might make all Mahumed's inſtitutions yield ſome probable reſemblances of thoſe ancient cuſtoms and ordinances in uſage among Jews and Chriſtians; and ſhew, that this great deceiver has confuſed both the Teſtaments into his Alcoran, labouring thereby to have his firſt pretenſions made creditable, that he came to reconcile Jew and Chriſtian unto the obedience of one and the ſame law.

Theſe Moreſco feſtivals ſeem not ſo much commemorative of received mercies, as relaxatives of corporeal labours, from which they are obſerved to have no other divertiſements. For cards and dice are utterly abhorred by the better families, not only as forbidden by the law, under the infamous terms of diabolical inventions, but as obſerved to be occaſions of many nocive paſſions, engendering debates, and incentives to avarice: beſides, they are looked upon as effeminate and trivial entertainments, fit only for ſeamen, and women; the former being much verſed in this idleneſs, though no ſuch aſperſion can be caſt on the latter.

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CHAP. XVIII.—*Of the Moreſco Paſtimes, Muſic, Dancing, &c.*

WHEN the Moreſco gentry are diſpoſed to ſports, the wild boar fits them with a manly exerciſe, and affords them both paſtime aud improvement; and when in the failure of ſome circumſtance they are debarred this kind of recreation, they ſupply it with their lances in luſory ſkirmiſhes on horſeback, wherein their dexterity cannot be too much admired.

But they are naturally uninclined to ſports, being very ſaturnine, and loving the extremes, either to ſit ſtill, or to be in robuſtious motions. They ſpend much of their time in a ſort of drowſy conference, but the ſum of their domeſtic entertainments is their women and their cheſs-boards: all communicating in the former, but the latter is only the ſerious paſtime of the virtuoſos.

They uſe vocal and inſtrumental muſic, but in both are very ſerious and plain, devoid of levity or flouriſh. Their uſual inſtruments are the rabèb and ahlùd; the former reſembles our violin, but ſtrung only with one great cord of hair; the other a guitar. In Fez they have lutes, and thoſe who will teach them well. The Alárbs have an inſtrument called zauphèn, like the bottom of a kettle, on which they tinkle with a ſtick. The Tituanezes have a leſs organ, and alſo uſe a ſort of tabor and pipe when they march in the field. So moſt towns have their peculiar ſorts of muſic. The ſinging part is performed by negras, not for any peculiar excellency they are happy in, but becauſe ſinging at public dances is looked upon as ſlaviſh.

In their dances they permit no mixture of men with the married women, which is granted to the virgins, who upon ſome ſolemnities dance with the bachelors; but ſo cloſely veiled, that not any part about them is ſeen naked. They act the tune with their hands and head, and abhor, as looſe and laſcivious, jigs, or high dancing. Every town and cavíla have their own dances, which are known by ſeveral names. The Feſſians have a dance called eſtitati, which is uſed in Sally, Mekenèz, Alcazàr, &c. Thoſe of the city of Morocco have one named Sholakebèr; and in the cavílas of Minchèl, Bemi-Wadres, &c., there is a dance ſtyled Iſmmáháh. It ſeldom happens that thoſe of one town know the dances of another, therefore thoſe who uſe this divertiſement only know the name and mode of the dance where they live.

Their ſet times are their weddings and yearly feſtivals, the married dancing on the day, the ſingle in the night.

CHAP. XIX.—*A miſcellaneous Chapter of the Temper of the Air, Diſeaſes, Medicine, Poiſons, Education of Children, Apparel, &c.*

BEFORE I ſhut up theſe tumultuary remarks, I cannot but add ſome miſcellaneous notes, occaſionally collected from diſcourſe and obſervation, of whoſe credit I have not many arguments to render me dubious. The firſt notice concerns the temperature of the air in this part of Barbary, wherein there is ſome variation according to the ſcite of the places. At Fez, the air in ſummer is more temperate then at Morocco. The inhabitants of the latter for ſeveral hours cannot endure the heat abroad, and therefore for that time keep cloſe within: but the people of the former are by no ſuch exceſs conſtrained to intermit their labours. Albeit, as I have obſerved in other countries, much herein is to be imputed to humour and cuſtom.

The inland country is hotter in ſummer and colder in winter then the maritine, which may eaſily be conceived, by conſidering what neighbourhood the one hath with the

h e ſea, the other with the mountains, which from December to the latter end of February are covered with ſnow; at the reſolution of which, ſuch rivers are cauſed, that in ſome places the channels will yield water the whole ſummer enſuing.

The inhabitants live long, and are generally healthy; the diſeaſes, when they happen, are fluxes, after the ſeaſon of fruits; and calentures, when they immoderately travel in the ſun. And what ſeems herein remarkable, the winter (which ſeaſon conſiſts of great rains) is moſt mortal amongſt them.

The lues venerea, or foul diſeaſe (which the Moors call bubès) is incident to thoſe who accompany with variety of women: and though this may ſeem to confine that diſtemper to thoſe Moors who live after a more rude and roving manner, yet it is no ſtranger to thoſe of a more refined and ſettled life, the grandees of late having herein exceeded the peaſants.

As to the plague, they obſerve no ſet time of its return, the tenth and fifteenth year of its coming being worn out of remarks; and in this laſt century it has happened very ſeldom, but in no parts it doth rage more furiouſly than in Barbary: and when they are viſited, the inhabitants take little or no care to avoid it, holding it to be inevitable.

In cure of ſickneſſes, they uſe very plain medicines, and whatever be the diſeaſe, cauterizing is firſt practiſed, which they do with more art or curioſity than with a knife red hot to gaſh and cut the place where the pain lies. To cure the head-ach, they take the root tauz argent and roſemary, burning them in an earthen pot, over which the diſeaſed holds his head for the fume; then binding the ſame in a cloth about the head, preſent eaſe is given. This tauz argent is a root much celebrated for an excellent and laſting perfume: there is great ſtore thereof about Sally, which is white within, without duſkiſh and ſtreaked. The Moors uſe it in airing and perfuming their rooms, but the ſcent is much leſs durable than has been reported.

The people when ſick cure themſelves with herbs, in whoſe virtues the common people have a traditional knowledge. By this they ſupply the want of apothecaries and phyſicians, of which profeſſion none are found, except a few mountebank ignorant Jews.

The Moors have an herb called la halis, which, mingled with honey, they make up into balls as big as piſtol bullets, and of theſe they ſwallow five or ſix at a time, which they find to procure appetite, further digeſtion, and to make frolick, amorous, and witty. Opium is much uſed by all ſorts, rather for diet then phyſic; and a Moor will ſooner buy a pill of opium than a cake of bread, if his ſtock be too little to buy both. And in many places they are ſo accuſtomed to this ſtupefactive, that the want thereof proves fatal.

In former times the people were ſo exquiſite in mingling poiſons, that they had ſome would kill by ſmell: of late they are acquainted only with two kinds which they call rahâſh and zehim. The former is either white or pale, and more quick in diſpatching the perſon who takes it. But zehim (ſignifiying any thing that is contrary to the palate or liking) is cured with inceſſant ſpitting. As for that poiſon which once they had the art to communicate in letters, to kill thoſe who read them, they are thereof at preſent totally ignorant.

Muley Mahumed having out of politic ends prohibited printing *, made thereby writing of a more ſingular uſe and eſteem; and the Moors of old were noted to be very excellent at the pen, but now in this, as in all other learning, they are much deficient

* Invented 800 years after his time! EDIT.

of what they were formerly, for there are not many that arrive to a higher proficiency in letters than barely to write and read: to which end they have little ſchools, where the children are taught after this manner. The Moors having (as I ſaid) no printed books, when there children are ſent to ſchool, they take with them pieces of boards or ſlates, on which the ſchoolmaſter writes ſo many letters of the alphabet; and when the child has learned their names and figures, the maſter writes them a certain number more, and ſo proceeds till the alphabet be ended: and then goes on to write ſome periods of the Alcoran (for they teach no other book), and continue this method till the whole Alcoran be wrote over, which uſually laſts four years. When the child has thus ſpelt it over, he begins to get it by heart, which coſts eight years at the leaſt; then the child, if his father be able, is taught a little orthography. When the child is come to certain periods of the Alcoran, the father is obliged to make him a congratulatory preſent: and when he has learned the whole Alcoran, he is brought home to his father's houſe in proceſſion on horſe-back. As he rides along, he holds a table written with Mahumed's law, whereon he continually fixeth his eye, thereby ſignifying that the honour conferred upon him was for the careful reading of the Alcoran; and when the youth accompanied with the alfaqùi, ſchoolmaſter, and ſchoolfellows, hath viſited all the churches, they come to his father's houſe, where they are entertained, and the maſter rewarded for the care ſhewn in the proficiency of his ſcholar.

A

JOURNEY TO MEQUINEZ,

THE RESIDENCE OF THE PRESENT

EMPEROR OF FEZ AND MOROCCO;

On the Occaſion of Commodore STEWART's Embaſſy thither for the Redemption of the Britiſh Captives in the Year 1721.

By JOHN WINDHUS.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES EARL OF BERKLEY, VICE-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND, FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY, &c.

My LORD,

THE inviolable love which Your Lordſhip has always borne to liberty, and the part you had in forwarding the redemption of ſo many poor ſeamen out of captivity, are ſufficient reaſons for honouring this book with your name; and though I am ſo unhappy as to be an entire ſtranger to Your Lordſhip, yet this account, or rather journal of Mr. Stewart's expedition to Mequinez, may claim your patronage, ſince I have reaſon to apprehend it was by Your Lordſhip's influence that gentleman was ſent on that ſervice.

The happineſs enjoyed by the people of England is, the preſervation of thoſe laws which give them liberty, and make the face of nature ſmile amongſt us; while other nations, eſpecially that which is the ſubject of this book, labour under oppreſſion and the arbitrary will of a ſingle perſon. Next to this happineſs which our laws afford us, is the means we are poſſeſſed of to continue it. Well may we therefore rejoice in the moſt valuable bleſſing of the eſtabliſhment of His ſacred Majeſty and his royal line: and in that ſtrength over which Your Lordſhip preſides; it is our naval force that ſo often hath preſerved us, and baffled the invaders of our iſland, a force which knows no equal, and carries its terror throughout the world. To that we owe the eſtabliſhment and continual preſervation of our trade, our affluence and plenty, reſpect from the reſt of the world, and the credit as well as means of treating in the moſt barbarous countries with ſucceſs. To be placed at the head of ſuch a power are better proofs of Your Lordſhip's great merit, than any form of words or panegyric on particular qualifications. That therefore Your Lordſhip may enjoy perfect and laſting health, and ſo continue long in the power of doing good, is the ſincere wiſh of,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and

Moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN WINDHUS.

* London, 1725, 8vo.

THE PREFACE.

AS I had the honour to attend Mr. Stewart into the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, I continued in thoſe parts between three and four months, which time I employed in gathering ſuch materials as encouraged me to proceed in the following work: and in this I have been particularly careful not to deliver any thing, but what either came under my own obſervation, or was ſupported by authorities not to be doubted of. Mr. Stewart was no leſs exact in making his remarks, than generous in beſtowing them upon me; and I am confident, that gentleman's character of ability and honour, conſidered with the public one he bore, which afforded opportunities of ſeeing things not eaſily met with by people of an ordinary rank, will give this account a value which I could never otherwiſe have hoped for. And what renders it ſtill more complete is, that ſince my return into England, I have had the good fortune to be introduced to Mr. Corbiere, who formerly was at that court, and has been pleaſed to ſupply me with his memoirs, which no perſon to whom his name is known, will doubt to be leſs authentic than curious. Out of theſe I have made large additions to my own collection, and think myſelf the more obliged to him, becauſe he never could be perſuaded to publiſh them himſelf, though often importuned to do it.

The country I write of is very little known to us, whatever intercourſe we ſeem to have had with it; and though we have been pretty well accuſtomed to ſee its natives in our ſtreets: yet the only conſideration of trade, of which ſome notice is taken in this book, will convince the reader how much it is our intereſt to be better acquainted with it. No one indeed will expect, that having made ſo ſhort a ſtay there, I ſhould offer a regular hiſtory; neither do I attempt it: I am nevertheleſs in hopes, that my honeſt endeavours, during that little time, the valuable aſſiſtance I have been favoured with, and the matters of fact which I report with truth, will both be of ſervice and agreeable to my country.

I have ſaid, that this part of Barbary is little known to us, becauſe there has ſcarce been a tolerable account of it ſince Leo Africanus, who indeed wrote an excellent one about two hundred years ago; and after him, another was publiſhed by Marmol, which for the moſt part was taken out of the former. And yet it is ſome ſatisfaction to find a great conformity between the preſent race of Moors, and thoſe of Leo's time; the reaſon of which I take to be this.

The people of the country are of two ſorts; one conſiſts of Berebbers, (as they call themſelves) or Barbarians properly ſo named, who chiefly dwell in huts upon Atlas, and other mountains, are the old natives; and by not being entirely ſubdued to this day, have kept their own cuſtoms both civil and domeſtic; and their language called Shilha, ſuppoſed to be the ancient Punic or Carthaginian, which, I think, would greatly deſerve being particularly enquired into: and Mr. Jezreel Jones will be pleaſed to forgive me, (as I am informed that he is of the ſame opinion about that language, and a maſter of it,) if I wiſh he would acquaint the world with ſome account about it.

The other ſort of inhabitants are the Arabians, who cultivate the plains, remove (as they ever did) from place to place dwell in tents, and make what was formerly called pecunia (or cattle), and corn their principal wealth. Theſe alſo are particularly tenacious of their ancient ways, and of their language, both which, as far as we can learn from hiſtory, they have preſerved with very little alteration near two thouſand years.

They are the race of men who after having over-run a large tract of Aſia, and all the northern parts of Africa from eaſt to weſt, did, in the ſpace of three years, ſubdue the whole kingdom of Spain, which they were forced to quit after a poſſeſſion of ſeven hundred years, and retire into thoſe parts that are now under the Emperor of Morocco's ſubjection, and then belonged to men of their own race and religion. They are the people who ſtood the faireſt of any ſince the Romans for univerſal monarchy, who puſhed their conqueſts with incredible rapidity, during thoſe ages when Chriſtendom was involved in diſſentions, bigotry, and ignorance; and then it was they taught the world all arts and ſciences, by reviving the mathematics, and tranſlating into their own language the beſt Greek and Roman books. But now they are the very people whom, ſince their expulſion out of Spain, we have juſtly called barbarous, from their cruelty, pride, and inveteracy againſt the Chriſtian name, and are as famous for their craft and inſincerity, as the old Africans were reckoned by the Romans; and being no leſs idle than ignorant, they have little troubled themſelves for many years paſt, but to exert their hatred to the Chriſtians, and to enrich themſelves by the number of ſlaves they made amongſt them; till the Emperor, within theſe thirty years, aſſumed to himſelf the property in all ſlaves whatever, and even attempted to make every one of his ſubjects ſuch in name, which they are in reality.

I cannot avoid obſerving on this occaſion, that a man ſeldom makes ſo true an eſtimate of his own country, as when he views it by compariſon with others. Thus it happened to me during my ſtay in Barbary, where it was natural for me to make ſuch reflections, as muſt of courſe ariſe to an Engliſh ſubject, who having lived under the juſteſt, mildeſt, and beſt tempered government in the world, is tranſported to one in every reſpect the reverſe; where a fierce and unbounded tyranny and oppreſſion have deſtroyed the very diſtinctions of right and wrong, and perverted all the ends of ſociety. When I ſaw ſo many thouſands of my fellow-creatures, who knew no law but the arbitrary and capricious will of their prince, and were reduced to ſuch a degree of ſlavery, as ſunk them below the dignity of human nature, I turned my thoughts back with a ſecret pleaſure upon Great Britain, and conſidered with more attention than I had done before the invaluable bleſſings of our conſtitution. I then began to form the trueſt judgment of our laws, which had put every thing upon ſo equal a footing, and had fixed the boundaries between the power of the prince and the liberty of the ſubject; and which, in ſhort, had ſecured to us our lives and all that is dear, by the ſtrongeſt ties that natural juſtice and human wiſdom can invent. May all men that are bleſſed with ſuch a native happineſs know the true value of it, without the experiment of any compariſon with the contrary.

Amidſt my reflections of this kind, I conſidered that it might be ſome alleviation to the miſeries of thoſe Africans, that they were born and bred in that condition of life, and had never known to any other: but the caſe was far different with regard to thoſe who had taſted the ſweets of liberty, and enjoyed it as their birth-right; and therefore I was much more ſenſibly affected with the ſufferings of ſo many of my fellow ſubjects there who had groaned under a long captivity, and had nothing to ſupport them under their exceſſive torments but the hopes of being one day relieved by the gracious and powerful interpoſition of our glorious Sovereign. Their deliverance, which was ſoon after happily effected, is one of thoſe many inſtances of His Majeſty's goodneſs, who has, through the whole courſe of his reign, made no other uſe of his power, than to employ it for the eaſe and benefit of his people. The reſcuing ſeveral hundreds of his trading ſubjects from the ſevereſt bondage, and reſtoring them to their country, friends, and relations, was well worthy the care of ſo great a prince; and when they went in pro-

ceſſion to St. Paul's to return thanks to Almighty God for their happy deliverance, it was a ſpectacle of leſs pomp indeed, but of more ſolid and laſting glory than a Roman triumph.

A JOURNEY TO MEQUINEZ.

HIS MAJESTY having been pleaſed to appoint the Honourable Charles Stewart, Eſq. commander in chief of a ſquadron of ſhips, to cruize againſt the Sally rovers, and alſo plenipotentiary to treat of peace with the Emperor of Morocco; he ſailed from England the 24th of September 1720, and arrived at Gibraltar the 20th of October following; at which time the Spaniards having formed an expedition againſt the Moors, had already made conſiderable embarkations to Ceuta, from their camp near the Bay of Gibraltar. The ambaſſador thinking this a proper juncture to begin his negociation, on the 28th of October wrote the following letter to the Baſha of Tetuan.

To His Excellency Baſha Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah, &c.

THE King of Great Britain my maſter, having thought fit to recal Mr. Cavendiſh from being ambaſſador to the moſt noble prince the Emperor of Morocco, and having done me the honour to ſend me abroad to ſucceed him, I take the liberty to acquaint Your Excellency of my arrival in theſe parts, with full powers to treat of a peace with Your Excellency, or any perſon or perſons His Imperial Majeſty ſhall appoint. And as the Britiſh nation is ſenſible of your great eſteem for them, and the readineſs which you have always ſhewn towards a friendſhip, and peace between the two nations, (though I do not know whether by deſtiny, or miſmanagement, the ſo long deſired peace has been retarded,) I am ſtill in hopes Your Excellency will continue your great zeal for the common good of both nations, ſince I am come with a firm reſolution to employ my hearty and beſt endeavours towards that good work, and the more becauſe your glory and advantage are to be the fruit of it. But it is neceſſary that this negociation ſhould begin as ſoon as poſſible, that I may be made ſenſible of the intention of His Imperial Majeſty, whether he will make uſe of this opportunity of ſettling that peace and friendſhip which the King my maſter, has ſo long deſired; for ſince I am employed in another command upon the ſea, which at this time might be in conjunction with the enemies of the King your maſter, now that they have invaded your country, yet to ſhew you the ſincerity by which I deſign to act, I ſhould rather chooſe that His Imperial Majeſty would prevent any accident that may happen, by ſending ſuch perſons to Gibraltar, to treat with me as ſoon as poſſible, and put a finiſhing hand to a treaty ſo long depending, and which has already been adjuſted on both ſides. Provided this can be done, and the articles of peace confirmed, I ſhall then very readily in perſon throw myſelf at His Imperial Majeſty's feet, to preſent a letter which I have now by me, from the King my maſter, and ſhall think myſelf happy to put myſelf under your protection for my ſafety to Mequinez. I commit Your Excellency to the protection of God, and am

Your Excellency's moſt humble ſervant,

CHARLES STEWART.

This letter was ſent in the Experiment man of war, which upon her return brought over Cardenaſh (who had been twice ambaſſador in England) to compliment Mr. Stewart on his arrival, and alſo a letter from the baſha, ſignifying the great inclination he had to forward the treaty with the Engliſh nation, for which purpoſe Cardenaſh was to confer with the ambaſſador, in order to have it finiſhed as ſoon as poſſible. But the ambaſſador judged it more convenient to treat in the bay of Tetuan, becauſe the Emperor had ſent from his court one Moſes Ben Hattar, a Jewiſh merchant, who had been often employed in the former treaties, and was a perſon more artful and intereſted than any other in the country, and chiefly to be conſidered, in regard he had it more in his power to make the negociation ſucceſsful, or defeat it as he had done that of others. Upon which conſideration the ambaſſador ſailed with his ſquadron to Tetuan Bay, December the 22d, and there with the ſaid Moſes Ben Hattar (who took upon him to be jointly empowered with the baſha) agreed to the articles of peace, which were ſigned and exchanged the 17th of January, 1720-1721. After which the ambaſſador was very much importuned to proceed immediately to Mequinez; but as it was neceſſary that His Majeſty ſhould firſt approve of the conditions, and the ratification come to him from England, before he landed in Barbary, he found means to delay the time till he had accompliſhed his deſire.

On Wedneſday the 3d of May we embarked at Gibraltar, Ben Hattar going on board the ambaſſador's ſhip, he having after the ſigning of the treaty come over with him, and continued there, that he might accompany him at his landing in Barbary. We arrived in the bay of Tetuan, Saturday the 6th, and landed about nine of the clock in the morning, which being ſooner than the baſha expected, he was not come to the water ſide to receive the ambaſſador, but we found a ſufficient number of tents pitched for our conveniency, and among them a fine large one that the Emperor had ſent from Mequinez, which the ambaſſador made choice of to eat in on his journey. Our firſt entertainment was in this tent, where they brought plenty of cuſcuſu, fowls, and a ſheep roaſted whole upon a great wooden ſpit, as thick as a man's leg, which they ſet upon the table, ſpit and all. Between three and four of the clock the baſha came down from Tetuan, attended by about two hundred horſe and three hundred foot, who entered the camp firing and cavalcading, and threw themſelves into the form of an half moon before our tents, where the baſha gave us the diverſion of ſeeing him and his people exerciſe for above an hour, which they performed with great activity, the baſha and his brothers often heading parties of horſe, who all together clapping their ſpurs to their horſes ſides, levelling their pieces and fired at one another, as if they were attacking an enemy: after that, they took their ſpears, and ſingled each other out to tilt, very dexterouſly putting by the thruſt of the ſpear (though it was made at their backs) while their horſes were running full ſpeed. During the time of the cavalcade, the foot kept a continual fire, but irregular, every man charging his piece and firing into the ground as faſt as he could. Their drums made a very ſolemn and warlike ſound, which are not beaten after our manner, but with an heavy ſtick on the top, and a ſmall one underneath, keeping time to a pipe, ſomething like a fife, but very loud and ſhrill. The cavalcade being over, and Cardenaſh bringing word that the baſha was coming, the ambaſſador went to meet him. The baſha very courteouſly welcomed the ambaſſador to Barbary, and invited him to his tent, where he told him that he would do all that lay in his power to make the country agreeable to him, that he liked the Engliſh better than any other Chriſtian nation; and ſome more compliments paſſing between them, they parted. The baſha lay in the camp that night.

Sunday

Sunday the 7th, the ambaſſador went to viſit the baſha in his tent, who renewed his kind expreſſions towards the Engliſh, and his deſire that the ambaſſador ſhould find every thing agreeable to him. After that, as we were walking about to ſee the camp, we had an inſtance of Ben Hattar's unlimited power over the Jews; for he having employed one Ben Saphat, as his agent or factor in Gibraltar, found, upon going thither himſelf, that he had wronged him conſiderably, reported things falſely, and dealt unfaithfully in his commiſſion; wherefore as Ben Saphat was now coming down to meet him, before he could get within hearing, Ben Hattar ordered him to be ſtrangled, upon which the Jews and ſome blacks belonging to the Emperor, immediately ran to him, pulled him off his mule, and in an inſtant ſtript off his cloaths, and whipt a rope about his neck, which they began to draw, and in that manner bringing him nearer to us, pale and graſping, he cried out to the ambaſſador to intercede for him. The ſurpriſe of the thing kept every body ſilent, and in ſuſpenſe, what would be the event; but after Ben Hattar had reviled and threatened him, he ordered that he ſhould be carried to priſon, where (as we afterwards heard) he was daily baſtonaded as well for the fault he had committed, as to make him diſcover all his effects, which Ben Hattar ſeized on for his own uſe.

About eleven of the clock the baſha cauſing a row of fine horſes to be drawn up together, (which made a very noble and gallant appearance, many of their ſaddles being covered all over with plate,) deſired the ambaſſador to take which he liked beſt; then every one of us providing for ourſelves according to our fancy, we ſet forward: the Moors, for the moſt part of the way to Tetuan, (which is about ſix miles) continued firing and cavalcading, after which manner we entered the town, great crowds of people ſhouting and hallooing; the women being dreſſed in white alhagues, and muffled up, ſo that no part could be ſeen but their eyes, were crowded upon the tops of the houſes as thick as they could ſtand; the baſha drew up his people in a large ſquare place before his houſe, where he and his brothers (being exceeding well mounted) ſhewed us again how dexterous they were with their ſpears, tilting a conſiderable time, and ſometimes darting their lances into the air before them, and catching them again as their horſes ran full ſpeed; then the ambaſſador was conducted to the houſe appointed for him, which was one of the beſt in Tetuan, and a ſtable of horſes ordered for the uſe of him and his retinue.

The 8th the ambaſſador went to ſee the baſha at his houſe, who received him in an outward room or hall, built long and narrow, as moſt of the rooms in Barbary are; the reaſon of which (I have been told) is becauſe of the ſcarcity of lofty timber in the country; there were two chairs placed oppoſite to each other, in which the ambaſſador and baſha ſat down, and talked together for about an hour and an half, during which time eight or ten of the principal Moors of the town ſtood behind the baſha. The conference being over, we were ſhewn the baſha's gardens, and ſtables in which were a great many fine horſes. Nothing occurring until the 12th, the intervening days are not mentioned, which method I ſhall obſerve throughout the journal.

The 12th, three of the baſha's brothers came to viſit the ambaſſador, two of them were alcaydes or governors, one of Tangier, and the other of Larach.

The 14th, the baſha and another of his brothers, alcayde Abdelwahad, (who is governor of Tetuan) came to ſee the ambaſſador: the baſha came a little after dinner, and ſtaid all the afternoon, looking over ſome of the preſents for the Emperor: the governor came towards the evening, and brought with him ſome more of his brothers and other relations, whom the ambaſſador treated with coffee and ſweetmeats.

The 15th we dined in a garden of the baſha's (about three miles out of town) that he had lately planted: it ſtands in a pleaſant valley, almoſt ſurrounded with hills and mountains, which being green and woody, every way give a moſt delightful proſpect; there runs a little ſtream through the garden, which by great labour was conveyed from an adjacent mountain: we dined under a locuſt tree that afforded a pretty good ſhade. The governor of Tetuan came juſt after dinner, and walking with us, was ſo complaiſant as to gather and give us the beſt fruits. There were fine oranges, lemons, and ſmall apricots of a very good flavour. The walks are ſeparated with cane-work, and there is an arbour of the ſame very well contrived, in which there being a baſon ſupplied with water from the ſaid ſtream, the ambaſſador filled it with punch, and with much ado perſuaded the governor to drink two or three glaſſes. Great quantities of carnations coming in through the cane-work, and at the windows, make the arbour very delightful. The governor had his muſic with him, which conſiſted of four perſons: two of them played upon ſmall inſtruments after the manner of violins; one had a piece of parchment drawn tight over a little broad hoop, with pieces of looſe tin on the ſides, which he ſhook with one hand, and drummed on it with the other; another beat time to their muſic, by ſtriking the palm of his hands together, very loud and well. This part of the country abounds with fine oranges, lemons, citrons, olives, grapes, figs, melons, pomegranates, and apricots.

The 17th we dined in Cardenaſh's garden, in a walk ſhaded with exceeding large orange-trees; after dinner Cardenaſh made the Moors play at ſeveral games to divert the ambaſſador, in ſome of which they drubbed one another heartily.

The 18th we dined with the governor of Tetuan at his houſe, who treated us plentifully, there being three or four and twenty large diſhes crowded upon the table at once, which were high ſeaſoned, dreſſed almoſt after the Spaniſh manner, and ſome of them agreeable enough.

The 20th we went a hunting the wild-boar with the baſha, in the mountains between Tetuan and Ceuta: we killed ſix, and took three young ones alive; the baſha broke his ſpear in one of them. The ſpears which the foot carry for this ſport, differ from thoſe of the horſe, not being above half as long, and made of a very heavy and tough wood, the blade, about half a yard long, and very thick, that they ſhould not break againſt the hide of the boar. There went a great number of foot thus armed along with us, who getting upon the hills round about, made ſuch a hideous noiſe and ſhouting, that they raiſed the boars from the woods and thickets, and brought them in view for the chace. If one of theſe men ſhould happen to be near a boar alone, he muſt not give way, nor ſhew any ſigns of fear, but putting himſelf in as firm a poſture as he can, receives the boar upon his ſpear, who goars himſelf up to the end of the blade, where there is an iron goes acroſs, to ſtop the ſpear from running through, otherwiſe the boar preſſing on, would reach the man, and wound him with his tuſks: if the man is not ſtrong enough to ſtop the boar, he quits him as well as he can; but ſometimes (as I have ſeen them) they will hold the boar thus goaded on the ſpear, until the reſt come to him, who let out ſuch ſtreams of blood with their broad blades, that the beaſt preſently falls down.

The 23d the ambaſſador again viſited the baſha, and the affair of our journey being diſcourſed of, we were informed that the Chriſtians and Jews were to ſet out directly for Mequinez, but the baſha would go firſt to Tangier, and meet us at Alcaſſar.

The 24th the governor and ſome of the principal Moors of the town ſupped with the ambaſſador; they not obſerving the cuſtom of drinking regularly as we do, but taking all that was given, repleniſhed ſo much, that ſome of them could not go down

ſtairs

ſtairs without help. The governor continued his uſual good temper before the ambaſſador, but when he got out of doors, being more overcome with liquor, he drew his ſcimitar and laid about him among his own people, which was certainly owing to the great quantity he had drank; for, when ſober, he is of a very mild and ſweet diſpoſition, of which we had ſeveral inſtances.

At this time an accident happened, which had like to have deſtroyed the proceedings of the ambaſſador, and put us all under ſome apprehenſions; for nobody could be certain what might have been the conſequence, in a country where there is ſo little knowledge of the laws of nations, and treaties are of ſo little efficacy, as hardly to be underſtood. The occaſion of this were two Sally privateers, who, notwithſtanding they had the ambaſſador's paſſes, conformable to the articles of peace, yet having met with nothing but Engliſh ſhips at ſea, and being grown very hungry by a long cruiſe, made bold with two of them, and ſent them into Sally. Upon this, the ambaſſador abſolutely refuſed to proceed on his journey, and complained of the little confidence there was to depend on any agreement, if actions of this nature went unpuniſhed. The Moors themſelves indeed ſeemed to be aſhamed of it; and by Ben Hattar's management at court, and the ambaſſador's reſolution to return without going to Mequinez, unleſs reparation was made, he had the ſatisfaction to have the ſhips releaſed, and the captain of the privateer puniſhed for bringing them in. We paſſed our time in this place very pleaſantly, either riding out, fiſhing, ſhooting, or walking in the gardens, the people being very civil; for the baſha had forbid them (upon pain of death) to affront us, as they commonly do Chriſtians, by curſing and calling them names; and ordered, that in whatſoever garden we went, we ſhould paſs unmoleſted, and take what we pleaſed.

Here, as we were one day riding by the ſide of the river of Tetuan, we experimented the effect of the torpedo, or num-fiſh, ſome of them lying in the mud; they were about the bigneſs of a large plaiſe, and ſhaped ſomething like them, but thicker, and very round, ſo that the head could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from the body; we touched them with canes, or ſticks, on horſeback, during which time a numbneſs was perceived to go up our arms, that continued a minute or two after we had taken our canes off the fiſh.

Tetuan is a very ancient city, was called by the Romans Tetuanum: it gives name to a large province, and is the ſeat of the baſha: it is ſituated at the opening of the Streights into the Mediterranean, upon the riſing of a rocky hill, between two high mountains, about ſix miles from the ſea, having a caſtle built higher on the hill, ſo that it has full command over the town. In the valley runs a little river, which is navigable for ſmall veſſels, as far as Marteen, (a place about two miles from the bay) where they load and unload their goods.

Along the coaſt are beacons on which they make fires, to give notice when any attempt is made to land.

The houſes of Tetuan are very good, but the ſtreets exceeding narrow, and hardly any windows to be ſeen, but little holes to look out at, the light coming in at the inſide of the houſes, where there is a ſquare court-yard, open at top, with pillars ſupporting galleries, and painted wooden baluſtrades round the inſide of the houſe, almoſt like ſome of our inns. In the middle of the court-yard there is a fountain, if the houſe belongs to a perſon of any conſideration: the rooms are built long and narrow, and are generally four on a floor, anſwering to the galleries, from whence opens into each room a large folding door, by which all the light that they have is let in. The houſes are but two ſtories high, except the baſha's, and ſome few others belonging to par-

ticular men: they are flat at top, ſo that in many places they can walk a great way upon them; but ſome belonging to Chriſtian merchants have battlements, to keep them within the bounds of their own houſes; for the Mooriſh women live in the upper apartments, and often viſit one another from the tops of their houſes: they are white-waſhed on the outſide, as well as within, which caſts the reflection of the ſun ſo bright, that it hurt our eyes to continue upon them in the day-time. They raiſe not their walls as moſt nations do, by laying brick or ſtone even upon one another, but their way is firſt to make a ſtrong wooden caſe, into which they caſt the mortar, and beating it down hard, take the caſe away when it is dry.

The town is populous and healthful, enjoying a very good air, but the people poor and next kin to ſlaves, no man poſſeſſing any thing but at the pleaſure of the baſha, who is abſolute in his province, as any monarch whatſoever, commanding over the lives and fortunes of his people, giving or taking away houſes, land, horſes, or any thing juſt as he pleaſes; for which reaſon, when a man has acquired wealth by trade or induſtry, he endeavours to conceal it and ſeem poor; for if it ſhould come to the knowledge of the baſha, he would throw him into priſon, and cauſe him to be baſtinaded and tortured, to make him diſcover all that he has in the world.

The inhabitants are of a ſwarthy complexion, intermixt with a race of well-looking men, ſomewhat fairer than the reſt; they generally are luſty, ſtrong-limbed, and, I think, a little out-ſize the Europeans. They are very good horſemen, active, hardy, laborious, and needy, ſo that a meſſenger will go from Tetuan to Mequinez, (which is 150 miles) for a Barbary ducat, and perform his journey with great expedition: for they are wonderfully patient of labour, enduring the heat of ſummer, and cold rains of winter to admiration; and when the ground is all covered with rain, and a ſtorm over head beſides, they will only look for a buſh, or a great ſtone, ſit down on their hams with their back towards it, and remain in that poſture the whole night, or elſe wrap themſelves up in their albornooce, and paſs the night upon the graſs. Some of the moſt famous footmen of the country (it is ſaid) will go ſixty leagues in three days. They ſwim the rivers in the depth of winter, if the rapidity of the current doth not deter them: theſe men are generally thin, eat but very little, and for ſeven or eight days journey carry only a little meal, and a few raiſins or figs in a ſmall goat's ſkin.

They have no ſettled poſt in the country, nor any ſort of carriage upon wheels; their light goods are removed from place to place upon horſes, if it be not very far; but when they have great quantities, either of corn, wax, hides, tallow, &c., and go far, they uſe camels, of which there is great plenty. If an alcayde has buſineſs with the Emperor, he ſends a gentleman on horſeback; but the ordinary way of ſending letters is by the aforeſaid footmen, who are very near as expeditious as the horſe.

Their manner of dreſſing is not ungraceful, which is as follows: the men wear ſhort ſhirts with very broad ſleeves, that ſometimes hang down, but are more frequently tucked up to their ſhoulders, to keep them cool; they have linen drawers, which are tied about their waiſts next the ſkin, and reach to their knees: they go bare-legged, and upon their feet wear ſhoes, or rather ſlippers of red or yellow leather, made very light, without heels; over their ſhirt they wear a cloth veſt, or waiſtcoat, of any colour they pleaſe; this veſt is ſhort, and made to fit cloſe to their bodies; it is faſtened with ſmall buttons and loops ſet very cloſe together, and are often wrought with gold or ſilver thread: round their waiſt they wear a ſcarf of ſilk or ſtuff, as they can afford, in which they ſtick large knives, whoſe handles they covet to be of ſome coſtly metal, or ivory in-laid, and their ſheaths tipt with ſilver: their outward garment is either an

alhague or an albornooce: the alhague is a piece of very fine white woollen ſtuff five or ſix yards long, and about one and an half broad; this they wrap round them above and below their arms, and make a figure not unlike what is ſeen in the drapery of antique figures. The albornooce is either made of cloth or woollen ſtuff, a great deal thicker wrought than the alhague, and napped; it is made ſomething like a ſhort cloak, but joined a little way before from the neck downwards, having two or three rows of ſhort ſtripes worked in the ſtuff, and fringed at the ends for ornament, the bottom and ſides are edged with a deep fringe; behind at the neck there hangs a peaked cawle, with a taſſel at the end, which they can cover their heads with, to keep off the weather. Upon their heads (which are always kept ſhaved) they wear a little red cap, rolling muſlin about it to make a turban: when they go into the country, they wear a handſome cane hat to keep off the ſun.

All the Moors are dreſſed after this manner, there being no difference but in the richneſs of their veſts, or fineneſs of their alhagues; only the pooreſt ſort of all have another garment called a gelebia: it is made of a coarſe and thick wrought woollen ſtuff, without ſleeves, but holes to put their arms through: it reaches to their knees, and hangs looſe about their bodies like a ſack. The alcaydes have a broad leathern belt embroidered with gold, to hang their ſcimitars in, which they wear over their ſhoulder.

The women, when they go abroad, are attired almoſt like the men, their outward garment being an alhague, with which they cover their heads, bringing it down over their foreheads cloſe to their eyes, and underneath tie a piece of white cloth, to hide the lower part of their face. The alhagues cover all parts but their legs, which generally are naked, when they are at home, or viſit from the tops of their houſes; only ſome of the better ſort have their drawers ſo long, that they reach to their feet, hanging in great looſe folds about their legs: their ſhoes are the ſame as the men's. Within doors they appear in their hair, having only a ſingle binder about their foreheads: their hair is plaited in two large plaits, that hang down behind at full length: they wear a veſt which is open from the boſom to the waiſt, to ſhew their ſmocks that are embroidered: they faſten large pieces of muſlin to the ſleeves of their veſts, which hang down very low in the nature of ruffles: their drawers are longer than the men's, reaching generally to the calf of their legs: over their drawers they wear a ſhort petticoat: they put bracelets upon their legs and arms, and large ear-rings in their ears.

They have very fine eyes, and ſome of them beautiful ſkins, which we ſometimes had an opportunity of ſeeing; for though a man may live a year in Tetuan, and not ſee the face of a Mooriſh woman in the ſtreets, yet when we met them in the fields, or ſaw them on the houſe-tops, if none of the Moors were in ſight, they would unveil, laugh, and give themſelves a little looſe, till the appearance of one obliged them to hide their faces again.

The cuſtom of not letting their women be ſeen prevails to ſuch a degree, that when a man wants a wife, either his mother, or ſome of his female relations muſt go a courting for him: when the bargain is made, which is done before the cadi or juſtice, the bride is to keep within for eight days, her friends coming to rejoice with her every day, and a talb or prieſt alſo viſiting her, and diſcourſing on that holy ſtate, they pin the baſket with a religious hymn appointed for that purpoſe. The huſband with his friends repeats the ſame ceremonies for five days before conſummation, in a houſe which he has, or muſt take to bring his wife to. The laſt day the bride is put into a cage covered with a fine white linen cloth, and carried on men's ſhoulders to the houſe of

her intended huſband; her friends, relations, and muſic going before. Her brother (if ſhe has one) leads her into the houſe, where a room is appointed for her and the women; the man remains alſo in his room with his friends. When the evening approaches they are let looſe by the company, and the bridegroom goes to his wife's apartment, where he finds her alone, ſitting on a cuſhion of ſilk, velvet, or ſuch fine things as they can borrow (if they have them not of their own): underneath there is a ſilk quilt. Before her ſtands a little table about a foot high, with two wax candles upon it. Upon her head ſhe has a black ſilk ſcarf tied in a knot, the ends hanging on the ground behind her. Her ſhift is made with large ſleeves like the men's, and long enough to hang behind her like a train. Her veſt is of ſilk or velvet, buttoned cloſe to her hands, and reaches to the middle of her leg, adorned with lace at the hands, and all over the breaſt: ſhe has the ſame linen drawers deſcribed in the women's dreſs, and collars of pearl or fine ſtones, and (if ſhe can get them) of lions', or eagles' claws tipt with ſilver: in her ears ſhe has great rings of gold or ſilver, and the ſame about her wriſts and ancles, ſometimes ſet with ſtones: her ſlippers have thick ſoles made of cork, covered with gilt leather, and edged with the ſame, which is a mark of greatneſs among them, the Emperor and ſome few more wearing them. Her cheeks are painted with cochineal, which colours yellow at firſt, but being rubbed preſently turns red, with this they make one great round ſpot on each cheek: their eye-brows are painted black, and continued quite round their temples like a pair of whiſkers: they alſo make ſome ſmall black ſpots in imitation of patches, near their noſe and lips, a black ſnip on the end of their noſe, and a black ſtroke the breadth of a ſtraw, from their chin reaching down below the pit of their ſtomach, and how much lower I cannot tell, for there they begin to be covered: they paint their eye-lids and the ſides of them with a black powder called alcohl, putting ſome of the ſame into their eyes with a little ſtick: the palms of their hands are all blacked, and from the top of their thumbs round the fleſhy part is a black ſtroke, and one from the end of each finger to the palm: their nails are dyed yellow; they alſo have many fine ſcrawls of black on the top of their feet, and their toe nails are likewiſe dyed yellow.

Thus beautified, the bride ſits behind the table mentioned before with two wax candles upon it, holding her hands up the height of her face, with the palms turned towards her, about a foot diſtance from each other, and as much from her face, upon which ſhe is to look, and not on her huſband, who is to ſeize her when he comes into the room, and lift her upon the uſual bed place, which is about four feet high, and there he ſtrips her, ſhe not lending him the leaſt aſſiſtance, nor is to ſpeak for three days: he is to make what haſte he can, that he may deliver her drawers to two black women, who keep the door, and are to carry them to the reſt of the good women; and if ſuch ſigns appear on them as are expected, the muſic plays; but if he doth not ſend out the drawers, the muſic muſt not play: and it behoves him to beſtir himſelf about this matter; for, beſides the hazard of his reputation, the company will meet every day until the drawers come. If the proper marks appear, the drawers are ſent to all their relations in triumph (as is ſtill practiſed in ſome parts of Spain), but if he finds her to be no maid, he ſtrips her of her gaiety and turns her out of doors the next moment. The bridegroom is obliged to ſtay at home for ſeven days, and the bride a whole year; who is kept ever after ſo cloſe from the reſt of mankind, that not even her father or brother can have the privilege of a viſit unleſs her huſband is preſent.

All the women paint after the manner before mentioned at their public meetings; they are extremely handſome, and bred up with the greateſt care imaginable in relation to their modeſty: the fatteſt and biggeſt are moſt admired, for which reaſon they cram themſelves

themſelves againſt marriage with a food called zummith: it is a compound of flour, honey, and ſpices, made into little loaves for that purpoſe.

Adultery is puniſhed with death, and if a Chriſtian or a Jew is found to have to do with a Mooriſh woman, they muſt either turn to the Mahometan religion or be burnt.

Any man may divorce his wife (if ſhe was not given him by the Emperor) when he pleaſes, giving what he agreed (before the cadi) to lay out upon her, and keeping the children he has by her. The form is only delivering her a letter that he has done with her, and ſhe may ſeek a new huſband. Thoſe who deſire to indulge in having many wives, marry the handſome daughters of poor men, by which they avoid the inconveniency of drawing on themſelves the ill will of powerful relations, in caſe of divorce, and get rid of them at a ſmall expence.

Several Moors, whoſe wives or daughters were ſick while we were there, came to our doctor for help; but ſome were ſo infatuated, as to let them die rather than he ſhould ſee them; others conſented, but not until they were at the point of death, and it was too late to do them any good; only one man (not ſo much bewitched as the reſt) carried the doctor home to his wife, and made much of him.

They, as well as all other Mahometans, are allowed to marry four wives, and to have as many women more as they can keep, all of them ſtriving who ſhall beſt pleaſe their lord and maſter, that he ſhould beſtow his favour on them; for they are kept in great ſubjection, and think themſelves happy if they can pleaſe their huſbands by waiting on them. They are not ſuffered to go to church, leſt the devotion of the men ſhould be interrupted by their preſence, but have a ſet form of prayers and ceremonies to be performed at home.

When any of the Moors have a mind to entertain their neighbours, the women go to the top of the houſe, and continue there until the gueſts are gone: their general entertainment is with cuſcuſu, which I have in another place deſcribed. They make uſe neither of tables nor chairs, but ſit croſs-legged upon the ground, putting their diſhes upon a large piece of greaſy leather, which ſerves both for table and table-cloth; their diſhes are either of pewter or earthenware, made wide at top and narrow at bottom, almoſt like a high-crowned hat turned bottom upwards. While they eat a ſervant ſtands by with a great bowl of water in one hand, and a narrow long piece of blue linen in the other, to wipe their right hands, with which they pull the victuals to pieces, being for the moſt part ſtewed to rags. They never uſe the left hand in eating, for that waits wholly on their neceſſary occaſions. They fill their bellies without ſpeaking to one another, and after meals drink water, their religion forbidding them wine, and all other intoxicating liquors, except cyder; nevertheleſs, moſt of them will get drunk with ſtrong liquor of any kind, if they can come at it. Their chief deſert is butter-milk, of which they are ſuch lovers, that when they would ſpeak of the extraordinary ſweetneſs of any thing, they compare it to butter-milk: a great black pitcher of it is generally brought in with a wooden ladle, which is preſented to the moſt conſiderable perſon, and from him paſſes round the company ſeveral times.

They have no way of gathering cream as in other places, but make their butter of all the milk as it comes from the cow, by putting it into a ſkin, and ſhaking it till it becomes butter: it is always ſour, I ſuppoſe for want of cleanſing the ſkin; and when melted to ſauce, for want of ſubſtance, turns thin. Thoſe that have great quantities, keep it in holes made in the ground plaiſtered within: the leſs are kept in earthen jars buried. They do not diſlike it when four or five years old, having very unnatural taſtes

taſtes in that. They alſo wrap up the cawls, ſuet and fat of cows, ſheep, and goats, in great rolls, which in winter is ſold to the poor inſtead of butter.

Their cheeſe is nothing but curds put into that form, and four in five or ſix hours after it is made; but they keep it until it is old, and eat it though dry and ill taſted. They do not eſteem cow's milk ſo much as that of goats or camels, eſpecially the latter, which they think nouriſhing and incentive: it is much thinner than cow's milk.

Their bread is extraordinary good and cheap, eſpecially that of the flour of Fez, renowned for its whiteneſs too. It is baked in cakes near a foot in diameter, and an inch and an half thick: it is to be had every day hot, (for ſo they like it) and the baker pays himſelf in kind according to the quantity: ſometimes it comes to an half, or a quarter of a loaf for baking, and theſe pieces are ſold in the market; but poor people eat bread made of corn, which is called the third crop: it is a mixture of ſeveral coarſe black grains, that reſemble ſeeds more than corn, and is very black and bad, but cheap: with this their fowls are fed.

They cut the throats of all creatures they eat, having firſt turned the heads of them towards the eaſt and by ſouth, (as Mecca lies from them,) and called on the name of God: they uſe a world of water to waſh away the blood, and cutting the meat into quarters, ſoak it in a fountain for two hours; and when it is to be dreſſed cut it into ſmall pieces and waſh it again, uſing abundance of garlic, onions, and all manner of ſpices.

When the women viſit one another, they leave their ſlippers at the door of the room, to give notice that a ſtranger is there; during which time the men refrain from going in to their wives or daughters, they being very punctual in obſerving the cuſtoms relating to the women.

The Moors very often waſh their heads, hands, and feet, being obliged to it by their religion, every time before their ſet prayers, (which are five a day) if they have been upon any neceſſary occaſion, or have accidentally met with any ordinary pollution; but if they have had the misfortune to touch a ſwine, or committed any act of extraordinary defilement, or converſed with women, they are enjoined to waſh every part of their bodies, leſt they ſhould be polluted when they go to their devotion; and therefore, to be out of danger of common pollution, they always pray without their drawers.

They are forbid playing at any hazardous games for money; and thoſe that break this law are puniſhable by baſtinado, fine, or impriſonment. They ſometimes divert themſelves at draughts, cheſs, or ombre; but are not much addicted to gaming, nor care for ſtudy or reading; but it may very juſtly be ſaid, that eating, drinking, ſleeping, women, horſes, and prayers, almoſt wholly engroſs their time.

They have a great hatred for the name of a Chriſtian; and I have been told by a gentleman, (who heard them diſpute whether a Chriſtian or Jew ſhould be moſt eſteemed,) that in their diſcourſe they urged againſt the Chriſtians, their eating of pork, and meat ſtrangled in blood, and their not waſſing as the Jews do; and what a ſort of regard they have for the Jews, will be afterwards ſhewn. It has been obſerved in ſquabbles among them, or when a poor man falls out with his aſs, that the firſt name is carren, (i. e.) cuckold, then he calls him ſon of a Jew; but when they have a mind to ſpit their utmoſt malice, they ſay you ſon of a Chriſtian; and it is the moſt reproachful word among them; never mentioning it without the addition of G—d confound him; or, G—d burn his father or mother; which imprecations are taught the children as ſoon as they can ſpeak; and that they may be ſure to grow up in hatred againſt them, they celebrate a feaſt every year about St. John's day, in memory of ſome victory gained

gained over the Chriſtians; at which time the graveſt people will be paſſing through the ſtreets with wooden horſes, ſwords, lances, and drums, with which they equip the children that can ſcarce go, and meet in troops in the ſtreet, and engaging, ſay, thus we deſtroy the Chriſtians. They alſo firmly believe, that thoſe who are killed fighting againſt them go ſtraight to heaven, and they deſerve no leſs than an infinite reward for deſtroying thoſe enemies of their law.

The ſhops in this city are very ſmall, and have no doors to them; but the maſter having opened the ſhutters, jumps in and ſits croſs-legged, upon a place raiſed about the height of a counter: the goods are diſpoſed in drawers round about him, which he can reach, for the moſt part, without moving out of his place, his cuſtomers ſtanding in the ſtreet while they are ſerved.

In their houſes, they are always ſitting on matts, or lying; and if they go out, and it is not on horſeback, they never go farther than to make a viſit, unleſs their buſineſs requires it, but daily ſpend five or ſix hours ſitting on their hams before their doors, thinking it moſt ridiculous to walk up and down a room: againſt which they argue, ſaying, Why ſhould a man move from one end of the room to the other, without apparent cauſe? can he not as well ſtay in the place he is in, as go to the other end purely in order to come back again?

They ſeem not (as we do) to obſerve the day for buſineſs, and the night for ſleep, but ſleep and wake often in the four-and-twenty hours, going to church by night as well as day, for which purpoſe their talbs call from the top of the moſques, (or places of worſhip) having no bells, every three hours throughout the city. In going to church they obſerve no gravity, nor mind their dreſs, but as ſoon as the talb begins to bellow from the ſteeple, the carpenter throws down his ax, the ſhoe-maker his awl, the taylor his ſhears, and away they all run like ſo many fellows at foot-ball. When they come into the church, they repeat the firſt chapter of the Alcoran ſtanding; after which they look up, and lift up their hands as much above their heads as they can; and as their hands are leiſurely coming down again, drop on their knees with their faces towards the Kebla, (as they call it) or eaſt and by ſouth; then touching the ground with their foreheads twice, ſit a little while on their heels muttering a few words, and riſe up again: this they repeat two or three times; after which, looking on each ſhoulder, (I ſuppoſe to their guardian angels) they ſay *Selemo Alikom*, (i. e.) Peace be with you; and have done. When there are many at prayers together, you would think they were ſo many galley ſlaves a rowing, by the motion they make on their knees.

Their churches are all matted at the bottom, and about four feet high round the pillars, having running water in them; but ſuch as are built in high places, where they can not have a fountain, have wells. Their way of building them ſeems irregular, becauſe they generally ſtand ſurrounded with houſes, and you cannot go into them on any terms but thoſe of taking their religion. What I have been able to obſerve paſſing by is, that they are ſquare, low-roofed, ſupported with many arched pillars, and divided equally into alleys, about four yards broad. Againſt one of the pillars, as near the centre of the church as may be, is a pulpit, in which they preach every Friday; but ſuch as are not learned in the law, only ſtay to ſay their ordinary prayers and return. That which they call the head of the church, is a ſort of cupola fronting to the eaſtward, in honour of the place of their prophet's birth. Into this, on their feſtival days, the cadi or head prieſt enters, (who, as I have before obſerved, is alſo a juſtice) and turning his face eaſtward, prays, all the people kneeling behind him in the body of the church; then he turns himſelf to the people, being ſtill in the ſame poſture,

and

and gives them a bleſſing, ſo all is ended: if there is no cadi ſome talb does this. I have not heard of any form of conſecration they have; but if a ſwine happens to enter into any of their churches, (as it once fell out at Tetuan) they are unſanctified, and muſt be pulled down. The ſteeple ſtands indifferently in any part of the church. And in great towns there are many public chapels and religious houſes without any: beſides, they often pray in the fields, at the monuments of their ſaints, with a ſtring of beads in their hands, which they count over, ſaying, at every one they touch, *Stag fer Allah* (i. e.) God preſerve me! Friday is their chief holy-day; and they have a prophecy, that they ſhall be conquered on that day by the Chriſtians; for which reaſon, when the talbs call from the top of the moſques, the gates of all the walled towns are ſhut, and the ſame is obſerved in the Emperor's palace at Mequinez.

The habit of the prieſts is the ſame with the laity; but they are known by their beards, which are dyed red, and the leather on the top of their ſhoes, being cut in the ſhape of a flower-de-luce.

Upon the death of any perſon of note, women are hired to lament and make ſad moan, beating their heads and faces. If it be a man, all his wives get into the middle of the houſe, put aſhes on their heads, jump about in a ring, and ſcream like ſo many cats, all the time tearing their cheeks with their nails. Some, when they lament over the dead, aſk them whether they had wanted any thing in this world? Whether they had not had cuſcuſu enough? But if the wife dies, the huſband receives his friends' viſits of condolence at his door; and if he be of the middle rank, it is no ſhame for him, even on the day of her death, to go abroad and provide for her funeral. They waſh the corpſe and wrap it in a new ſhroud, and carry it on a bier, followed by a great number of people, who walk very faſt, calling upon God and Mahomet. They always bury their dead out of town, making the grave large at bottom that the corpſe may have room enough; and never put two perſons in a grave, becauſe they ſhould not miſtake their bones at the day of judgment.

They are very fond of fine tombs, which are generally cupolas built in their life-time, with an entrance as wide as the building: they are of ſeveral forms, ſome are low pyramids, others ſquare, and the body put in the middle. But there is no rule, for Alcade Ally Ben Abdallah's is a great ſquare of 30 feet at leaſt; and in order to his being a ſaint, it is built on holy ground, over the tomb of a ſaint, where it is death for a Jew to go.

The ordinary way of burying, is by digging about three feet into the ground, into which they put the body wrapt in the ſhroud, (for they uſe no coffins) and pave it over with flat ſtones, with a triangular ſtone ſtanding in the ground at the head and feet. They have a fancy that the dead can ſuffer, which was found out by a Portugueſe gentleman ſtraggling one day ignorantly among the tombs; a Moor came to him, and after uſing abundance of words forced him before the cadi. The gentleman complained of the violence, and ſaid he knew no harm he had done: but the grave judge replied, Yes, it was harm, for the poor dead ſuffered by being trod on by Chriſtian feet. But in conſideration of his ignorance, they releaſed him. And the Emperor once had occaſion to bring one of his wives through a burying-place, which forced the people to remove the bones of their dead friends, and cauſed them to grumble and ſay, neither the dead nor the living could be at quiet for him.

They have a ſtrange notion of ideots, whom they reverence as ſaints, and the elect of God; ſo that all their eminent fools are led about, the people kiſſing their garments, and giving them every thing but money, which they are not to take; and after their death, ſome great man hears of their fame, and makes it an act of devotion to beautify

beautify their tombs; or, if they had none, to build one over their grave, wherein they are laid, and worſhipped among the reſt of their ſaints. It is difficult either to give a general rule what a ſaint in this part of the world is, or how he becomes ſo; but any thing extraordinary makes one: ſome are ſaints by deſcent, others for ſome particular abilities (as one in this town for curing ſore eyes); many for being fools or mad-men, and ſome for being great rogues; as one that was about the Emperor's perſon, and had committed ſome villany. The Emperor was going to kill him, but declared he could not, for which he was immediately ſanctified, and continued in great favour about him. Several of the Emperor's horſes have been ſaints; nay, ſome are at this day; one particularly for ſaving his life; and if a man ſhould kill one of his children, and lay hold of this horſe, he is ſafe: this horſe has ſaved the lives of ſome of the captives, and is fed with cuſcuſu and camel's milk: after the Emperor has drunk, and his horſe after him, ſome of his favourites are ſuffered to drink out of the ſame bowl.

All things are lawful for the ſaints, becauſe it is ſuppoſed they have the divine impulſe annexed to all their actions, whether they ſteal, murder, or raviſh: there was a naked one at Sally ſome years ago, ſeized a young wench in the ſtreets, who not well underſtanding ſanctification, began to be turbulent; but ſome of the holy tribe being nigh, ſoon tript up her heels, and covered them with their alhagues. There is another ſaint at Alcaſſar that is a great huntſman, and the governors beg, borrow, and ſteal dogs to preſent him with. But theſe ſaints, like thoſe of Europe, are ſometimes detected. One of them had acquired great reputation for ſanctity, from a trick a Jew learnt him, which was to dip his alhague in ſpirits of wine; and when he went into church, he uſed to ſet it on fire by the lamp: this got him great reputation, and he was ſent for to court, grew great, and lived to do the poor Jews an ill office; but I think they were even with him, for they told the ſecret to the preſent Emperor, who put his holineſs to the trial of more ſubſtantial fire, which conſumed his ſacred perſon.

Another ſaint alſo was undone by a Jew: this ſaint pretended to go to Mecca every Friday: the Jew that knew the cheat, ſhewed him a fine ſtring of beads, and afterwards ſhewed them to the Emperor, who was to aſk the ſaint to bring him a ſtring of beads from Mecca. The ſaint returned to the Jew, got the beads, and went to the Emperor, and pretended he had brought them from Mecca; but the Emperor ſent him a longer journey.

They tell the following ſtory of an alcayde; A Chriſtian making a voyage to ſea, truſted a ſaint with a purſe of gold, and at his return went to demand it; the ſaint denied that he had any ſuch thing, and the man made his complaint to the juſtice, who told him, that if he had been a Moor he muſt be ſatisfied with his denying it, but being a Chriſtian, all the juſtice he could have was, that he ſhould ſwear in the great church, he had none of his money; the poor man ſaid, that being a Chriſtain he could not enter into the church with him, and deſired he ſhould ſwear in the alcayde's porch. The alcayde was a man of wit, and thought by this the poor man looked on him for juſtice; the ſaint came firſt and ſat down in the porch; when the alcayde heard of it, he invited him in, treated him familiarly, and amuſing him with a diſcourſe of ſeveral things, got his beads into his hand, ſtole out of the room, and ſent them to his wife, as a token that ſhe ſhould ſend ſuch a purſe with ſo much money, which accordingly came: this being a ſufficient conviction, the alcayde robbed him of all he had, and turned his holineſs into the hills a grazing.

If a city happens to be founded near the tomb of a ſaint, there is a ſpace round about it that has the privilege of being a ſanctuary. But the Emperor has not ſcrupled to violate theſe ſanctuaries, as he did once at Fez, for a negro who had committed no

great crime; and took ſanctuary in the houſe of a great ſaint. He ſent the alcayde of his whole army of negroes to demand him; but the ſaint told him plainly he ſhould not violate the privilege of his houſe; ſo the alcayde returned to the Emperor, who killed him, notwithſtanding the eſteem he bore him; for he was a brave man, and a good ſoldier after the manner of the country. He ordered him to be put upon an aſs, and flung before the door of the ſaint, and bid him ſee what he had done in making him kill a man he ſo much eſteemed. The ſaint was afraid, ſent for the conſiderable people of the town, and it was agreed to deliver the man whom the Emperor killed.

They are mightily addicted to fables and ſuperſtition, relating many wonderful things of their ſaints; and, among the reſt of their extravagancies, believe ſome people have a malignancy in their eyes, by which they hurt all things they look on, eſpecially little children and fine horſes: for which reaſon the Emperor kept a little ſon of his, who was fair and handſome, from being expoſed for many years. This the Spaniards call *Mal de Ojo*, and the Portugueſe, *Quebranto*; for thoſe two nations are of the ſame opinion. A former alcayde of Tangier was one day a fiſhing, and not ſucceeding in his diverſion to his wiſh, he ſeized a poor innocent man, who ſtood looking on, and accuſed him of *Mal de Ojo*, put him in priſon, and ſwore he ſhould not come out till he had paid him thirty or forty ducats. It is well known that the old Romans had the ſame ſuperſtition, and it now prevails in the Levant.

They have another extravagant fancy, which is, that God will grant their requeſts by being importuned; and in the time of great rains, the children will be all day running through the ſtreets, calling for fair weather, and in drought for rain; this they do with an hideous noiſe, ſometimes for eight days together: if God does not give the children rain, the ſaints and learned men go into the fields and call for rain; if that does not do, then they all go together bare-footed and meanly cloathed to the tombs of their ſaints, and there they aſk rain; the Emperor ſometimes performs this piece of devotion himſelf. But if all theſe fail, they turn all the Jews out of town, and bid them not return without rain; for they ſay, though God would not give them rain for their prayers, he will give the Jews rain, to be rid of their importunity, their ſtinking breath and feet. This was done ſometime ago at Tangier.

Here are a great many ſchools, where the children learn to read, write, cypher, and get the Alcoran by heart; which when they have gone through, their relations borrow a fine horſe and furniture, and carry them about the town in proceſſion, with the book in their hands, the reſt of their companions following, and all ſorts of muſic of the country going before.

Such as apply themſelves to the ſtudy of their law are admitted to hear public reading and preaching in the churches by the talbs; and when approved by them, are admitted into the number. I could never learn they had any ceremony of initiation, at leaſt more than by the majority of voices, and that he who was the moſt knowing, ſhould be cady or head of the church. And the chief mufti, or head of the church, is he that is choſe cady in the moſt important city. But the Emperor, who is of the blood of the prophet, and a ſaint beſides, has made the cady of Taffilet, the country where he was born, (which he pretends has a great privilege in that reſpect) cady general of his kingdoms, though he is called cady of Mequinez.

The Moors ſalute one another when they meet by joining their hands with a quick motion, and ſeparating them immediately, kiſſing each their own hand, if equals; if not, the inferior kiſſes the ſuperior's hand, and oftentimes his head too. They uſe the common terms of, How do you do? Where have you been? I am glad to ſee you.

you. If it be an alcayde, they kiſs his foot, if on horſeback; if on foot, his hand, cloaths, or the firſt thing they meet with; if ſitting, his knees.

The current coin of this country are gold ducats, blankills, and fluces; all other pieces of gold and ſilver going but for as much as they weigh; theſe ducats are thin round pieces of gold, ſtamped with the Emperor's name, and paſs with them for fourteen ounces, an imaginary ſum which amounts to about nine ſhillings and ſix-pence of our money. The blankill is a little round piece of ſilver, ſtamped alſo with the Emperor's name, worth about two-pence, four of them making one of their ounces: the fluce is a copper coin, twenty-four of which go to a blankill, ſo that their loweſt piece of money is equal to the third part of a farthing; and yet things are ſo reaſonable here, that two or three of them will purchaſe a loaf of bread, or fruit; and you may buy a good fowl for a blankill; every thing elſe is proportionably cheap, the country about Tetuan yielding plenty of corn, cattle, poultry, wild fowl, and great variety of fine fruits. I have called one of their coins a gold ducat, to diſtinguiſh it from the ordinary ducat, which with them is ten ounces, or ſix ſhillings and eight-pence of our money.

Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah, the preſent baſha, is between forty and fifty years of age, a ſtrong built man, inclining to be fat, active and dexterous in the management of his ſpear; his countenance is grave and majeſtic, having a Roman noſe, good eyes, and a well-turned face; his ſkin a little ſwarthy, and altogether makes a very manly appearance; he is reckoned to be very proud, but was ſufficiently humbled at Mequinez, as you will hear.

He commands from towards Oran in the Mediterranean (where the Emperor of Morocco, and the Algerine's dominions are divided) to Marmora upon the ocean, which is under the command of the governor of Sally; and from the Mediterranean ſoutherly, as far as the river Cebu; a government counted as large as the kingdom of Portugal; the chief cities of which are Tetuan, Tangier, Arzilla, Larach, and Alcaſſar.

Tueſday the 13th of June we began our journey to Mequinez, leaving Tetuan about five of the clock in the afternoon, and a little after ſix encamped in a pleaſant plain, by the ſide of a ſmall river called Boſpherah, ſix miles from Tetuan. Here Ben Hattar lay encamped, having left the town before, to ſettle his things in order for travelling.

The 14th we decamped about four in the afternoon, and pitched our tents again three miles off, at a place called Darzerboh, from a Mooriſh ſaint that is buried there. Theſe two ſhort journeys were taken to form the diſpoſition of our camp, and ſee if any thing more was wanting before we got far from Tetuan.

The 15th, at three in the afternoon, we left Darzerboh, travelling through a mountainous country, the road leading us over the tops of ſuch rocky hills, that it was difficult to get along: we came to our tents between ſix and ſeven, which were pitched eighteen miles from our former camp.

The 16th we ſet out at ſix in the morning, the trumpet ſounding to horſe, which for the future was to be the ſignal for riſing, after which it was expected every body ſhould be ready in half an hour; we now began to have very hot travelling, as may be imagined from the climate, and ſeaſon of the year, which daily increaſed, as well by reaſon of arriving more inland, as the approaching midſummer: we came to our camp at nine, about twelve miles off, cloſe to a little rivulet called Alcharob.

The 17th we ſet out again at ſix in the morning, and about ten encamped at the river Hamgarwell, fifteen miles from our former incampment. In the way came to

us one Sidi Hamet, an old man, related to one of the Emperor's women; he is governor of the Dwaries in theſe parts, i. e. the flying villages of the Arabs, of which we had this day paſt by ſeveral: the inhabitants of them ſeem to live miſerably, having but very indifferent lodgings, their houſes conſiſting of nothing but ſticks, with a ruſh or cloth covering in imitation of a tent, moving from place to place for the conveniency of paſture, and water. Theſe towns are generally built in the ſhape of a ring, by placing one row of houſes cloſe together, and going round with them until they meet, leaving a large vacant ſpace in the inſide; in the middle of which there ſtands a houſe by itſelf, which we ſuppoſed belonged to their ſheik or chief, whom they have the liberty of chooſing out of their own tribes; the Emperor gathering the tribute from them by a perſon whom he ſends from court, and makes an alcayde for that purpoſe. Theſe Arabs are for the moſt part very tawny, live naſtily with their cattle and poultry, and their young children run about naked; they have abundance of fine black cattle, which I take to be the chief of their ſubſtance.

Notwithſtanding the unſettled way of life, and ſeeming poverty of theſe people, a good revenue is drawn from them, there being reckoned to dwell, only in the plains of Fez, three hundred thouſand of them, paying garam, that is the tenth part of all they have, to which they are liable as ſoon as they come to be fifteen years of age: this is the tax commanded by their law; but the alcaydes are ſo far from being ſatisfied with it, that they omit no manner of injuſtice and rapine, to fleece the people of all they can.

In Morocco there are not above one hundred thouſand of them, but in Suz they are very numerous, and formerly refuſed to pay tribute, which coſt this Emperor a great deal of time entirely to ſubdue them. When they have a mind to remove to another place, they load their camels, bulls, and cows, on whom they put pack-ſaddles, ſetting their wives and children on them, in large wicker baſkets, covered with cloth to keep off the ſun; after which manner they roam about till they have found a place to their mind.

At night we had great quantities of cuſcuſu, and other proviſions, brought in by theſe people, and the mountaineers. This cuſcuſu is the daily food of the Moors, and I believe wholeſome and nouriſhing by its compoſition, which is thus: they put fine flour into a large flat pan, and ſprinkling it with water, take a great deal of pains to roll it up into ſmall balls, which they ſeparate and put into another thing, as they become of the ſize they would have, which generally is the ſame with our duck ſhot; when they have made a ſufficient quantity of this, they put it into a ſort of cullender, which ſerves for a cover of a pot, where there is meat and fowls ſtewing, ſo that it receives the heat and ſteam thereof; when it is enough, they pour ſtrong broth into it, and putting the ſtewed meat and fowls at top, ſo ſerve it up. They certainly imagined we had good ſtomachs, for they ſent us a monſtrous wooden diſh ſo full of cuſcuſu that ſeven or eight ſtrong Moors had but juſt ſtrength enough to ſet it upon the table. We attacked it as vigorouſly as we could, but made ſuch an indifferent progreſs, that it was hardly to be perceived we had eaten; afterwards we had the pleaſure to ſee it emptied in a few minutes by the muleteers and other attendants of the camp; who by a dexterous ſhake of their hands, turning it into round balls, ſwallowed them down as big as thoſe made for horſes. In all parts of the baſha's dominions where he travels, the people bring in plenty of what they have, which coſts him nothing.

The 18th we decamped between five and ſix in the morning, and paſſed the river Elmahaſſen, famous for the battle fought between Don Sebaſtian King of Portugal and the Moors. As this ſtory had given matter to Sir Richard Steele, to furniſh the world with a paper of the heroical virtue of Muley Moluc, then King of Morocco, it

gave me the curioſity to enquire whether they had any hiſtorical account thereof; but found only a traditional ſtory, which moſt of them agreed in, differing much from Sir Richard Steele, who gives the praiſe of heroic virtue to the Mooriſh King; whereas the ſtory of the country attributes it to a ſlave; for Muley Moluc was a prince very much beloved by his people, but infirm, and at the time he left Morocco, to defend his country againſt Don Sebaſtian, was ſo ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, and when he came to Alcaſſar, (about ſix miles from the place where the battle was fought) he there died; upon which a ſlave of his called Mirwan, (whoſe name the Moors to this day mention with great regard, becauſe of the gallantry and ſervice of the action,) wiſely conſidering the conſequence of keeping ſecret the death of a prince ſo well beloved by his people, at a time when the two armies every day expected to join battle, contrived it ſo as to give out orders for the King as if he had been alive, making believe he was better than he uſed to be, till the battle was over; when the ſaid ſlave (thinking he merited a better reward than what he met with) wiſhed the ſucceſſor joy, both of the victory and empire; but the ungrateful prince cauſed him to be immediately put to death, ſaying, he had robbed him of the glory of the action. The Portugueſe who were diſperſed in the battle, could not believe for a long time that their King was ſlain, but ran up and down the country, crying out, *Onde eſta el Rey*; i. e. Where is the King? The Moors often hearing the word *rey*, which in Arabic ſignifies good ſenſe, told them that if they had any *rey* they had never come thither.

It is well known that many of the ordinary people in Portugal will not perſuade themſelves that Don Sebaſtian is yet dead: and there is now to be read on a monument in the great church of Bellem, near Liſbon, the following inſcription:

Hic jacet in tumulo, ſi fama eſt vera, Sebaſtes.

When we came within two miles of Alcaſſar, we were met by Alcayde Aſſuze, governor of the frontier; he came towards us with a ſpear carried upright by a ſlave at his horſe's tail, by which ceremony the alcaydes of Barbary are diſtinguiſhed; and when they encamp, it is ſtuck before the door of their tents. He is a handſome young man, and very like the baſha in the face; over his alhague he wore a ſcarlet albornooce, fringed with a deep green fringe, and made a good appearance. After he had welcomed the ambaſſador, his attendants cavalcaded till we came up to the baſha, who was coming to receive the ambaſſador; then the baſha's horſe and thoſe of the town joining with the alcayde's, made a large cavalcade, giving us the pleaſure of ſeeing a great many luſty graceful Moors, finely mounted, tilt at one another with great activity; after which manner we went on, the drums beating, ſtrange ſort of muſic playing, and great crowds of people hallooing, and preſſing ſo cloſe upon us, that they could not be kept off (though beat by our guards) till we came to the tents, which were pitched cloſe to the walls of Alcaſſar, about ſixteen miles from our laſt encampment.

Upon the left of the road from Tetuan, almoſt as far as Alcaſſar, there runs a ridge of exceeding high and bulky mountains, called by the Moors, the mountains of Habib; the inhabitants of them cannot be reduced to the ſame degree of ſubjection with the reſt of the country, yet, upon civil treatment, will bring the baſha a contribution; but when endeavoured to be forced, revenge themſelves by infeſting the roads, robbing and deſtroying the travellers; retiring when they ſee occaſion into their woody mountains, where the baſha finds it too difficult to do any good upon them, ſo that he rather chooſes peaceably to take what they of their own accords will ſend, than enrage them by compulſion.

Alcaſſar

Alcaſſar was once a city of good note, and the ſeat of the governor of this part of the kingdom: it was built by Jacob Almanzor, King of Fez, about the year 1180, and deſigned for a magazine and place of rendezvous, for the great preparations he was making to enter Granada, and make good the footing his father Joſeph Almanzor had got ſometime before. They ſay his father firſt invaded Spain with three hundred thouſand men, moſt of whom he was obliged in a ſhort time to bring back again into Africa, to quiet a rebellion that had broke out in Morocco; after which this prince again entered Spain, having in his army, according to tradition, two hundred thouſand horſe and three hundred thouſand foot.

This city is now very much fallen to decay, ſo that of fifteen moſques, there are only two in which they perform ſervice; the reaſon of which decay (in all likelihood) is the bad ſituation thereof, ſtanding ſo low, that it is exceſſively hot in ſummer and almoſt drowned in winter. Superſtition alſo has been its enemy, for it was curſed by one of their ſaints, who was cunning enough to foretell, that it ſhould be burnt in ſummer and drowned in winter; and to give the people an opinion of the validity of the ſaid curſe, their prieſts (not thinking the burning heat of the ſun ſufficient, which probably was all their ſaint meant) ſecretly, once a year, ſet fire to ſome houſe, and quench it for their pains, which was done whilſt we were there; as for the drowning part, the river does that, being ſo ſwelled with the rains in winter, that it generally overflows into the town.

Here are a great number of ſtorks, who live very familiarly with the people, walking about the town, and poſſeſſing the tops of the houſes and moſques without moleſtation, being eſteemed a ſacred bird; ſo that they, as well as other nations, account it a ſin to diſturb them; but theſe birds not being free enough to go in and ſhelter themſelves from the heat of the ſun uſed to drop down dead every day.

At preſent the baſha of Tetuan appoints the governor of this town, which is the laſt (of any note) of his dominions towards Mequinez.

Monday the 26th about four o'clock in the afternoon we left Alcaſſar, our number being very much increaſed by joining the baſha and his ſixteen brothers, beſides nephews, the whole family being ordered to court. We came to our camp about ſix o'clock, ten miles from Alcaſſar.

The 27th we decamped at ſix in the morning, and about eleven came to our tents, which were pitched by the ſide of a little brook called Behorah, having travelled about ſixteen miles.

The 28th we ſet out at three in the afternoon, and a little after ſix came to the river Cebu, about twelve miles off, where we encamped: at this river end the dominions of the baſha of Tetuan; it is one of the largeſt in the kingdom of Fez, taking its riſe beyond the city of Fez, and falling into the ſea at Marmora, it runs in a very deep bed, and had but little water in it; but in winter, they ſay, it is very full and rapid. The water of it is reckoned extremely wholeſome and ſoft, and therefore the Moors greedily drink great plenty of it.

The 29th, about half an hour after two in the morning, we left the river Cebu, travelling by moon-light over the plain of Marmora, which is about twenty miles. This plain is very remarkable for its exceeding ſmoothneſs, ſtretching itſelf about eighty miles inland from the ſea at Marmora, as even as a bowling-green. At eight we encamped near Sidi Caſſem, a ſmall town ſituated at the foot of a ridge of mountains that incloſe this plain to the ſouthward. The town takes its name from a ſaint, who has a monument in it, to which the Moors with great ſuperſtition reſort to ſay their prayers: and a great many more ſaints are buried in the road to Mequinez,

having little monuments over them, which the Moors will ſeldom paſs, without praying at.

The baſha coming into the camp juſt as the ambaſſador's tent was pitched, the latter invited him in; their converſation was concerning the great tract of ground we had paſſed, with ſo few towns; the ambaſſador ſaying, it was pity ſo much good ground ſhould lie waſte, which being cultivated, would enrich the Emperor and fill his granaries; the baſha told him, that there was no want of corn in the Emperor's dominions, he having many magazines which have been full a long time; that the Moors preſerve it without damage for an hundred years together, by putting it into pits, called methmur, plaiſtered within, and over the mouth, when they are full; that the large plain of Marmora and many other parts of the country were ſown by the Emperor's negroes to ſupply his magazines.

The 30th we lay ſtill in our camp at Sidi Caſſem, the baſha ſtaying for ſome of his governors, to bring in their contributions for the preſent to the Emperor; but we were obliged to keep our diſtance from this holy town, for ſuperſtition runs ſo high in favour of the ſaint, its god-father, that it would be a great profanation, for any but Mahometan feet, to tread near it; of which being told, we rather choſe to let our curioſities be unſatisfied, than run the riſk of their ſuperſtitious inſults.

July the 1ſt, we departed from Sidi Caſſem about half an hour after five in the morning, aſcending a rocky mountain, which at top is ſo ragged that it was with great difficulty we got over; and the deſcent ſo ſteep and ſtony, that a little wet would make it unpaſſable for horſes. Between ſeven and eight we had a ſight of Mequinez from the top of a hill. About ten we encamped in a plain called Muley Idris, from a ſaint who has a monument hard by. This Muley Idris was the founder of the city of Fez, and firſt Arabian Prince who reigned in Barbary: he was made a ſaint for compelling a great number of Jews to turn Mahometans His tomb is to this day a ſure ſanctuary for thoſe who fly from the wrath of the prince, or would avoid juſtice; and is of ſo great veneration, that the travellers to Mequinez go conſiderably out of their way to pray at it, and the Emperor himſelf often pays his devotion there.

Here is a city that takes its name from the ſaid ſaint, which ſtands cloſe under the high mountain Zarhon, which they ſay runs as far as the great mountain Atlas. Almoſt a league from this city, upon a gentle riſing hill, remain ſome ruins of a very ancient and noble building, which the Moors call *Caſſar Pharaon*, i. e. Pharaoh's caſtle, who, they told us, was a Chriſtian, but could not give any further account thereof. A draught of which, with the inſcriptions of ſeveral ſtones found in the ruins, I have taken for the conſideration of the curious.

This day was ſo exceeding hot and ſultry, that all manner of metal was heated to ſuch a degree by the air which came into our tents, that we could hardly touch it.

The country we had hitherto paſſed is very pleaſant and fertile; the plains in many places abounding in corn and cattle, and the hills and mountains yielding plenty of olives; though a great part lies waſte and uncultivated; not ſo much for want of a ſufficient number of inhabitants, as by reaſon of the oppreſſions from the government, which makes them chooſe to live at ſome diſtance from the high roads, and ſeldom cultivate more land than they neceſſarily want for their own ſuſtenance.

Theſe ruins ſtand about one hundred and forty miles ſouth of Tetuan, and ſixteen north-eaſt of Mequinez. One building ſeems to be part of a triumphal arch, there being ſeveral broken ſtones that bear inſcriptions, lying in the rubbiſh underneath, which were fixed higher than any part now ſtanding. It is fifty-ſix feet long, and fifteen

fifteen thick, both ſides exactly alike, built with very hard ſtone, about a yard in length, and half a yard thick.

The arch is twenty feet wide, and about twenty-ſix high.

The inſcriptions are upon large flat ſtones, which when entire were about five feet long and three broad, and the letters on them above ſix inches long.

A buſt lay a little way off, very much defaced, and was the only thing to be found that repreſented life, except the ſhape of a foot ſeen under the lower part of a garment, in the nich on the other ſide of the arch.

About a hundred yards from the arch ſtands good part of the front of a large ſquare building, which is a hundred and forty feet long and about ſixty high; part of the four corners are yet ſtanding, but very little remains except theſe of the front.

Round the hill may be ſeen the foundation of a wall, about two miles in circumference, which incloſed theſe buildings, on the inſide of which lie ſcattered all over a great many ſtones, of the ſame ſize the arch is built with, but hardly one left upon another; but at the arch, which ſtood about half a mile from the other buildings, ſeemed to have been a gate-way, and was juſt high enough to admit a man to paſs through on horſeback.

The 2d we left Muley Idris at half an hour after five in the afternoon, and upon the road heard that Ben Hattar (who went to Mequinez two days before) had been very well received by the Emperor; the reaſon why I give an account of Ben Hattar's reception by the Emperor, is becauſe no man goes before him, but with the utmoſt fear, and in doubt whether he ſhall return alive; ſo that when any conſiderable perſon has been in his preſence, it is uſual to tell immediately abroad what kind of reception he has met with; and the account of Ben Hattar's was brought to us a great many miles before we came to Mequinez, as a piece of good news. About nine we came to the baſha's camp, which was pitched within two or three miles of Mequinez.

Monday the 3d we ſet forward at four of the clock in the morning, the moon being up, and a little before ſun-riſe entered the city, to avoid the prodigious crowd we ſhould have met with, had the day been farther advanced, by which means we got to our houſe with very little interruption. The baſha of Tetuan not having been at court for three years, this morning appeared before the Emperor, to whom he had been accuſed of being careleſs of his government, in letting the Spaniards drive him out of his camp before Ceuta, and was in great danger of his life; the Emperor ſeverely threatening him, and telling him he was not fit to command; but after he had been ſufficiently frightened, he bid him go into the palace to ſee a ſiſter of his, who was one of the Emperor's women; which he did to ſend him out of the way, while he vented ſome part of his anger on his followers; for ſome body had given him a liſt of thoſe about the baſha who were moſt in his eſteem. The firſt on this liſt happened to be one Larbe Shott, a man worthy of a better fate than what he met with, which ſhall be related in its proper place. The next was one of the baſha's ſecretaries, whom the Emperor ordered to be toſſed, which being a puniſhment different from any uſed in Europe, it will not be amiſs to give ſome account of it.

The perſon whom the Emperor orders to be thus puniſhed, is ſeized upon by three or four ſtrong negroes, who taking hold of his hams throw him up with all their ſtrength, and at the ſame time turning him round pitch him down head foremoſt; at which they are ſo dexterous by long uſe, that they can either break his neck the firſt toſs, diſlocate a ſhoulder, or let him fall with leſs hurt: they continue doing this as often as the Emperor has ordered, ſo that many times they are killed upon the ſpot, ſometimes they come off with only being ſeverely bruiſed; and the perſon that is toſſed

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muſt not ſtir a limb, if he is able, while the Emperor is in ſight, under penalty of being toſſed again, but is forced to lie as if he was dead, which if he ſhould really be, nobody dares bury the body till the Emperor has given orders for it.

The 5th, the Emperor ſent one of his courtiers to tell the ambaſſador that he thought the houſe he was in (which belonged to the baſha of Tetuan) was not good enough for him, and that he would have him go to a houſe of Ben Hatter's, that he had lately built, and was one of the beſt in Mequinez, to which we removed directly.

The Firſt Audience which his Excellency the Honourable Charles Stewart, Eſq. had of the Emperor of Morocco.

ON Thurſday the 6th of July, about ſeven of the clock in the morning, the Emperor ſent an alcayde with a guard to conduct the ambaſſador to him: we paſſed through the ſtreets in the following manner: firſt there went two ſerjeants on horſeback, they were followed by our muſic, which played all the way; then came the ambaſſador with his liverymen on each ſide, and after him the gentlemen of his retinue, who were followed by ſeveral ſervants on horſeback; laſt of all came the Engliſh captive maſters of ſhips on foot. The alcayde who commanded the guard would not ſuffer the Moors (who were not in the Emperor's ſervice) to come near us, ſo that when any of them endeavoured after it, he uſed to point at them, to ſhow the guards where they were, who laid on unmercifully, ſometimes knocking them down.

Being arrived at the outward gate of the palace, we diſmounted, and paſſing through three or four large court-yards, ſat down under ſome piazzas for about half an hour. Then word being brought that the Emperor was come out, we were led into a ſpacious place, where at a diſtance we ſaw him, with an umbrella over his head, his guards behind him drawn up in the ſhape of an half-moon, holding the butt end of their pieces with their right hands, and keeping them cloſe to their bodies, with the muzzles directly upwards. His courtiers on each ſide, barefooted, and in the habit of ſlaves, who never ſtand exactly before him, but making a lane, watch the motion of his horſe, that they may immediately fall into the ſame poſture.

We marched towards the Emperor, our muſic playing, till we came within about fourſcore yards of him, when it was ſurpriſing to ſee the old monarch alight from his horſe, and proſtrate himſelf upon the earth to pray; in which poſture he continued ſome minutes without motion, with his face ſo cloſe to the ground, that the duſt remained upon his noſe when we came up to him; then mounting his horſe again, he took a lance in his hand; and Ben Hattar leading the ambaſſador up, we fell into one rank, and bowing as we approached the Emperor, he nodded his head, ſaid *Bono*, ſeveral times, and bid the ambaſſador be covered, which he did, and at the ſame time delivered His Majeſty's letter tied up in a ſilk handkerchief, into the Emperor's hand, (for it is a rule never to deliver with bare hands a letter to the Emperor) telling him that he was come from the King of Great Britain his maſter, to ſettle peace, friendſhip, and a good underſtanding between the two crowns, and that he had brought him a preſent, which he hoped he would accept. The Emperor replied, he ſhould have every thing he came for, becauſe he loved the Engliſh; and that ſuch of the Moors whom the ambaſſador had brought over with him as were able, ſhould pay their ranſom, and thoſe who were not, the baſha of Tetuan ſhould pay for; but recollecting himſelf, he ſaid the Engliſh made no ſlaves, nor ſold any; upon which the ambaſſador told him, he hoped he would have the ſame regard for the King his maſter's ſubjects, and admit them to return home into their own country, a charity becoming ſo potent a

monarch, and a convincing proof of the great regard he had for the Engliſh nation; not that the nation ſtood in need of the men, for the Engliſh employed every year above an hundred thouſand on the ſeas; but that the King his maſter was deſirous, out of his goodneſs to his people, that ſo many of his ſubjects might return again to ſee their wives and families. It was very difficult to get the Emperor to have patience to hear what the ambaſſador had to ſay, being fond of ſpeaking much himſelf, and interrupting the linguiſt ſo often, that it is hard for any body to get a fair interpretation made to him.

The ambaſſador now delivering the articles of peace to the Emperor, told him they were ſigned by the King his maſter, and deſired he would be pleaſed to ſign a counterpart to be carried to England; to which the Emperor ſaid, that his word was as effectual as his writing, but however he would do that to ſatisfy him; and giving the articles to his admiral, Al Hadge Abdelcader Peres (afterwards ſent ambaſſador to England), told the ambaſſador, that he made him a preſent of nine Chriſtians for a breakfaſt, and he might chooſe which he pleaſed.

Then the Emperor ſpeaking to the baſha of Tetuan, the latter proſtrated himſelf upon the earth, and kiſſed the ground at his horſe's feet, and ariſing went up to the Emperor and kiſſed his foot; which they all do very often when he talks to them, and go backwards into their places again.

The Emperor is about eighty-ſeven years old, and very active for ſuch an age. He is a middle-ſized man, and has the remains of a good face, with nothing of a negro's features, though his mother was a black: he has a high noſe, which is pretty long from the eyebrows downwards, and thin. He has loſt all his teeth, and breathes ſhort as if his lungs were bad, coughs and ſpits pretty often, which never falls to the ground, men being always ready with handkerchiefs to receive it. His beard is thin and very white: his eyes ſeem to have been ſparkling, but their vigour decayed through age, and his cheeks are very much ſunk in. He was mounted upon a black horſe, not ſo remarkable for his beauty, as being taught to pleaſe him. His negroes continually fan and beat the flies from his horſe with cloths, and the umbrella is conſtantly kept twirling over his head, the man that carries it taking great care to move as his horſe does, that no ſun may come upon the Emperor. His dreſs was not much different from what his baſhas wear, when out of his preſence, conſiſting of a fine alhague: his turban was made with rolls of muſlin, that came very low upon his forehead. The end of his ſcimiter hung out, it was covered with gold, and handſomely ſet with large emeralds. His ſaddle was covered with ſcarlet cloth embroidered with gold, with one piſtol in a cloth caſe, on the left ſide.

Parting from the Emperor, which we did by going backwards a good way, and Ben Hattar (by his order) conducting us to ſee the palace, we were led into a large oblong-ſquare building, with piazzas all round, being the Queen of the Xeriph's apartment. The arches were wrought with plaſter fret-work, in flowers after the Arabian manner, and ſupported by neat ſtone pillars; the ſquare exceeding large and ſpacious; the bottom and ſides (for about five feet high) chequered with ſmall tiles of divers colours, about two inches ſquare; of which ſmall chequer-work there is a prodigious quantity in the palace. All the apartments, walks, magazines, paſſages, and underneath the arches being chequered, making the proſpect of the buildings, which are all of a great length, extremely magnificent, beautiful and neat. From thence we were led into a magazine near a quarter of a mile long, and not above thirty feet broad; in it there hung up great quantities of arms in caſes, and three rows of rails, which were covered with ſaddles, almoſt from one end to the other: and in ſuch another magazine they

ſhewed

ſhewed us the gates of Larach, which this Emperor took from the Spaniards, a great deal of iron-work, ſome eſpadas, and other Chriſtian ſwords, brought from thence.

Then we were carried into another large and ſpacious building, with piazzas all round like the former. In this live two of the Emperor's wives, who are diſtinguiſhed by being called the Queens of the Cobah 'lhodrah, (which is the name of that part of the palace they live in) and are in great eſteem with him.

From thence paſſing through ſome neat long walks and paſſages of chequer-work, we came to another building, with a large garden in the middle, planted round with tall cypreſs trees: the garden is ſunk about ſixty or ſeventy feet lower that the foundation of the building, over which, from one ſide to the other, goes a terrace-walk, called by the Moors the Strangee, which is about half a mile long, and fifteen or ſixteen feet broad; the top of it all the way thick-ſhaded with vines, and other greens, ſupported with ſtrong and well-made wooden work. In this walk there was a chariot that goes with ſprings, and a ſmall calaſh, in which they told us the Emperor is ſometimes drawn by women and eunuchs.

Several other ſquares and long buildings we paſſed through, now and then ſeeing the Chriſtians upon the top of high walls, working and beating down the mortar with heavy pieces of wood, (ſomething like what our paviers uſed to beat down the ſtones) which they raiſe all together, and keep time in their ſtroke; and after we had been about three hours ſeeing the palace, we were led again to the Emperor, who was on horſeback, at the entrance of a cobah, in which were ſtores of arms, lances, and other things, kept in order by twenty-eight Engliſh boys.

The Emperor, at the approach of the ambaſſador, cried out as before, *Bono, bono*, and aſked him how he liked his palace? the ambaſſador told him it was one of the nobleſt upon the face of the earth; the Emperor ſaid, Thank God. Then ſome of the Engliſh boys falling proſtrate, and giving him the uſual ſalutation, *Allah ibarik phi amrik Sidi;* i. e. God bleſs thy power! The Emperor aſked of what nation they were, who, being told Engliſh, he bid them go home with the ambaſſador, and ſee him to bed: upon which the ambaſſador returned the Emperor thanks, took his leave, and went to his houſe.

At night one of the queens ſent ſome victuals dreſſed in the palace, and fruit, with a compliment to the ambaſſador, deſiring to know how he did, and wiſhing him a good night: the victuals were high ſeaſoned, and ſtewed with roots and ſpices.

The 7th we were ſent for again to ſee the palace, where arriving about nine of the clock, we were firſt led to ſome large rooms, full of men and boys at work; they were making ſaddles, ſtocks for guns, ſcabbards for ſcimiters, and other things; upon ſight of the ambaſſador, they all fell a-working together, which made an agreeable ſound, and ſhewed that induſtry was in great perfection in this Emperor's palace. From thence we went through divers large and neat buildings, now and then paſſing gates guarded by eunuchs, who beat away all but thoſe who were to conduct us. We paſſed by a garden ſunk very deep, having a great deal of clover in it, for the horſes of the palace. The building on the ſide, and at one end, was ſupported with neat piazzas; the rails to look over into the garden were finely wrought, with ſteps to go up to them, which were chequered, as were the walks between them and the arches, and underneath the arches.

Having paſſed this building, we came to the moſt inward and beautiful part of the palace, which alſo has a garden in the middle, planted round with cypreſs and other trees: all the pillars of this building (which is of a vaſt length) are of marble, and the

arches and doors of the apartments very finely worked. Theſe, they ſay, were ancient Roman pillars, tranſported thither from Sally.

Here one of the Queens ſent us a collation of dates, grapes, melons, almonds and raiſins, figs, and ſweetmeats of their making; with an apology to the ambaſſador, becauſe there was nothing better, it being Ramdam, in which time no victuals are dreſſed by the Moors, until night. The fruit was very welcome, for walking had made us dry, ſo we ſat down under the piazzas, and were attended by the maids of the palace, whoſe jetty ſkins received the embelliſhment of ſhining bracelets and ſilver trinkets, which they wore in great plenty upon their legs and arms, with gold chains about their necks, monſtrous large ear-rings, and other African ornaments: we were then in ſight of the Emperor's women, who were ſo placed, that we knew nothing of it until afterwards.

The feaſt being ended, we parted from our black attendants, and were carried to another regular and neat building, with piazzas all round; the ſpace between was all chequered, in the middle of which run a row of marble baſons at certain diſtances, with little channels cut in ſtone, conveying water from one to the other; this is a magazine and treaſury. Underneath the arches, there opened folding doors, into large, ſquare, and very lofty rooms or halls, in ſome of which were great numbers of firelocks, regularly hung up; others had ſtores of lances of all ſorts and ſizes; among the reſt a Guinea lance, (taken from an Indian prince, and ſhewn for a curioſity) having four ſpears at the head of it, the ſtaff Braſil wood.

In theſe magazines may be ſeen bills, battle-axes, and warlike inſtruments of all ſorts; a great many blunderbuſſes of different ſizes, with braſs barrels, helmets in boxes, and wrapped up in paper; and other variety of weapons, many of which ſeem not to have been made by the Moors, but rather to have been the arms of thoſe Chriſtians who loſt their lives with Don Sebaſtian, or taken from thoſe towns which formerly were in the hands of the Portugueſe and Spaniards, but conquered by this Emperor.

Then paſſing by ſome rooms locked up, (they having in them gold, ſilver, jewels, and other riches, under the care of Bombar John Siggear, a black eunuch, the Emperor's treaſurer) we came to the laſt, in which were a great number of ſcimiters, handſomely diſpoſed, and in very good order, with ſeveral Chriſtian ſwords among them; and after we had ſeen a much greater ſtore of arms than any of us imagined this prince had, we were led into the inſide of an apartment, where one of the Queens formerly lived. There were ſeveral frames for beds put cloſe together, in which it is ſaid the Emperor has ſometimes laid: they would hold about twenty people. We ſaw alſo the baths, and ſome beautiful cobahs belonging to that apartment.

From thence we were carried through ſeveral other buildings, conſiſting for the moſt part of oblong-ſquares, with piazzas, under which the doors open into the lodgings, which generally are ground rooms: the doors of each building are all of one form and ſize, they are finely inlaid, and ſome of them gilt, and kept ſhut, ſo that we could not ſee into the apartments. In one of theſe ſquares was a fountain, with channels of marble, that made a labyrinth, very neat and pretty. We alſo paſſed by the place, where they told us Mahomet's writings, and the holy regiſters of their law are depoſited; then we went into ſome ſtately cobahs, whoſe ſhells were finely painted of a ſky colour, with golden ſtars, repreſenting the heavens, and a golden ſun in the middle, of curious workmanſhip. Some of theſe cobahs the Emperor makes uſe of to put in the preſents he has received from Chriſtian princes, among which were ſeven or eight coaches; others are magazines for arms, and his choiceſt goods: in one of them

them were hung up the fine glaſs ſconces, that His Majeſty King George had ſent by the ambaſſador.

As we were going away, they ſhewed us a maſſy building with high walls, without any ornament, in which the Emperor deſigns to lay his bones. In the inſide (they ſay) there is a chain that is let down from the middle of the roof, by which he intends his coffin ſhall hang.

Going to take the proſpect of this palace, we paſſed over a large field, on each ſide of the path-way of which there were great numbers of large rats, which burrowed in the earth like rabbits, and ran about ſo thick that the ground was almoſt covered with them, letting us come within the diſtance of ſeven or eight yards before they would go into their holes; and having paſſed as far, they appeared above ground again, ſo that both before and behind us, we ſaw multitudes of them. At the end of this field there is a pomegranate garden, planted in a valley, over which the Emperor has built a ſtrong bridge, reaching from the top of one hill to the other, for the more commodious paſſing over. At the end of the valley, the bridge is joined by a cauſeway with a wall on each ſide, for about two or three miles, it being the way he goes to his ſtables.

This palace is about four miles in circumference, and ſtands upon even ground, in form almoſt ſquare, and no hill near to overlook it. It is built of a rich mortar, without either brick or ſtone, except for pillars and arches, and the mortar ſo well wrought, that the walls are like one entire piece of terrace. The whole building is exceeding maſſy, and the walls in every part very thick: the outward one is about a mile long, and twenty-five feet thick.

The inſide of the beſt part of the palace conſiſts of divers oblong ſquares a great deal bigger than Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, having piazzas all round, as before deſcribed. Some of the ſquares are chequered throughout the whole ſpace, others have gardens in the middle, that are ſunk very deep, and planted round with tall cypreſs trees, the tops of which appearing above the rails, make a beautiful proſpect of palace and garden intermixed.

There are likewiſe diſperſed throughout the palace, ſeveral buildings which they call cobahs: they are built ſquare with plain walls on the outſide, except the front, which conſiſts of piazzas of five or ſix arches: the inſide is one very large and lofty room or hall, chequered at bottom, and the ſides, almoſt the height of a man; the top or dome curiouſly painted and richly gilt; the roof is covered with green tiles and riſes like a pyramid.

It is reported that thirty thouſand men, and ten thouſand mules, were employed every day in the building of this palace; which is not at all improbable, ſeeing that it is built of hardly any thing elſe but lime, and every wall worked with exceſſive labour.

The nature of the building is convenient for the hot climate, being moſtly ground rooms, by reaſon of which, and the great thickneſs of the walls, the lodgings are very cool and refreſhing, when the weather is exceſſively hot.

I have obſerved in another place that the Emperor never parts with any money, either to defray the expences of war, or building, and has cauſed this large and magnificent palace to be erected, without expending a blankill towards it; but inſtead of money he gives the alcayde of his buildings a government; which at preſent is all that country lying between Mequinez and Tremezen, a large tract of ground, and a very fruitful ſoil; but conſidering the continual employment, and unlimited ex-

pences which his office obliges him to, it is thought he cannot get any thing for himſelf, more than what ſuffices for his maintenance.

The Emperor is wonderfully addicted to building, yet it is a queſtion whether he is more addicted to that or pulling down; for they ſay if all his buildings were now ſtanding, by a moderate computation, they would reach to Fez, twelve leagues off; and thoſe who have been near him ſince the beginning of his reign, have obſerved him eternally building and pulling down, ſhutting up doors and breaking out new ones in the walls. But he tells them this is done to occupy his people; for, ſays he, if I have a bag full of rats, unleſs I keep that bag ſtirring they will eat their way through; but he does not deſign to give them time, for I ſaw a piece of ground (as near as I can gueſs four times as large as Lincolns-Inn-Fields) laid out for a new building. He has alſo dug many ſtrange caverns in the earth of all ſizes, ſome for corn, others for powder, arms, brimſtone, and money, of which latter it is ſuſpected he leaves no witneſſes when finiſhed.

This prince has reigned about fifty-three years, obtaining the throne in the year 1672, upon the death of his brother Muley Archid, who having drank to exceſs, and riding furiouſly in a grove of orange-trees, ſtruck his head againſt a branch, and broke his ſkull.

His grandeur and fortune is owing to his courage and vivacity, together with the help he met with from the Jews, particularly Memaran their governor, who ſupplied him with money to carry on the war againſt his oppoſers; for his nephew Muley Hamet, then baſha of Morocco, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King; and Muley Aram, his brother, ſet up alſo in Taffilet, the country from whence the family came. But Muley Iſhmael, the preſent Emperor, being at that time alcayde of Mequinez, raiſed what forces he could, and went with all expedition againſt his nephew, conquered him, took the city of Morocco, and reduced all that kingdom to his obedience, in the year 1676.

After the death of Muley Hamet, the cruelty of this Emperor began to appear; the firſt ſcene of which was acted by the ſide of a river, to which he came with his army but could not paſs, where he ordered all the priſoners to be killed, and woven into a bridge with ruſhes for his army to paſs over upon.

In 1678 he made himſelf maſter of Taffilet, and three years after that took Marmora from the Spaniards, where he found 88 pieces of braſs cannon, fifteen of iron, ammunition of all ſorts, more than he had in his whole dominions before; and a great prize of pearls and jewels (belonging to merchants who then were in the town) fell into his hands. He alſo took Larach from the Spaniards in 1689, clearing all the ſea coaſt of his territory, but Maſſagan, Pennon de Velez, and Ceuta, the latter of which, (though always blockaded with 10,000 men, and ſo ſtrictly preſſed, that the baſha cannot ſtir from before it without leave from the Emperor,) has defied all attempts for thirty-four years together. In 1701 he fought a battle with the Dey of Algiers, but coming off with the worſt, a peace was concluded, which has continued ever ſince.

At the beginning of his reign, the roads were ſo infeſted with robbers, that it was dangerous to ſtir out of the towns without being well guarded; but he has ſo well cleared them, that now it is no where ſafer travelling.

He maintains his large empire (which conſiſts of ſeveral kingdoms joined together) in peace and quietneſs, although of ſo late an acquiſition to the family, that his grandfather had no manner of title to it, but by ſtrange fortune increaſed his power ſo as to ſeize on it by force of arms. In his empire is contained all that country called

by the Romans Mauritania Tingitana, with other provinces to the ſouthward, as far as Cape Blanco, where it is bounded by the Negro country, as it is northerly by the Mediterranean ſea. It has on the eaſt the kingdom of Algiers, and part of the country of Bildulgerid, and on the weſt the main ocean; including the kingdoms of Fez, Morocco, Taffilet, Darha, Suz, Tremezen, and Segelmeſs, over which he rules with ſo ſevere a hand, and has ſtruck ſuch a dread into all men by his terrible executions, that none of the remnants of the royal blood of the before-mentioned kingdoms, or any of his baſhas, have dared to take up arms againſt him. All the diſturbance he ever met with at home (ſince his eſtabliſhment after the conqueſt of his nephew) was the rebellion of his ſon Muley Mahomet, who, cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed King of Morocco, plagued him for ſome time; but ſending his ſon Muley Zidan againſt him, Muley Mahomet was overthrown, and the Emperor having got him into his clutches, ordered his right hand and left foot to be cut off, after which the prince ſoon died, not ſuffering the blood to be ſtopped, but tearing off the plaiſters. Muley Zidan was then declared heir to the crown, but giving himſelf over to cruelty and drunkenneſs, he was ſtrangled by his own wives, in the beginning of the year 1708.

His manner of governing is by alcaydes, who have no commiſſion, but receive their authority only by his ſaying, Go govern ſuch a country; be my general or admiral. At court he has five ſtanding officers: they are, the grand mufti for affairs of religion; the chief eunuch to take care of the ſeraglio; a treaſurer for his revenue; the ſuperintendant of his buildings; and the baſha of Mequinez, who is the firſt miniſter or ſupreme alcayde, of which there are three ſorts; the firſt and chief are thoſe who, in the nature of viceroys, are ſent to govern the provinces; to whom, for their greater honour, is ſometimes given the title of baſhas. They have an unlimited power, and it matters not how much they tyrannize, if upon their return to court they bring riches enough to ſatisfy the Emperor.

Another ſort are the generals of his armies, and commanders over ſmall parties of horſe or foot.

The third ſort are governors of cities or towns, and are either made by the Emperor himſelf, as are the alcaydes of Morocco, Fez, Sally, and other great cities, or by the governors of the provinces, over ſmall towns and cities; a fourth ſort may be added, which are titular only, and therefore called alcaydes of their heads.

The governors of the provinces are ordered to court every two or three years, to render an account of their government; that is, to bring the Emperor all that they have by an arbitrary and tyrannical power plundered the people of, by which means he gets little leſs than their whole wealth, which never circulates more, but is thrown into his treaſury, and remains there an unprofitable and uſeleſs hoard, he never parting with it again upon any account whatſoever, for neither his armies, fleet, or buildings coſt him any thing. The manner how he builds without money, I have before related; and when he has occaſion to raiſe forces, the alcaydes of the provinces are obliged to find and maintain them, each providing for a number in proportion to the extent of his government. The ſhips alſo that are in his ſervice are fitted out and maintained by the alcayde of the port to which they belong; nevertheleſs he has half the prizes, and takes all the ſlaves, remitting part of his moiety of the prize goods, in conſideration for the ſlaves, who did not belong to his ſhare.

When the alcaydes return from their governments, it is with the greateſt fear imaginable, as I have before hinted; for if the Emperor thinks they do not bring him the whole profits thereof, but keep ſomething for themſelves, they are in danger of being

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put to ſome cruel death. Before they go into his preſence, they pull off their ſhoes, put on a particular habit they have to denote a ſlave, and when they approach him fall down and kiſs the ground at his horſe's feet. If he ſpeaks to them, they bend forward and hold their heads a little on one ſide, in token of offering their life: which great degree of ſubjection proceeds partly from fear, and partly from ſuperſtition; for they believe him to be the true branch of the Xeriphian family, who draw their deſcent from the prophet Mahomet, and therefore think he is particularly favoured by heaven, and can do nothing amiſs, but imagine all who die by his hand go to paradiſe; in which opinion he has confirmed them by a long continuance of tyrannical power, by artifice, and by hypocriſy, never doing any thing of conſequence without firſt falling down upon the ground, with his face cloſe to the earth for a conſiderable time, making believe that he then receives inſpiration and directions from God or Mahomet, (for which purpoſe he has a great number of praying places contrived in different parts, not unlike niches, laid horizontally in the ground) and that he performs the will of God in every thing he does.

He likewiſe explains the law to them himſelf, which they follow according to the opinion of their doctor, Meliſh, who taught that there is but one God, and Mahomet was his chief prophet; that Jeſus Chriſt was a great prophet, born of a virgin, whoſe name was Mary; that he was very holy, and wrought miracles, but did not die as we believe, for when Judas betrayed him, God cauſed one of his diſciples to appear in his likeneſs, who was crucified in his ſtead. That there is a heaven and a hell, and the eternal bleſſings will conſiſt in a ſight of the Sovereign Being, of his angels, and Mahomet, in the enjoyment of beautiful virgins, whoſe virginity will daily be renewed, indulging their appetites with all ſorts of delicious food, which they ſhall have at a wiſh, bathing in rivers of milk and roſe-water; and that their lodgings will be in glorious palaces, built with diamonds, pearls, and precious ſtones. That hell will conſiſt in the extremities of heat and cold; and the damned will be created and deſtroyed every day.

The Moors obſerve a lent of one moon, called Ramdam, abſtaining from all manner of food, till the appearance of the ſtars; neither are they allowed to ſmoke, waſh their mouths, take ſnuff, ſmell perfumes, or converſe with their women.

Thoſe who are obliged to travel may drink a little water; and ſuch as are ſick may borrow a few days of their prophet, but they muſt and do repay punctually when they recover ſtrength. In the towns they run about the ſtreets, and wake all thoſe people they think are aſleep, that they may eat, and ſo be the better able to ſupport themſelves in the day: they riſe three or four times in the night, and ſleep again. Such as are libertine, and uſed to drink wine, abſtain from it in this time.

At Tetuan every evening when the faſt of that day is ended, a trumpet is ſounded from the caſtle to give notice of it, before which time it is pleaſant to ſee the poſture of the Moors; one holding a pipe ready filled, while he impatiently expects the ſound of the trumpet; another with a diſh of cuſcuſu before him, ready to run his hand in; ſome got cloſe to the fountains, to be the firſt that ſhall drink. On the eve of their lent, they make great rejoicing, ſhouting, and repeating the name of God, and watch for the appearance of the moon, at which they fire their muſkets, then fall to ſaying their prayers, the Emperor himſelf ſometimes at their head, who, to perſuade the people of his great regard for religion, keeps this faſt four months every year; but they are obliged to obſerve it only during that moon.

The Emperor certainly puniſhes all breakers of their law with great ſeverity; and carries his hypocriſy ſo far, that this is the moſt religious age that ever was in Barbary, by

by the King's example, whoſe commands are eſteemed ſacred, for the leaſt breach of which he has often inflicted the ſevereſt death; ſo that what from the dread of puniſhment, and the opinion the people are brought up in, no prince is better obeyed.

He is an early riſer, whether from his natural diſpoſition, or the horror of the many murders, exactions, and cruelties he has committed on his poor ſubjects and ſlaves, I cannot determine; but thoſe who have been near him when abroad in camps, (for in his palace he is waited on by women, young wenches, boys, and eunuchs, who dare not tell tales,) report that his ſleeps are very much diſturbed, and full of horror; when ſtarting on a ſudden, he has been heard to call upon thoſe he had murdered; and ſometimes awake, he aſks for them whom he has killed but the day before; and if any of the ſtanders-by anſwer, He is dead, he preſently replies, Who killed him? To which they muſt anſwer, They do not know, but ſuppoſe God killed him, unleſs they have a mind to follow.

I have heard he uſed once to call often on Hameda, a great favourite of his, when he was walking alone, and nobody could be ſuppoſed to hear him; this Hameda was the greateſt favourite he ever had; he was the ſon of the guardian of the ſlaves, and came a boy into the Emperor's army, when he was beſieging his couſin Muley Hamet in Terudant, and doing ſome action before him, he took notice of him and gave him a horſe; the man ſtill continued to do good things, and being a merry buffoon fellow, the Emperor grew into great familiarity with him, inſomuch that he could take the liberty to go into his gardens when he was with his women, which no man ever did before or ſince. He had the title of baſha by way of pre-eminence above all other baſhas. The Emperor uſed paſſionately to tell him, that he could never be heartily angry with him, and that it was impoſſible he ſhould be provoked to kill him; and it was thought he did not deſign to do it, when he gave him ſo many blows with the butt-end of his lance, that he died of them the next day. The Emperor afterwards ſhewed a great deal of ſorrow at it, confeſſed he repented of what he had done, ſent him and his phyſicians a bag of money, and deſired him to live.

As ſoon as his firſt prayer is over, which is before the morning ſtar diſappears, he goes to his works, which are of a vaſt extent within the walls of his palace; there the poor people (whether Chriſtians, negro-ſlaves, boys who attend him, alcaydes, or overſeers of the works,) all taſte of his anger in their turns, beating, killing, or giving good words, according to the humour he is in. This is one of his top pleaſures; in ſome of theſe places, and never within his palace, he gives audience to ambaſſadors, converſes ſometimes ſitting on the corner of a wall, walks often, and ſometimes works.

About eight or nine of the clock his trembling court aſſemble, which conſiſts of his great officers, and alcaydes, blacks, whites, tawnies, and his favourite Jews, Memaran and Ben Hattar, all barefooted; and there is bowing and whiſpering to this and the other eunuch, to know if the Emperor has been abroad, (for if he keeps within doors there is no ſeeing him unleſs ſent for); if he is returned in a good humour, which is well known by his very looks and motions; and ſometimes by the colour of the habit he wears, yellow being obſerved to be his killing colour; from all which they calculate whether they may hope to live twenty-four hours longer.

If he comes out, the necks, as I have ſaid, are all held out, their eyes fixed on the ground, and after this manner the crouching creatures pay their homage. If he ſpeaks, ſome ſwear by their God, what he ſays is true; others at every pauſe he makes, cry out, God lengthen thy days, my lord; God bleſs thy life; which once occaſioned an accidental jeſt, for he was ſaying, May I be called the greateſt of liars if I have not

always conceived a great eſteem for the Engliſh, and making a little ſtop at the word liars, his officious court cried, Yes, by G—d, it is true, my lord.

If he comes not out, he ſometimes ſends for ſome of them; at other times he has the door opened, and orders them all to paſs muſter, and they go one by one cringing by his door. If he only goes a little way out of the gate of his palace, they follow him on foot through the dirt; and he is a great man and eſteemed a great favourite, who advances as far as his ſtirrup; and if he has occaſion to ſend a meſſage, though never ſo trivial, the beſt of them are ready to run, without reſpect to age, rank, or favour, (even his favourite Hameda uſed to make his court this way) and return beſpattered up to their eyes, at leaſt all over their white drawers, and other garments which are white: nay, I have heard that Hamet Ben Haddu Attar (who was ambaſſador in England in King Charles the Second's time) was once ſurpriſed without his ſhoes, walking barefoot in a great deal of dirt by his horſe; and without regard to his age, or the pretence he had to his favour, was ſent to the furtheſt part of the town in that condition.

Thoſe days that he does not come abroad, the courtiers remain in an alley of his palace till dinner-time, when he ſends them a great veſſel of cuſcuſu, which they fall upon without ceremony, and having filled their bellies, return to their private affairs; but if he goes any diſtance from the town, thoſe who have the privilege to go with him, call for their horſes, which are held by their ſervants at ſome diſtance, none ever preſuming to go unleſs bidden. Sometimes when he goes out of town, which is not above once in two or three months, he will be attended by fifteen or twenty thouſand blacks on horſeback, with whom he now and then diverts himſelf at the lance.

In the year 1690, before he was maſter of Sahra, there came a woman from that people to him, who, hearing of her coming, went to meet her on horſeback, at the head of twenty thouſand men. She told him the people of Sahra were deſirous to put themſelves under his protection, but that he muſt fight her at lance-play, if he had a mind to have her, at once the pledge of their fidelity, and the prize of his victory. She ſet him hard at firſt, but afterwards ſuffered herſelf to be overpowered, was put among the reſt of his women, and troops were ſent to protect the frontiers of Sahra.

While he is abroad, there are carried after him a ſtool, a kettle of water, and a ſkin, (which is his table-cloth) this belongs to his eating; and if he is out at dinner-time, his dinner is carried after him upon the head of a negro, in a great wooden or copper veſſel, which he does not take from his head until the Emperor aſks for it: the manner of his eating does not differ from the ordinary Moors. His other travelling utenſils are two or three guns, a ſword or two, and two lances, becauſe one broke once as he was murdering; both the ſwords and lances muſt be carried with their points upwards; theſe are all carried by luſty fellows; his boys carry ſhort Braſil ſticks, knotted cords for whipping, a change of cloaths to ſhift when bloody, and a hatchet, two of which he took in a Portugueze ſhip, and the firſt time they were brought to him, killed a negro without any provocation, to try if they were good.

Although the natives of his dominions are whites, yet they are not ſo much eſteemed by him as the blacks and the copper-coloured, to whom he commits the guard of his perſon, and is ſo fond of their breed, that he takes care to mix them himſelf, by often ordering great numbers of people before him, whom he marries without any more ceremony, than pointing to the man and woman, and ſaying, *Hadi yi houd Hadi*, i. e. That take that, upon which the loving pair join together, and march off as firmly nooſed as if they had been married by a Pope. He always yokes his beſt complexioned ſubjects to a black help-mate; and the fair lady muſt take up with a negro.

Thus

Thus he takes care to lay the foundation of his tawny nurſeries, to ſupply his palace as he wants, into which they are admitted very young, are taught to worſhip and obey this ſucceſſor of their Prophet, and being nurſed in blood from their infancy, become the executioners and miniſters of his wrath, whoſe terrible commands they put in execution with as much zeal and fury as if they had received them immediately from heaven. Their manner is, as ſoon as the word comes out of his mouth, to ſeize on the wretch ordered for execution like ſo many lions, whom, if he is not to be executed on the ſpot, they almoſt tear to pieces before he gets to the place of execution; and by the fury of their looks, and their violent and ſavage manner of uſing him, make a ſcene very much reſembling the picture of ſo many devils tormenting the damned. They are ſo ready to murder and deſtroy, even while young, that the alcaydes tremble at the very ſight of them, and the Emperor ſeems to take a great deal of pleaſure, and place much of his ſafety in them, for they ſurround him almoſt wherever he is; they are of all ranks and degrees, ſome are the ſons of his chief alcaydes, others picked up by chance, or taken from a large negro town joining to Mequinez, which the Emperor has filled with families of blacks and tawnies for his uſe. If they are well-looking and ſtrong, they need no other quality; ſome who have relations that are able, are fed, cloathed, and lodged by them; others who have not, are lodged in the out-ſkirts of the palace, in great rooms, where they pig an hundred or two together. They wear only a ſhort and ſmall coat without ſleeves, which does not reach to their knees; their heads are ſhaved and always expoſed to the ſun, for he affects to breed them hard. Moſt, and ſometimes all, of them are employed in his buildings, where they take off their cloaths, and laying them all in a heap, every one takes a baſket, and removes earth, ſtones or wood; when they have done, he orders them to go to his Jew and receive ſo much ſoup; the next day they appear gay and under arms.

He beats them in the cruelleſt manner imaginable, to try if they are hard; ſometimes you ſhall ſee forty or fifty of them all ſprawling in their blood, none of them daring to riſe till he leaves the place where they are lying, and if they are diſcountenanced and out of heart at this uſage, they are of a baſtard breed, and muſt turn out of his ſervice. I never heard that he killed but three of them, one for ſodomy, and two for hiding a piece of bread in the hole of a wall, which it is ſuppoſed they could not eat, for they are great reverencers of bread, and take up, as all Mahometans do, the leaſt crumb wherever they find it, and kiſs it. When they want cloaths, the Emperor thinks of ſomebody that has too much money, either Moor or Jew, and bids them go to him, and receive each a coat or ſhirt.

They are generally about eight hundred in all, and live with him in a ſort of ſubordination to one another: ſeveral have the names of alcaydes, as the chief of them who wait on the Emperor's perſon; others are made overſeers of ſome taſk or work the Emperor has ordered them to finiſh; ſome he makes perpetual alcaydes over a certain number of his companions, and ſuch a one is to anſwer for the reſt, as to their diligence, cleanly and good deportment in all particulars: and it is wonderful to ſee the inſolence, ſtate and gravity of theſe young rogues, and how they ape the old Emperor in their way of government; for though they can only inflict blows, yet they uſe the haughty phraſes of command, and talk of cutting throats, ſtrangling, dragging, &c.

The firſt mark of their preferment, after they grow too big to ſerve the Emperor in this nature, is giving them a horſe, (a horſeman being in the higheſt eſteem imaginable amongſt them, and the foot the contrary, inſomuch that thoſe who command thouſands

of them, are not eſteemed equal to the commanders of fifty horſe,) then the Emperor either recommends them to ſome of his baſhas or great alcaydes employed againſt the Chriſtians, or the Berebbers that inhabit the mountains, or keeps them near him, and then they are ready to be intruſted with all important meſſages, as to carry the Emperor's letter of thanks to any officer who ſerves him well, or to call him cuckold, ſpit in his face, give him a box on the ear, ſtrangle, or cut off his head.

When they have waited a conſiderable time, if no command or government becomes vacant, he ſends them to gather the tribute of ſome country, with the title of an alcayde; and if he remains by him without any employment (after performing this ſervice) he is called alcayde of his head, which is a ſort of an alcayde titular or reforme, as I have noted above; but perhaps the Emperor ſuſpects that he has put ſomething more in his pocket than ordinary, then he bids him build ſome houſes of ſuch or ſuch dimenſions; and that he may ſeem ſomething more reaſonable than the Egyptian taſk-maſters, he bids him take his lime and ſtone: the poor man begins with a good heart, and when he has ſpent all, deſpair forces him to go to the Emperor, and tell him he is not worth one farthing more, leſt he ſhould find his work ſtanding ſtill, and bury him alive in one of the walls. The Emperor picks a quarrel with him, cuts him with his ſword, wounds him with his lance, or takes off his cloaths, all but his drawers, gives him five hundred blows on the buttocks, puts him in priſon, or loads him with two great chains, and ſends him to labour at the houſe he was building, and orders ſomebody elſe to finiſh it. Now you muſt know the Emperor never beats a man ſoundly, but the man is in the high way of preferment, and it is ten to one but His Majeſty paſſing by him in chains a few days after, and finding him in a ſad pickle, he calls him his dear friend, uncle or brother, and enquires how he came into that condition, as if he knew nothing of the matter, ſends for a ſuit of his own cloaths, (which is a great compliment) makes him as fine as a prince, and ſends him to govern ſome of his great towns; for by this means he is ſure he has not left him worth a groat, and will make a careful computation of what he may get in his government, until it be his turn to be ſqueezed again.

They tell a ſtory of a Spaniard, who was eſteemed a good markſman, and bribed to ſhoot the Emperor; he ſo miſſed his aim, that the two balls he had charged his gun with, flew into the pummel of the Emperor's ſaddle. The man was immediately ſeized, and when it was expected he would be put to a cruel death, the Emperor firſt reproached him with his baſe deſign, aſking him what he had done to deſerve being uſed ſo, whether he was no more beloved, and people were tired with him; then calmly ſent him to the works among the reſt of the Chriſtians. The Spaniard fearing he ſhould not come off ſo, and thinking it a means (if there was any) to get his liberty again, turned Moor, but continued in his Chriſtian habit. Some years after, the Emperor going among the workmen where he was, aſked him why he did not pull off his hat? he anſwered, he was a Moor; and the Emperor being informed who he was, ordered him to be freed immediately, aſked him a thouſand pardons, for keeping him at work ſo long, dreſſed him from head to foot, and made him a governor of ſome country.

A little more or leſs, this is the treatment of his grandees, to day hugged, kiſſed, and preferred, to-morrow ſtript, robbed, and beaten. Many of the people about him bear the marks of his ſword, lance, or ſhort ſticks; and the face and arms of the negro, who carried his umbrella when Captain Norbury was there, were ſcarred all over with cuts that the Emperor had given him, it is ſuppoſed, for letting the ſun come upon him; for he is extremely nice in his tyranny, and when he has done with his lance,

lance, he darts it ſuddenly into the air, and it muſt be caught before it comes to the ground, or he will kill the man appointed for that purpoſe.

If he chances to kill any body when he has not determined their death (as it frequently happens) he civilly begs their pardon, and ſays, he did not deſign to kill that poor man, and lays the fault on God, ſaying, his time was come, the powers above would have it ſo.

If he deſigns the death of a Chriſtian, whom he cares not to pardon, he ſhuts the gates of his palace, that Maeſtre Juan ſhould not come; for it is very ſingular that this Maeſtre Juan (a Chriſtian ſlave of Catalonia) has by his good work, temper, and ſincerity wrought ſo much upon the Emperor, that he once ſwore he would never ſee him but he would give him ſomething, and that he ſhould never aſk him any thing but he would grant it; and the being deſirous to keep his word, makes him fear this Juan ſhould come to beg ſuch a man's life; nay, ſometimes having ſeen him firſt, he cries out, he muſt give him ſomething, for he had ſeen him.

They ſay the Emperor has a great memory, and is very politick, though many of his actions ſeem rather to proceed from an uncertain, and whimſical temper; for ſometimes he will do juſtice, as if he had it in great regard; at other times puniſh and deſtroy his people for no reaſon at all, dreading no conſequence, nor fearing to exaſperate them, but appears as unconcerned as if he really believed (as he has inſinuated) that he does every thing by the appointment of God, and therefore has nothing to fear from man.

When he is angry with the Moors, then the Chriſtian ſlaves are in favour, to whom he will ſometimes talk, calling them Bon Chriſtiano, and wiſhing God would give them their liberty, juſt as if it was not in his power: but his wrath is terrible, which the Chriſtians have ſometimes felt; for one day paſſing by a high wall, on which they were at work, and being affronted that they did not keep time in their ſtroke, as he expects they ſhould, he made his guards go up and throw them all off the wall, breaking their legs and arms, and knocking them on the head in a miſerable manner: another time he ordered them to bury a man alive, and beat him down along with the mortar in the wall.

Nor is he leſs cruel to the Moors, whom he will frequently command to be burnt, crucified, ſawed in two, or dragged at a mule's tail through the ſtreets, until they are torn all to pieces. The moſt favourable death is to die by his hand, for then they only loſe their heads, or are run through the body, for which purpoſe he always has his lances ready (as I have before mentioned), and is very dextrous at uſing them, ſeldom letting his hand go out, for want of practice; though of late, they ſay, he has abated much of his cruelty.

The 15th, the faſt of Ramdam being over, the Emperor went to pray in a field a little way out of town, which he does three times a year. There attended him a vaſt number of horſe and foot, who waited at an awful diſtance, with great ſilence, while he prayed under a canopy ſet up in the field: as ſoon as he had done, and was mounted again, the drums beat, and the horſe began to cavalcade. The ambaſſador was upon the town-wall, cloſe by which the Emperor and all his attendants returned; this part of the wall joining to the Spaniſh convent, the prior had built a handſome ſcaffold for us. About ten of the clock they began to paſs by, great numbers of foot firing, and horſe cavalcading, ſome with lances, and others with firelocks, which preſenting at one another's heads as they galloped along, they ſometimes ſet their turbans on fire, and burnt their faces in a deſperate manner; the ſmoke (occaſioned by their often firing) a little clearing up, we ſaw eight or nine blacks in a row, carrying large colours, with great

gilt

gilt balls on the top of their ſtaves; they were encloſed by the Emperor's ſoldiers, who jumped about and fired in the ground before them: after they were paſſed, came Muley Mahomet Lariba, one of the Emperor's ſons; he is alcayde of the ſtables, or maſter of the horſe; there attended him a guard of horſe and foot, at the head of which he rode with a lance in his hand, the place where the blade joins to the wood covered with gold. Then came a calaſh with ſix black women holding by the ſides, which was covered all over, ſo that we could not ſee who was in it: after that was carried a large red ſtandard with an half-moon in the middle, ſurrounded with ſoldiers, about which they fired, and ſhouted very much. Then came the Emperor with a fuzee in his hand, his umbrella kept all the way twirling over his head, and the negroes continually fanning, and beating the flies from his horſe. As he came almoſt over-againſt us, he preſented his piece at a Moor who was got very near him, but did not fire, the guards ſeizing on the fellow, and hawling him away, perhaps to be executed for his preſumption. Juſt before the Emperor marched a foot-guard, cloathed all in leopard and tyger ſkins, and a guard of young blacks with lances, and fire arms intermixed. Round about him rode a great many of his ſons, and behind them troops of horſe in armour, ſome gilt all over, others only their helmets, which were of ſeveral ſhapes. After them went a great number of foot, with ſpears, battle axes, bills, and warlike inſtruments of all ſorts. This body of foot being paſſed, there came twenty of the Emperor's led horſes, with ſaddles of beaten gold, ſet with emeralds and other ſtones, ſome of which were very large. This ſhow gave us the ſight of a vaſt number of very fine and well-managed horſes, in ſhape far exceeding thoſe Europe; and theſe twenty of the Emperor's were extremely beautiful and ſtately. After them came Muley Abdallah, another of his ſons, with a guard of horſe and foot; he cavalcaded before us with lances and firelocks, as did moſt of the Emperor's ſons, and other horſe, but thoſe near his perſon. While Muley Abdallah was cavalcading, the Baſha of Mequinez, Abdelmelech Ammaree, paſſed by; he is the greateſt baſha and chief miniſter, ſucceeding Baſha Gauzi deceaſed. Great numbers of horſe were ſtill cavalcading, but every body of conſequence having paſſed, the ambaſſador went into the convent, where we dined with the prior, who, I believe, did his beſt, but his cooks being Spaniards, the victuals were ſadly dreſt for our taſte, and his wine very bad. This convent was built by the King of Spain, for the relief of ſlaves; it has five hundred piſtoles a year ſettled on it, and is capable of receiving above one hundred ſick perſons; there are four monks and a phyſician, whom the Emperor protects upon account of yearly preſents made to him, and becauſe they take care of his ſick ſlaves, without putting him to any charge.

The 19th the Emperor's cruelty put an end to the life of Larbe Shott, mentioned before to be one of the baſha's followers, whom the Emperor impriſoned upon our coming to Mequinez. This man was of one of the beſt families in Barbary, being deſcended from the old Andaluſian Moors, and deſerved the eſteem both of his own countrymen, and of us, with whom he had lived until the time of his impriſonment; for he had been a conſiderable time in Gibraltar, as a pledge from the baſha to an Engliſh merchant, for the payment of money due for goods, he had ſupplied the baſha with. Part of the crime laid to his charge, was for going out of his country, and living in Chriſtendom a conſiderable time, without the Emperor's knowledge, and having defiled himſelf with Chriſtian women, and often been in liquor; he was alſo accuſed of being an unbeliever, and one of thoſe who had invited the Spaniards to invade Barbary.

Theſe things being inſinuated to the Emperor, after the uſual manner of that court (where every body has it their power to do harm, but few to do good) brought this poor

man to his end; for early this morning he was carried before the Emperor, who (not allowing him any other trial, but giving way to his accuſers, who ſaid he was an unbeliever and not fit to live,) commanded him to be ſawed in two; upon which he was immediately carried to the place of execution, which is at one of the gates of the town, and there tied between two boards and ſawed in two, beginning at his head and going downwards until his body fell aſunder, which muſt have remained to have been eaten by the dogs, if the Emperor had not pardoned him; an extravagant cuſtom, to pardon a man after he is dead; but unleſs he does ſo, nobody dares bury the body.

It was reported the next day after, that the Emperor dreamt Shott had appeared to him, and aſked him what he had done to deſerve ſuch uſage; telling him, there would be a time when God would judge between them both; which gave the Emperor ſo much concern, that he ſent to the place of his execution for ſome of the duſt his blood was ſpilt on, with which he rubbed himſelf all over as an atonement for his crime.

About this time ſome people who were enemies to the peace, (particularly the Spaniards, and other Chriſtian ſlaves who were there) not being deſirous that ſo many Engliſh ſhould be carried away, whoſe places they muſt ſupply, and have a double portion of work; and alſo grieved to ſee the King of Great Britain ſo careful in endeavouring to releaſe his ſubjects out of ſlavery, whilſt they lay neglected, and without hopes of redemption: theſe conſiderations made them earneſtly endeavour to diſappoint the ambaſſador's hopes; and they had prevailed ſo far in getting the Emperor perſuaded againſt it, that he ſent a meſſage to the ambaſſador, telling him, That he believed his maſter's affairs would require him in his own country, ſo he was at liberty to return when he pleaſed; and that when he came to Tetuan, he might talk with his baſha about the redemption of the captives.

But the ambaſſador perceiving the Emperor was about to put him off, conſulted how to get the better of this difficulty; and Ben Hattar the Jew adviſed him to write to one of the Queens, in a fictitious manner; and as nothing can better ſhow how precarious all negociations muſt be, where it is neceſſary to make uſe of artifices, and methods of deceiving, rather than inform of the truth, I have inſerted the ambaſſador's letter to the Queen.

Powerful Lady, Mother of Muley Abdallah,

THE moſt important knowledge of the authority lodged in Your Majeſty, I learnt while I was in Liſbon, where endeavouring (as is the cuſtom of all who are to go into foreign countries) to know the perſons of greateſt power, who can beſt forward their negociations, and make relation of them to the King: I met with an old Chriſtian, who had been Your Majeſty's ſlave two years, and received his liberty by your clemency; and talking with him about my embaſſy, he informed me, that Your Majeſty was the chief perſon in this court who could do me ſervice; for, by your means, my buſineſs would come to the ears of His Imperial Majeſty; and for my better memory, he told me the name of Your Majeſty's mother, the Lady Halima, by whoſe hands he adviſed me to convey the letter I ſhould write to Your Majeſty; which I have accordingly done, aſking pardon for my boldneſs, in following the advice of the ſaid captive, deſiring Your Majeſty to conſider the requeſts I make, and not doubting your approbation thereof, whoſe protection I promiſe myſelf, ſo that the full meaning may come to the ears of His Imperial Majeſty, for there cannot be wanting in this royal palace a perſon who can read it.

Upon

Upon which dependance I repreſent to Your Majeſty, that I came to this court with ſincere friendſhip, and loyal meaning, to kiſs the hands of His Imperial Majeſty, whoſe honour I had, and in confidence of which, when I arrived at Gibraltar with my Sovereign's orders, I wrote to His Imperial Majeſty, acquainting him with my intention, and the orders of my maſter the King of Great Britain, deſiring him to appoint one of his ſervants, to treat for a laſting peace, and redemption of my captive brethren; and alſo to give leave for me and my retinue to come to this court.

Which letter His Imperial Majeſty received, and did me the honour to anſwer, giving me leave to take the ſaid journey with all ſecurity, as well for my perſon as thoſe who ſhould accompany me; and ordered Baſha Hamet Ben Ally to treat with me for a peace, and redemption of the Engliſh captives, as was the cuſtom of the deceaſed Alcayde Ally his father, to be appointed in ſuch caſes: which anſwer pleaſed me well, and upon ſight of it I went to the bay of Tetuan, where I conferred with the ſaid baſha, about a peace and redemption of my brethren, in conſideration of a quantity of powder, locks, brimſtone, cloth, and all the Moors whom we had priſoners: and having treated upon the conſiderations aforeſaid, he aſked me to give him time to ſend a copy of the conditions to His Imperial Majeſty, to ſee if he was contented therewith, for if he was not, he could not conclude any thing, His Imperial Majeſty being abſolute maſter therein; which requeſt I told him was very reaſonable.

In the mean time I continued at anchor with my ſhips in the ſaid port of Tetuan, until an anſwer came from His Imperial Majeſty, who ordered that the aforeſaid agreement ſhould be ſigned, and ſent me a letter (which I have by me) to the ſame effect, upon which we ſigned the articles to each other: and at the ſame time I ſent a ſhip to London, giving an account to my maſter the King of Great Britain, of the treaty; with a copy of His Imperial Majeſty's letter, and a letter of the ſaid baſha, repreſenting the good inclinations of His Imperial Majeſty towards us; and alſo I deſired that the ranſome might be got ready, with all poſſible expedition to fulfil the agreement.

With all which the King my maſter was very well pleaſed, and inſtantly ordered the ranſome to be got ready, and ſent me a writing ſealed with his royal ſeal, and ſigned with his hand, confirming all that I had done; ſending me alſo a letter to deliver into the royal hands of His Imperial Majeſty, ratifying and confirming the treaty, which I delivered the day that I had the glory to have His Imperial Majeſty receive my embaſſy. Alſo the King my maſter ordered me to ſtay a little at Gibraltar (if it was convenient) until the ſaid ranſome arrived, that I might take it along with me; but if I ſhould go to this court before it came, I ſhould carry with me all the captive Moors, and the preſent: but the baſha being haſtened to court, I was obliged to ſet forward without the ranſome, taking with me the preſent, and the captive Moors: and when I arrived at the city of Alcaſſar, I received news that a ſhip was come to Gibraltar, with the greateſt part of the ranſome, only ſome of the locks were wanting; becauſe they are not made in England but as they are uſed, unleſs when there is occaſion to ſend them to Barbary, for which purpoſe they are now making with all expedition.

After that His Imperial Majeſty had received me with much honour and regard, he gave me nine Chriſtians, with liberty to chooſe them as I pleaſed; giving me alſo leave to go into his magnificent palace, whoſe equal was never ſeen in the world; and told me, That he would diſpatch me to my content, and grant all that I aſked, being come into his ſovereign preſence: at which I rejoiced, having the honour to be a mediator between two ſuch powerful crowns, as His Imperial Majeſty's among Mooriſh nations the mightieſt, and the King my maſter's among the Chriſtians.

To

To day, being Thurſday, I received a meſſage from His Imperial Majeſty by a Renegado, telling me, That he was ſenſible I might have buſineſs to do elſewhere, in the ſervice of my ſovereign, for which reaſon he deſired not to detain me, but I was at liberty to depart after Lent; that the nine Chriſtians which His Imperial Majeſty had given me, I might chooſe them as I pleaſed, without paying any ranſome for them; and about the reſt of the captives, I ſhould agree with Baſha Hamet when I returned to Tetuan: that the articles agreed upon concerning the ſea, His Imperial Majeſty was well contented with; and if any thing more was required therein, he would be ready to give me entire ſatisfaction.

Conſidering well this meſſage which His Imperial Majeſty ſent, I remained in doubt whether they were his true words, or not well underſtood by the Renegado; nevertheleſs I anſwered the ſaid Renegado, That concerning treating with the baſha at Tetuan about peace and redemption of the captives, I thought nothing more remained to do, becauſe upon our treating there before, we had each of us ſigned the articles of peace, and I had a letter of His Imperial Majeſty's in my hands, agreeing to what was done; ſo that nothing further was wanting therein, but that His Imperial Majeſty would give orders for the Chriſtians, and would pay the ranſome agreed upon; but if there was any thing elſe, about which he would have me confer with the ſaid baſha, I thought it was not neceſſary; for ſince I had the honour to be in his royal court, I would rather explain myſelf to His Imperial Majeſty without any mediator; and if there was any thing in which I could ſerve him, I would do it with a great deal of pleaſure.

Wherefore I beg Your Majeſty to explain all the aboveſaid contents to His Imperial Majeſty, becauſe in diſcourſe I have not time to do it myſelf; and if His Imperial Majeſty will conſent to what has been ſettled, I ſhall go with great pleaſure and honour, to the grief of the enemies of this crown, and of that of my ſovereign; but if it ſhould be otherwiſe, my departure will give joy to the enemies of our countries, and (what I am concerned at) be a means of enmity, when I endeavoured to propagate friendſhip. Upon which conſiderations, I hope Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to repreſent theſe things to the Emperor, and uſe your intereſt, that I may be diſpatched in what I have requeſted, for which I ſhall for ever remain in all obedience,

Your Majeſty's
moſt humble and
moſt obedient ſervant,
CHARLES STEWART.

Mequinez, July the 20th, 1721.

To this letter the Queen ſent the following anſwer, wrote on the back-ſide.

To the Ambaſſador who wrote me this Letter.

I RECEIVED your letter, and what you ſay to me therein have read, and underſtand your words part by part: I have ſpoke to my maſter (whom God preſerve) of what you ſay, without failing to explain to him all in its full meaning: with which His Majeſty was well pleaſed, ſeeing that never came Chriſtian, of more judgment and goodneſs, to this court, than Your Excellency, who in all you ſay ſhow much underſtanding and mildneſs.

Concerning what you tell me of the nine Chriſtians, that my maſter (whom God preſerve) gave you, there is no doubt but it was a preſent which he made you for a breakfaſt: and concerning the reſt that Your Excellency ſays, you may be aſſured

His Majeſty will conform to your inclinations, in every thing that ſhall be propoſed. I know well it is true, that His Majeſty was not acquainted with the particulars of the agreement, and quantity of powder, brimſtone, and the reſt of the things: becauſe my maſter thought Your Excellency only came hither to confer with him, and then to return to Gibraltar to conſult with your people, before any thing ſhould be concluded: that was the thoughts of my maſter.

And concerning the Chriſtians your brethren, who are here ſlaves, His Majeſty knew not how many there were, becauſe ſome of them had turned Moors, and others were dead. But now ſince Your Excellency has declared your deſign to me, there is no occaſion to apply to Baſha Hamet, or any body elſe; for I will ſpeak to my maſter (whom God preſerve), to the end that he may renew the agreement entirely, and do every thing you deſire, for in His Majeſty there is much goodneſs and generoſity. This is my anſwer.

The mother of Muley Abdallah,
UMELEZ ETTABBA.

The Second Audience.

JULY the 23d, the ambaſſador having broke through the meaſures that had been taken not to diſappoint him, by writing the aforeſaid letter to the Queen; the Emperor ordered all the Engliſh captives to be drawn up together in his palace, and at the ſame time ſent for the ambaſſador. We went with the muſic playing as before, and found the Emperor ſitting under ſome piazzas, but upon our approach he mounted his horſe, and ſaluted the ambaſſador with Bono, Bono, and told him, that at firſt he did not apprehend that he had full power to conclude a peace, but thought he only came to make preparation for another ambaſſador; but now finding he had ſufficient authority, ſaid, he ſhould have all his countrymen; and at the ſame time waving his hand to the captives, he bade them go home along with the ambaſſador into their own country; upon which they all fell proſtrate, crying out, God bleſs thy power, and were going out of the preſence, when the Emperor cauſing them to ſtay, further ſaid, that he loved the ambaſſador and all the Engliſh, becauſe he knew they loved him and his houſe, and that there ſhould not be an Engliſhman a ſlave in his empire, for he would ſet them all at liberty in what part ſoever they were; then waving his hand again to the captives, they went away; and the ambaſſador returning the Emperor thanks for the honour he had done him, told him, that he ſhould always regard his intereſt, when he was gone out of his dominions; to which the Emperor ſaid, that he ſhould then ſee how well he deſerved the preſent he had made him that morning; that he would not have him ſtay an hour in Mequinez, and wiſhing him ſafe into his own country, the ambaſſador took his leave, the Emperor ſaying (ſeveral times) God bleſs you, and turning his horſe, galloped away with a lance in his hand, his guards running cloſe behind him.

Our captives, who were in the palace before we came, told us, that the Emperor had been in a great paſſion with ſome of his alcaydes, wounding one of them with his lance, drawing his ſcimitar to ſtrike another, and had cauſed one of them to be toſſed.

The 24th we went to ſee the Emperor's ſtables, which are about a league from the town. They conſiſt of two very large oblong-ſquare buildings, with handſome arches all round, under which the horſes ſtand without any partition, there being an arch for every horſe; they ſtand twelve foot aſunder, after which manner theſe ſtables are reckoned to hold about a thouſand horſes. Through the middle of the ſquare runs a

ſmall canal, over which, at certain diſtances, are built little houſes, where they keep the provender and furniture for the horſes; the Emperor alſo has ten thouſand more, kept together about three leagues from Mequinez, to be ready on any occaſion.

The horſes of this country are very fine, and the Moors take a great deal of pride in them, and order them after a very different manner from us; they back them generally at two years old, and ſhear their manes and tails till they come to ſix, thinking that makes them ſtrong. At graſs they tie ſometimes the two fore-feet together, at other times a fore-foot and a hinder one. In their ſtables they have two iron pins drove into the ground, one before, and the other behind them, at the diſtance of about three feet from their legs, which are faſtened together with ropes, like our traves with which we teach horſes to pace, but being ſhort, they draw their legs together under their bellies, and two ropes come from their hind and fore-feet, which are ſo tied to theſe pins, that they cannot ſtir above one foot backwards or forwards. Their collar is alſo made faſt to the pin before them, which has a ring for that purpoſe; under them is a hole covered with pieces of timber to receive their water; and a little on one ſide, a bed of ſand or ſaw-duſt, for them to lie upon; they have no mangers, but eat their ſtraw or graſs off the ground.

All their horſes eat graſs in April and May; and, if it be a good year, great part of March; at other times they eat ſtraw inſtead of hay; their barley is given them in a woollen bag put over their heads. They are never dreſt, nor their manes or tails combed, but when dirty are carried to the next running water and waſhed, and if they deſign to have them look fine, they uſe a little ſoap. Some will take it amiſs that you touch a horſe with the palm of your hand to ſtroke him, and ſay there is a venom in that part, which is hurtful to horſes. They never crop their tails or ears, nor geld them, for they like no maimed creatures but eunuchs for other reaſons.

They have one ſort which they call noble horſes, who bow their heads about at the approach of a man. Their love is ſo great for horſes, that not only they are one of the three things for which the Moors have a proverb, as moſt eſteemed, viz. a horſe, a woman, and a book, but they keep even the genealogies of them for two or three hundred years, and are nice in diſtinguiſhing the true from the mixt generations. They have a baſe way of ſhoeing them, cutting off the fore-part of the hoof, and forming the ſhoe into a triangular ſhape with the two points almoſt meeting at the heel, which points are made very thin, and after the ſhoe is faſtened with three nails on each ſide, are beaten as flat to the hoof as poſſible. But ſome time ago the Emperor iſſued out an order, that upon pain of death all horſes ſhould be ſhoed with round ſhoes; a certain Turk having perſuaded him that was the beſt way.

They are not ſubject to diſtempers, and the Moors know not what you mean by a farſey or glander, nor have I ever ſeen a ſpavine or mullender. As for the Berrebbers in the mountains, they never ſhoe their horſes. Their feet are certainly firmer than ours, for a horſe went from Tetuan to the camp, and came back the next day without a ſhoe, which is fifty miles; and notwithſtanding he was forced to croſs a mountain full of rocks going and coming, not being able to paſs the low way for a river, it was not perceived he had the leaſt crack in his hoof, or made any complaint of his feet. Their horſes live to a great age, and are very freſh at fourteen or fifteen, the reaſon of which ſeems to be their going ſo gently on the road, where they ſeldom are put out of a foot pace, but when they exerciſe the lance, they make them beſtir themſelves to ſome purpoſe.

Near the ſtables there is a large piece of ground walled about, in which we ſaw a great number of oſtriches.

From hence we went to ſee Muley Abdallah at his country houſe, who received the ambaſſador with a great deal of good humour; he has a handſome lively countenance, and is very well attended, though not ſo powerful as ſome of his brothers. He ſhewed us a fine large lion, which was ſo tame as to ſuffer a man to go into his den and play with him; he alſo made two maſtiff dogs fight to divert us. In the mean time, one of his guards did me the favour to pick my pocket, though I was very near the prince; at which ſport the Moors are no bunglers, as all the ambaſſador's retinue can teſtify.

This day our captives ſet out for Tetuan, joyfully leaving the place of their captivity to partake of the bleſſings of freedom.

The 25th the ambaſſador went to viſit Muley Ally, a prince in great favour; he received him very grandly, ſitting upon a ſilk carpet wrought with gold in large flowers as big as a man's hand; he had two black boys fanning him, very neatly dreſſed, one of them had a veſt of black and white flowered velvet, the other's was of yellow ſilk ſpeckled with black. The prince's garment was of as rich a cloth of gold as could be ſeen. They brought us chairs, and we ſat down for ſome time, the ambaſſador talking to the prince by one of our captives, who reſted himſelf on his hands and knees at the threſhold of the door, and when he ſpoke to the prince, proſtrated himſelf almoſt cloſe to the ground; ſo great a reſpect is paid to the ſons of this Emperor. Then we were led up ſtairs, and entertained with wine and muſic until dinner, which conſiſted of above twenty large diſhes dreſſed ſeveral ways.

We happened to viſit this prince in a bad time, he being ſo ill that he could not ſtir out of his room, which deprived us of the ſight of his women; for, contrary to the cuſtom of the Moors, he often ſhows his women to thoſe whom he entertains and is merry with; however he ſent up to the ambaſſador, to know if he could ſerve him in any thing, who returning him thanks, ſaid he would oblige him very much if he would uſe his intereſt that he might carry a horſe out of the country; the prince ſent word that he would give him one, and take care that it ſhould be got ſafe on board. Then the ambaſſador made him a preſent of a handſome gold watch, with a chain and ſeal; and this prince had a room well ſtored with clocks, watches, and fine large China jars, in which he takes delight, his father giving him moſt of thoſe that are preſented to him. In his ſtables were a great many of the moſt beautiful horſes I ſaw in Barbary.

While we were at Mequinez, an account came from Sally, that ſome of their rovers had taken a Portugueſe ſhip that had three Engliſhmen on board; of which the Emperor being informed, he ordered them to be immediately ſet at liberty, notwithſtanding they were taken under other colours.

Mequinez ſtands about twelve leagues weſtward of Fez, and was of ſmall note before the Emperor choſe to build his palace there; though according to Leo Africanus, it was about two hundred years ago a place of conſiderable trade and riches, but ſince almoſt ruined by the civil wars, and different ſorts of government that obtained in the country. It is ſituated in a delightful plain, having a very ſerene and clear air, which made the Emperor rather make it his place of reſidence than Fez, and now is in a more flouriſhing condition than ever, being the metropolis of a large empire, to which the baſhas and alcaydes reſort with the tributes and preſents every two or three years, according to the Emperor's pleaſure. In the middle of the city live the Jews, having a place to themſelves, the gates of which are locked at night, which privilege they alſo have in moſt of the cities of this Emperor's dominions. They have an alcayde to guard their gates, and protect them againſt the common people, who

otherwiſe would plunder them; for they live in great ſubjection, it being death for them to curſe, or lift up a hand againſt the meaneſt Moor, ſo that the boys kick them about at their pleaſure, againſt which they have no other remedy but to run away. They are obliged to pull off their ſhoes whenever they paſs by a moſque, and to wear black cloaths and caps, nor are they allowed the uſe of horſes; for Ben Hattar himſelf (though he had power over life and death) was always forced to ride a mule. The preſent alcayde of the Jewdary is one Carr, who turned Moor about twenty-ſeven years ago.

Cloſe to Mequinez on the north-weſt ſide, only divided by a road, ſtands a large negro town, that takes up as much ground as the city, but the houſes are not ſo high nor well built; its inhabitants are all blacks or tawnies, out of whom the Emperor recruits the ſoldiers for his court.

The palace ſtands on the ſouth of the city, and was built entirely by this Emperor; for they ſhewed us a houſe near it, in which he lived while he was alcayde of Mequinez, it is looked after by ſeveral hundred black eunuchs, the luſtieſt perſons I ever ſaw, cleanly dreſſed; their knives and ſcimitars are covered with wrought ſilver; the chief of them is called Bombar John Tattar by the Chriſtians, which is a corruption of his true name that ſounds ſomething like it. He is in great eſteem with the Emperor, and has vaſt authority in the palace, both over the women and children, ſo that I have ſeen one of the princes (from whom a baſha muſt fly if he is angry) come up to this eunuch, ſalute him firſt, and kiſs the hem of his garment; after him goes a ſlave, with a neat ſcourge, and a particular ſort of a ſtick for baſtonading, as the ſigns of his authority. Our captives told me that he has a ſeraglio of his own, which he maintains purely out of oſtentation.

In this palace live the Emperor's four wives, who are, the Queen of the Xeriphs, the Queen of the Old Palace, and two Queens of the Cobah 'Ihodrah, and they ſay two thouſand women more. The diſciplining of ſo large a family has been one of his greateſt cares; and the cruelties he has ſhown to his women have been no leſs to make him be dreaded within doors, than what he practiſes without, to make his ſubjects fear him. It uſed to be common for his women to intrigue, and run into ſuch fits of jealouſy as to fall out and fight with one another, which generally occaſioned complaints to the Emperor, and ſeldom or never ended but in the deſtruction of all, as well them who complained, as thoſe who were complained of. His black eunuchs are his executioners, and ſometimes diſpatch thirty in a day, by what they call geeſing, which is twiſting a ſmall cord about their necks with a ſtick, going from one to another, which ſeverity has brought him to be ſo much feared, that he has a ſort of adoration paid him. And I was credibly informed by a poor unhappy Engliſh woman, (who had been taken two years before we came to Mequinez, was forced to turn Moor, and had lived in the palace) that the very excrements and ſpittle, which come from the Emperor, were preſerved in little boxes by his women, as believing any thing that came from him would keep them from all diſtempers.

The women who are ſo happy as to receive his careſſes, partake of his ſanctity; for no ſooner do they come from him, but they are carried in proceſſion about the palace, and happy is ſhe who can touch their garment, which ſhe rubs herſelf with, in hopes to be the next who ſhall be ſo fortunate as to fall to the Emperor's ſhare. He ſeldom beſtows his favours to a woman more than once, unleſs ſhe proves with child, for then ſhe becomes in greater eſteem, and ſtands fair to partake of his bed again.

The

The Emperor (by his four wives, and many thouſands of women, whom he has had in his ſeraglio, during the time of his long reign) has got a numerous iſſue. They ſay he has ſeven hundred ſons able to mount horſe; the number of his daughters is not known, becauſe they never appear; for as they grow marriageable, he ſends to Taffilet, for ſome of the family of the Xeriphs, to whom he marries them himſelf in his palace, and diſpatches them away with their huſbands to that province. His ſons who live at court have the greateſt authority imaginable among the people, killing and deſtroying without reſiſtance, ſo that all men fly from them if they are angry. They generally have a guard of blacks to attend them, who put their commands in execution (without the leaſt heſitation) let them be what they will, ſometimes murdering one another at the command of their prince. He lets them live in the palace with their mothers, until they are of ſuch an age that he is apprehenſive they may be too buſy among the women; then they are diſpoſed of as the intereſt of their mothers prevails, either remaining about the court, or being ſent to Taffilet, where the Emperor gives them a plantation of dates, on which they live. Thoſe who have the misfortune to loſe their mothers, or are out of favour, come to want, and are as much neglected as if they had not been born, never returning to court again.

But to ſome of his eldeſt and beſt beloved, he has given the government of large provinces, nevertheleſs limits them in the command of troops, over whom he places alcaydes; for ſince the rebellion of his ſon Muley Mahomet, he cares not to truſt any great body of forces in the hands of his ſons; three of which are moſt remarkable, being looked upon as competitors for the empire; they are Muley Hamet Deheby, Muley Xeriph, and Muley Abdelmelech.

Muley Hamet Deheby is the eldeſt, and declared ſucceſſor by his father, to which end he has already built himſelf a palace, and ſtocked it with women and eunuchs, at Tedla, the chief city of a province ſo called, about ſeventy miles ſouth of Mequinez, which he has choſen for his ſeat; it being a cuſtom of the Emperors of Morocco, never to reign in the ſame city where their predeceſſor did. At preſent he minds little elſe but the beautifying of his palace, thinking his intereſt, which chiefly is among the blacks, and his father's will, to be ſufficient for him. He is a great lover of drink, and very laviſh and expenſive in his cups, but parſimonious when ſober; he has gathered a conſiderable quantity of treaſure, and reſiding neareſt to Mequinez, it is thought will gain the empire.

One day this prince met a Jew, and ſwore he would kill him if he did not drink all the brandy in his flaſk, which the man did to ſave his life; and if the Emperor had paſſed that way, he would have killed the poor Jew for being drunk.

Another time he forced a Spaniard and an Engliſhman to wreſtle, and ſwore he would kill him that was thrown, which fell to the lot of the Spaniard.

He once entered the houſe of one of the governors of Morocco, and raviſhed his wives and his ſon: another time he made a grave oration to a monkey, reproving him (according to a tradition they have) for not being a good Moor, and particularly for ſpilling cuſcuſu, for which his ſpecies had been changed; after which he cut off his head with his ſword.

When he was little he took a prejudice to the black pots, with which the captives uſed to return from their work, and in which they had dreſſed their dinner; (for it is a diſreſpect to paſs before a perſon of diſtinction, with any thing that is black, without putting it on the ground and making him a reverence,) and theſe pots he uſed to break; which made the Spaniards give him the name of Quebra Olla, or the Pot-breaker.

Muley

Muley Xeriph is a ſober prince, and the moſt humane of any of them; he commands in the province of Darha, where he is often employed in ſkirmiſhing with the blacks, upon the frontiers of his father's dominions. He was begot on a Chriſtian renegade, and is moſt favoured by the whites, but at preſent not very powerful.

Muley Abdelmelech reſides at Tarudant, and commands that part of Suz contiguous to Santa Cruz; he is reckoned the beſt ſoldier, but cruel in his temper, and brutal in his actions, and is only eſteemed by his army. But notwithſtanding the deſign of the old monarch to have his eldeſt ſon ſucceed him, the other two have declared, that after their father's death, it is their purpoſe to try their arms, and not ſuffer their lives to be tamely taken away, if their brother ſhall think it convenient; ſo that this empire is like to be miſerably torn in pieces by theſe three brothers, until the fortune of one ſhall prevail.

Thurſday the 27th, a little before ſun-ſet, we took our leave of Mequinez, and travelling the ſame road that we came, halted about a week at Alcaſſar, from whence we ſet out the 8th of Auguſt, and arrived at Tetuan the 12th. Some of our captives died here, and upon the road; and one was drowned in the river at Alcaſſar. The baſha went from Alcaſſar to Tangier, where he ſtayed a few days, then coming to Tetuan, he was very dilatory in appointing a day for our captives to go aboard; until receiving a letter from one of the Queens, wherein ſhe highly threatened him for detaining them, and the powder for part of their ranſome being arrived from Gibraltar. The ambaſſador had the good ſucceſs to embark two hundred and ninety-ſix Engliſh, being what were left alive (and had not turned Moors) of thoſe who had been taken in about ſeven years war.

At our coming to Mequinez, there were reckoned to be above one thouſand one hundred Chriſtians, about three hundred of which were Engliſh, not including nineteen who had turned Moors; four hundred Spaniards, one hundred ſixty-five Portugueſe, one hundred fifty-two French, ſixty-nine Dutch, twenty-five Genoeſe, and three Greeks of the Morea; ſome of all theſe different nations had turned Moors, thereby for ever loſing hopes of redemption.

Nor are the expectations of the reſt much better, it being very unlikely that there ever will be peace between the Moors and any of the fore-mentioned nations; though there are now and then treaties of redemption for them, particularly for the French and Spaniards, the former of which have conſuls in the chief ports, notwithſtanding the ſtate of war they are in; and the latter very often a couple of friars reſiding at Tetuan, beſides thoſe I have mentioned belonging to the convent at Mequinez.

The commanders of ſhips we brought away are as follows:

Robert Keene,	Thomas Morrey,	John Stocker,
Thomas Heaſe,	William Conſtable,	Antony Porro,
Andrew Teſſier,	Gamaliel Vincent,	Daniel Swinford,
Robert Boddicum,	John Green,	Alexander Stewart,
Thomas Bryer,	John Paule,	Daniel Healy,
Adam Rigdom,	Henry Boyd,	Thomas Ayres,
John Harper,	Thomas Taylor,	James Kirk, and
Abraham Howard,	John Killingen,	John Richards.
Richard Sampſon,		

Our captives told us a pleaſant ſtory of the Emperor, concerning a difference which happened between Memaran and Ben Hattar; for Memaran being formerly chief favourite, had the ſole command of the Jews; but ſeeing Ben Hattar boldly

puſh

puſh himſelf forward, and fearing a rival in the Emperor's favour, he endeavoured to deſtroy him, and offered the Emperor ſo many quintals * of ſilver for his head: upon which he ſent for Ben Hattar, and telling him that a ſum of money was bid for his head, he reſolutely anſwered, that he would give twice as much for the perſon's who offered it: then the Emperor bringing them together, took the money from both; told them, they were a couple of fools, and bid them be friends: which made Ben Hattar deſire Memaran's daughter in marriage, who being granted to him, they now between them govern the Jews of his dominions with abſolute authority.

And this inhuman cuſtom of giving money for the deſtruction of another, and alſo buying a man to have him entirely at his diſpoſal, is practiſed all over this empire, both among the Moors and Jews; whereby the enjoyment of life or fortune is not only precarious, but a man is liable, in an inſtant, to fall into the extremeſt degree of miſery, at the pleaſure of any one who (prompted either by covetouſneſs or malice) will be at the expence of buying another, and run the riſk of being reimburſed out of the effects of the perſon he buys; in which caſe they go to the baſha, alcayde, or governor of a province, and bargain with him (for ſo much money) to have the perſon they have a mind to; upon receipt of which, the baſha will deliver the wretch into the hands of the buyer, to do what he pleaſes with him; ſo that the bought man is frequently tortured in the cruelеſt manner, to make him diſcover what money he has. For an inſtance of which barbarous cuſtom, I have inſerted part of a letter from Mr. Hatfield, an Engliſh merchant reſiding at Tetuan.

YESTERDAY Mr. Noble and I were paſſing by the priſon, where we ſaw a man hanged by the heels, with irons upon his legs, pinchers upon his noſe, his fleſh cut with ſciſſars, and two men perpetually drubbing him, and demanding money. When the fellow was not able to ſpeak, they renewed their blows; and this was a bought man that they gave five hundred ducats for, and expect by theſe tortures to force out of him five hundred ducats more: his tortures were ſo ſevere, that Noble, when he ſaw him, cried out, O Lord, the bleſſed fruits of arbitrary government! Becauſe you had not ſeen ſuch a thing, I judged this deſcription might not be unacceptable.

The Baſha of Tetuan, for three weeks together, had been in the greateſt conſternation imaginable, every day coming into the Emperor's preſence, and in fear of being put to ſome cruel death, ſo that he fell ill, and what between ſickneſs and fright was brought to a very low condition. At length the Emperor gave him leave to go to his government, but not without a fine; for, beſides the preſent he brought with him, (which conſiſted of gold, ſilver, coſtly goods that he had bought, ſome hundreds of young horſes, mules, and other things, the produce of his province,) the Emperor demanded three hundred quintals of ſilver more, and ſent an alcayde along with him to bring it to court. The baſha found it exceedingly difficult to raiſe enough to pay the fine; ſo that after he had gathered all he could from his people, he was obliged to rifle his own ſeraglio to make up the ſum, where, calling his women together, and having a cloth ſpread, they threw in what they had of value, and ſtripped themſelves even to their ear-rings; during which time in came one of his young ſons, who, ſeeing what they were doing, of his own accord pulled out his ear-ring, ſaying, There, father, take mine tōo; which ſo moved the baſha, that the tears came into his eyes. At laſt the ſum was completed, and he being ſent for again to court, the Emperor received him into favour, and when he ſent him back to his baſhaſhip gave him twenty-four

* A quintal is one hundred weight.

blacks

blacks of his own guard, the locks and ornaments of whoſe arms were made of gold.

Alcayde Ally Ben Abdallah, this baſha's father and predeceſſor in the province of Tetuan, was at firſt no more than a poor carrier; but fortune bringing him to be taken notice of by the Emperor, he became in great favour and eſteem with him, being looked upon as one of his moſt faithful ſervants, ſo that when he gave him the command of the province, he ſwore that he would never put him or any of his children to death. When the alcayde died, the Emperor turned his kindneſs to his family, making his brother Abdelkerim governor of Rife, his eldeſt ſon baſha of the province, his ſecond alcayde of the city of Tetuan, another alcayde of Larach, and another of Tangier, which governments they all enjoy now, except Abdelkerim, whoſe exactions were ſo ſevere that the people roſe againſt him, and obliged him to fly for refuge to Tetuan, where he ſtaid not long, but taking diſguſt went to Mequinez, and endeavoured to ſupplant the baſha his nephew, but was defeated by his agent there. Then, according to the cuſtom of the country, ſomebody bought him of the Emperor for ſix quintals of ſilver, upon which, all his effects were ſold, his friends plundered, and he thrown into priſon; but ſome time after, being releaſed, he obtained to be made governor of the trenches in the camp before Ceuta, where he now remains, but in no great favour with the baſha.

It is the opinion of ſeveral reaſonable people in Barbary, that there is a ſecret deſign (after the death of the Emperor) to ſet up a certain perſon in the ſouth, a very good man, and a deſcendant of their former kings, whoſe name they are exceeding cautious of mentioning, leſt it ſhould come to the ears of the Emperor, or any of his murdering race, who, they are in hopes, will by his means be excluded from the ſupreme power.

It is indeed a thouſand pities that the government of this country ſhould be ſuch as diſcourages induſtry and improvement, for it is a delicious climate, the ſoil generous and fertile, abounding in all things both for uſe and pleaſure, even beyond imagination, nature in a great meaſure ſupplying their idleneſs and want of induſtry. They follow the cuſtoms of the Spaniards in tilling the ground, which produces great quantities of wheat, barley, peaſe, beans, hemp, and flax; oats they have none; and they reap three times between May and September. If the government would but countenance induſtry, or at leaſt allow every one the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of his labour, the land would be capable of producing an hundred times the conſume of the country; for I have heard judicious people ſay, that the hundreth part is not tilled, and the Emperor is ſuppoſed to have corn enough under ground to ſupply the whole country for five years: but on the contrary, if a poor man ſhould get a pair of oxen and plough, he would not only be liable to be robbed of them by the next little mercenary governor, but forced to ſell his corn to pay an arbitrary tribute: for which reaſon the land has no proprietor above two or three leagues round a town; and if you chance to ſpy two or three ſmall cottages, you may be ſure they belong to ſome alcayde, and the poor people that live in them to till the ground are his ſervants, and, like the cattle, receive no other recompence for their labour, but the wretched provender they eat. This is one reaſon why the Arabs continue their ancient cuſtom of wandering from place to place, for it is ſuppoſed they live freer under their ſheick than if they ſhould ſettle and become the property of ſome alcayde to plunder when he pleaſes.

The chief commodities exported from thence are tin, copper, wax, hides, wool, cordovans, honey, dates, raiſins, olives, almonds; they alſo have indigo, gum-arabic, gum-ſandric, elephants' teeth, oſtrich feathers, and fine mats. Wine is forbid by

their religion, ſo they cannot be the makers of it, but ſome of the Chriſtians and Jews take that employment in their ſtead, and make a ſufficient quantity for themſelves and thoſe Moors who dare be the breakers of their law. The grapes are extremely good, and the wine equal to the ſherry that is made in Spain, and without doubt was it tolerated, there might be an improvement, which would render the quantity and goodneſs thereof not inferior to that of any country whatſoever. The exportation of corn is alſo againſt their law, for which reaſons, together with the oppreſſions from the government, large tracts of ground lie waſte, which, cultivated and improved, might ſend forth great quantities of corn, wine, and oil at a cheap rate.

Fez is the centre of trade in this empire, and it is from thence the caravans go to Mecca and Medina. Theſe caravans are governed by a perſon who farms moſt of the wax of the Emperor, and for that reaſon is called the ſtankero: his buſineſs is very great, ſo that he employs his brothers, or rather admits them into a ſort of a partnerſhip with him. To their care the caravans are entruſted, and depart every ſix months commanded by one of them. In their way they are always joined by the merchants of Algiers and Tunis, who put themſelves under the protection of the ſtankero's brother, who is called king of the caravan. Two of them are generally upon the road at the ſame time, and as one ſets out from Fez, the other returns from Mecca. The commodities carried into the Eaſt are, woollen manufactures, ſuch as alhagues, and other garments, abundance of cordovans, indigo, cochineal, and oſtrich feathers, for which they bring in return ſilks, muſlins, and drugs.

The Engliſh have a fair opportunity of ſpoiling this trade to Mecca, by tranſporting the ſilks from Turkey to Barbary by ſea, and ſave the vaſt expence of land carriage; and it is not to be doubted but the Emperor's covetouſneſs would make him fall into the account of it, from the double advantage of ten per cent. cuſtom, which the importing theſe goods by the Europeans would bring into his pocket, and the hindering ſo many people from going to Mecca, who oftentimes chooſe rather to live under the government of the Turks, than return to the inſupportable tyranny of their own country.

The Emperor ſome time ago fell into the account of the prejudice his trade is to his country, and ſeeks for all pretences imaginable to obviate it, which is pretty difficult, it being cloaked under the holy pretence of pilgrimage to the ſacred monument of their prophet. Some years ago there was an order to open all the roads that paſſed, under pretence of ſearching for jewels, which made thoſe concerned in the trade engage to deliver all their jewels, and pay ten ducats per load to ſave their being ſearched; but there did not go the fourth part of what were uſed to go before.

They alſo ſend caravans to Guinea. The places they trade to there bear ſeveral names, as Tombatton, Niger, or the Black River, which they ſay, has a paſſage in the Southern Sea; another they call Nile, but none of them can give any reaſonable account thereof. It is certain, that great caffilas, or, (as we call them) caravans of camels, depart yearly from Fez, ſome report twenty thouſand in a caffila; and it will not ſeem unreaſonable, if the great difficulty of the paſſage be conſidered through the burning deſarts where there is neither meat nor water to ſupport them; for when they have paſſed the river Draw, which is the extent of the Emperor's dominions, they come into a deſart that does not afford one drop of water for twenty days, till they arrive at a ſmall fortification, in which there is a Mooriſh alcayde, and about an hundred men; ſo that for every two camels one carries water; and beſides there is a

ſpare

ſpare one for every load, notwithſtanding a camel will live ſometimes eight or nine days without drinking, and five or ſix without eating.

In ſome of thoſe deſerts that are habitable, the people live wholly on their camels; their tents and cloaths are made of their hair, ſo are their beds: the moſt conſiderable have ſhoes made of their ſkins, which conſiſt only of a ſole, and ſome ſmall ſtripes of leather croſſed on the foot, the chief of which is twiſted about the great toe, and faſtened at the heel. Their meat and drink is alſo from them, for they dry their fleſh in the ſun, then grind it as ſmall as powder, mix it with the camel's milk, and drink it.

They trade into Guinea with ſalt, cowreys, wrought ſilk, about five hundred pieces of Britiſh cloth, and the woollen manufactures of Barbary. The ſalt, I have been informed, is the chief commodity which they keep to rub their lips with, being apt to corrupt and rot for want of it; and they covet to be rich in having great quantities by them. Cowreys are little ſhells brought from the Eaſt Indies, and paſs for money of the moſt value, as bitter almonds do for the leaſt. Silk and woollen of Barbary they wear, and tie a ſmall ſtripe of Britiſh cloth about their heads, and have no other conſumption for it, though five hundred pieces go thither yearly. From thence they return richly loaden with gold duſt, oſtrich feathers, elephants' teeth, and negroes, who are the Emperor's property. This journey is performed in ſix or ſeven months.

The method of trading in ſome of thoſe parts is very extraordinary; for they do not ſee the perſons they trade with; but paſſing over a little river, leave their ſalt (at the accuſtomed place) in a pot or jar, and retire; then the people take the ſalt, and put into the ſame pot as much gold as they judge it worth, which if the Moors approve of, they take it away, otherwiſe, they ſet the pot on edge, and retire again, and afterwards find either more gold or their ſalt returned.

But the Emperor and his alcaydes confound all trade in the country, by robbing ſuch as have any reputation for riches; for which reaſon the Moors take it for a token that you deſign them harm, if you ſay they are rich; and it is believed that there are abundance of Arabians who have concealed eſtates, (for this country fifty or ſixty years ago was extraordinary rich) and yet appear ſo miſerable, that they have nothing but an alhague to cover them, which ſerves for ſhirt, drawers, coat, cloak, bed, and every thing. But thoſe who lived in towns were preſently ruined. I have heard that the people of Tetuan were very conſiderable traders, and ſome of them left off buſineſs when the Emperor came to the throne, thinking by that means to go off with what they had got, and be quiet; but on the contrary, being once taxed for people of ſubſtance, the ſame continued till the fortunes they had got were exhauſted, and nothing coming in, they are at preſent reduced to extreme want; and ſeveral of them have been ſhewn without a bit of bread; for all thoſe who are in any condition, are ſuch as continued to trade, becauſe they had at that time no other means of ſubſiſtence.

Still no day paſſes without ſome ravage or other committed on the miſerable people, and chiefly at Fez, becauſe the inhabitants once refuſed to be the Emperor's ſlaves, and are in ſome better condition than the reſt of the country; for in the year 1698 the Emperor appointed all the records of the country to be ſearched, that diſcovery might be made of ſuch as were deſcended from ſlaves or renegadoes. In this ſearch were committed a great many cruelties; and many thouſands of poor people, either for private or public piques, or being of a duſkier complexion than ordinary, if they could not produce long ſcrawls of their genealogies, notwithſtanding their having lived free for ages, and enjoyed comfortable fortunes, were declared ſlaves, their eſtates and perſons ſeized for the uſe of the Emperor; and ſome were forced by torture to deſire

their friends to call them their ſlaves; and if they happened to be poor, after the pretended patron had received a ducat, or ſometimes leſs from the Emperor's officers, he was forced to be at the expence of two or three more, to ſend them handſomely cloathed to the Emperor.

This inhumanity was ſuffered all over the country till they came to Fez, the greateſt, richeſt, and moſt populous city, who ſhut their gates, ſent the officers back, and declared, they all ſubmitted, if the Emperor demanded their lives or eſtates, but for their liberties, that were much dearer to them than either, they reſolved not to part with them. So he ordered them to pay one hundred quintals of plate, and gave over his ſearch, but ſince bears them a mortal hatred.

There was a regiſter made of the unfortunate people found, or forced to be ſlaves, ſigned by all his cadies, who are the judges of all cauſes both eccleſiaſtical and civil, ſo that they and their children are become ſlaves by a form of law.

In 1699 the governor of Fez ſent to a merchant to give him a hundred ducats for the tribute; he having before got off for a great deal leſs, went to excuſe himſelf; upon which he ſent for four or five negroes, and ordered them to torment that man till he gave them a thouſand; which he paid, after being ſtripped and left all day in the ſun, hung up by the thumbs, and ſome other artful cruelties; and the condition of all the country is ſuch, that any pretence whatſoever will ſerve the alcaydes to rob and plunder their people.

In the beginning of 1708 the Emperor was upon the ſame project again, but met with as much reſolution as the Fezians had ſhewn before; and it has manifeſtly appeared, that his drift was to enſlave all his dominions.

The naval force of this Emperor (notwithſtanding ſo many Chriſtians are taken) is very inconſiderable, there not being a good port belonging to the whole country, neither are they capable of building and fitting out many ſhips. Their fleet conſiſts of brigantines, tartans, barks, and ſome few ſhips taken from the Chriſtians, which they ſtuff full of men, all their hope being to overpower their enemies with their numbers; by which means the ſmall merchantmen, not being able to make reſiſtance, fall into miſerable captivity.

Marmora and Sally, ſo much noted for their rovers, are the beſt ports in the country; but by reaſon of a bar that lies all along the coaſt, ſhips of the ſmalleſt draught are forced to unload, and take out their guns, before they can get into the harbour. At Sally there are ſome docks to build ſhips, but hardly ever uſed, for want of ſkill and materials.

To return to Fez; the inhabitants were formerly rich and flouriſhing, but partaking of the ſame fate with the reſt of the country, are become little otherwiſe than ſlaves to their barbarous governors, at whoſe diſpoſal they are to be racked and tortured, till they have given up all their wealth; and when the poſſeſſion of it draws on them ſuch miſery, it is no wonder they neglect the means to attain it, and ſuffer their trade and commerce to fall to decay; by reaſon of which their glory is abated, their public buildings are fallen to the ground, and they who now behold the city, find it nothing in compariſon of what it was.

In the year 1622, the great Golius, afterwards profeſſor of the Eaſtern languages at Leyden, having made himſelf maſter of the Arabic language by books, travelled with a Dutch ambaſſador into Barbary, and there, as my author ſays, obtained high favour from Muley Zidan then King of Morocco, and raiſed the greateſt admiration in him, for having drawn a memorial in the pureſt Arabic, without being able to ſpeak it. He had the opportunity to examine the curioſities of the city of Fez, and took a

plan of the royal palace there; the original of which (as it was drawn by himſelf, with ſome explanations in Arabic) is now in the hands of Mr. Corbiere.

It would be convenient for thoſe who are not acquainted with Barbary, and deſign to reſide there any time, to be informed after what manner it is beſt for them to carry themſelves, and cautioned againſt ſome of the tricks commanly practiſed there: concerning which, Monſieur Mouvette, who was a ſlave in the country ſeveral years, printed ſome directions about fourteen years ago; and believing they may be of ſervice, I have inſerted them here, in his own words.

The firſt thing they are to do the very day, or the day after their arrival, is to go and viſit the governor of the town, and make him ſome handſome preſent, according to the cuſtom, and afterwards to pay him frequent viſits to gain his friendſhip; for the Moors are very vain, and ambitious of honour, eſpecially when they are in ſo conſiderable a poſt as that of a governor. They muſt complain to him whenſoever they have the leaſt difference either with Moors or Jews, becauſe that turns to his profit, by levying ſome fine; and to the end that theſe baſe people may not deſpiſe nor offer them any wrong: for when the people perceive that the merchants have ſome intereſt with the governor, and that he eſpouſes their quarrels, no man dares preſume to offend them. When ſummoned by the governor to appear before him, or by any other, they muſt not fail to be there at the time appointed.

They muſt take care to gain friends amongſt the governor's kindred, and moſt familiar acquaintance, who may ſerve them upon ſeveral occaſions, and particularly in obtaining any favour of him. They muſt be ſure not to give any reviling language, or offenſive anſwers, to Moors, before witneſſes, much leſs to lift up a hand to ſtrike them, or to ſpit in their faces, or even in their preſence when they are in a paſſion; for it is much better to complain to the governor than to do themſelves right, thoſe men being very jealous of their authority: nevertheleſs, they muſt not rely too much on the countenance a governor may ſeem to ſhew them, becauſe they are all dogs that bite at the ſame time that they fawn; covetous fellows, who promiſe more than they deſign to perform, and grow rich by parting with nothing; regardleſs of their word or promiſe; eager at receiving, and ſure to do no good.

They muſt never go from one town to another, without the governor's leave, which if they did, he would become their implacable enemy.

They muſt never truſt either Moors or Jews with their goods, under three or four ſufficient ſureties, becauſe they are very apt to break; and when that is done they have nothing left to pay, having no real eſtates, beſides their houſes, and ſome gardens of very ſmall value: nor muſt they take up any goods upon credit, or keep any book accounts with them, becauſe they always ſet down a third or fourth more than they deliver, according to the maxim in vogue amongſt them, that they will never be rich, unleſs they have ſomething of others amongſt their own. What the Jews calls other men, are the Chriſtians, Turks, Moors, and Pagans, whom they may cheat or rob with a ſafe conſcience when they have an opportunity, provided they give ſome part of the gain to raiſe the fortune of ſuch of their own as are fallen to decay, and to keep their poor from begging: in this particular, their charity is wonderful, for when a man has loſt all he had, they will ſet him up again three times, that he may live of himſelf, and if fortune ſtill frowns on him, he is maintained amongſt the other poor; but the wicked ways they find to ſupport them will convince any man how cautious he ought to be in his dealings with them.

When the Jews deſign to get in what they have entered on their books, they take care to pre-engage the judge, who is generally the governor of the town, making him a preſent,

preſent, or elſe promiſing him half the value of the cheat, if the cauſe goes on their ſide. And it happened in my time, that ſeveral merchants at Tetuan and Sally were beggared by truſting to their honeſty, and relying on their books. The Moors are ſomething honeſter than the Jews; but the ſafeſt way is to believe them as ſharp and deceitful as the others.

The governors, to gain their Prince's favour, often preſent him with pieces of fine linen and woollen cloth, which they take up of the merchants; and they being frequently recalled, or put to death, and having no real eſtates, care muſt be taken to truſt them with as little as may be, ſhewing them the worſt when they want any ſuch commodities, that they may take the leſs, they being generally wretched fellows, who have nothing to ſubſiſt on any longer than their favour laſts.

The merchants are particularly to avoid growing too familiar with the ſlaves, both becauſe it is obſtructive to their liberty, as cauſing them to be looked upon as merchants, and richer than they really are; and in regard that if any one happens to make his eſcape, the merchants are ſuſpected to have adviſed them to it, and corrupted ſome Moor to be aſſiſting; and conſequently they will make them pay three times the price they coſt. At the ſame time, to the end the ſlaves may not complain that they deſpiſe them, on account of their misfortune, they are to be charitable to and relieve them in ſickneſs and their other wants.

ARTICLES of Peace and Commerce between the Moſt High and Moſt Renowned Prince George, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., and the High and Glorious, Mighty and Right Noble Prince Albuazer Muley Iſhmael, Ben Muley Xeriph, Ben Muley Ally, King and Emperor of the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, Taffilet, Suz, and all the Algarbe and its Territories in Africa, &c., concluded, agreed, and adjuſted by the Honourable Charles Stewart Eſquire, on the Behalf of His Britannic Majeſty, and by His Excellency Baſhá Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah, and His Imperial Majeſty's Treaſurer, Mr. Moſes Ben Hattar, a Jew, on the Behalf of the ſaid King of Fez and Morocco.

I. IT is agreed and concluded, That from this day forward there ſhall be, between His Majeſty of Great Britain and the King of Fez and Morocco, their heirs and ſucceſſors, a general, ſincere, and true peace, which ſhall be obſerved inviolably, and endure for ever, as well by land as by ſea and freſh waters, and alſo between the lands, countries, kingdoms, dominions, and territories belonging unto or under the obedience of either of them, and that their ſubjects, people, or inhabitants reſpectively, of what condition, degree, or quality ſoever, from henceforth reciprocally ſhall ſhew one another all friendſhip; and that at the death of either of Their Majeſties, the ſucceſſor ſhall ſend an ambaſſador to the other to ſignify to him his acceſſion to the crown.

II. It is further accorded, That any of the ſhips or other veſſels belonging to the ſaid King of Great Britain, or to any of His Majeſty's ſubjects, may ſafely come to the ports, or to any place of the ſaid Emperor's dominions, there freely to buy or ſell; and the goods they ſell not, they ſhall at any time freely carry on board, without paying any duties for the ſame, if they are not contraband goods; and in caſe any ſhip or veſſel ſhall have more goods on board than is deſigned for the port, (which the maſter ſhall be obliged to declare on his arrival) the maſter of the ſaid ſhip ſhall not be compelled to land the ſaid goods, but they ſhall freely depart from thence whenſoever they pleaſe, without any ſtop or hinderance whatſoever; and it is hereby declared,

that the ſhips or veſſels of their reſpective Majeſties, or their ſubjects, that ſhall arrive in any of the ports or harbours of the dominions of either of the Kings aforeſaid, compelled by enemies, diſaſter of the ſeas, or any accident, ſhall be exempted from paying anchorage, giving powder, money, or any thing elſe as port charge, or any other duties either upon their entrance or departure from the ſaid ports, without any let or moleſtation.

III. It is agreed, That all ſhips and veſſels whatſoever belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid King of Great Britain, as alſo all ſhips and veſſels whatſoever belonging to the King of Fez and Morocco, or to his ſubjects, ſhall freely navigate and paſs the ſeas without any ſearch, hinderance, or moleſtation from each other; and that all perſons or paſſengers of what country or nation ſoever, as alſo all monies, goods, merchandizes or moveables to what people or nation ſoever belonging, to either party, ſhall be wholly free, and ſhall not be ſtopped, taken away, embezzled, or plundered, nor receive any harm or damage whatſoever from either party. And it is further agreed, that no commander or other perſon belonging to any ſhip or veſſel of the King of Morocco, or his ſubjects, ſhall take out of any ſhip or veſſel of the King of Great Britain's ſubjects, any perſon or perſons whatſoever, to carry them any where to be examined, or upon any other pretence whatſoever, and ſhall offer no violence whatſoever to any perſon or perſons, of what quality or nation ſoever, being on board any ſhip or veſſel belonging to His Majeſty's ſubjects.

IV. It is agreed, for the better obſerving and executing the antecedent articles according to the true intent and meaning thereof, That the men of war or ſhips of Corſo belonging to the King of Fez and Morocco, or to any of his ſubjects, meeting with any ſhips or veſſels whatſoever belonging to the King of Great Britain's ſubjects (not being in any of the ſeas appertaining to His ſaid Majeſty of Great Britain's dominions), may ſend on board one ſingle boat with two ſitters, and no more, which ſitters only ſhall have the liberty to enter into ſuch ſhips or veſſels aforeſaid; and that by producing a paſs ſigned by the ſaid King of Great Britain, or by the Lord-High-Admiral of England, Scotland, or Ireland, in the form hereafter expreſſed, the ſaid boat ſhall immediately depart, and ſuch ſhip or veſſel ſhall freely proceed on her voyage; and when any of the ſhips of war or corſo of the King of Great Britain, or his ſubjects, ſhall meet with any ſhip or veſſel of the King of Fez and Morocco, or his ſubjects, if the commander of any ſuch ſhips or veſſels ſhall produce a paſs ſigned by the governor of the place whereto they belong, with a certificate from the Engliſh conſul, and in caſe of his deceaſe, or abſence, from the major part of the Engliſh merchants reſiding in the ſaid place, in ſuch caſes the ſaid ſhip or veſſel ſhall proceed freely on her voyage without impediment or moleſtation.

V. It is agreed, That if any of the ſhips of war of the ſaid King of Great Britain ſhall come to any port or place of the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, with any prize or prize goods, they may freely ſell and diſpoſe of them without any moleſtation, or new impoſition whatſoever; and in caſe any ſquadron of His Majeſty of Great Britain's ſhips of war, or any ſingle ſhip, or merchant ſhip or veſſel, ſhall want proviſions or refreſhment, it is hereby further agreed, That they may freely buy the ſame in ſuch quantities or qualities as they ſhall have occaſion for, at the market prices, and ſhip off the ſame without paying any duties or acknowledgement whatſoever.

VI. It is agreed, That if any ſhip or veſſel belonging to the King of Great Britain, or his ſubjects, ſhould by ſtreſs of weather, or any other accident, be driven on ſhore, bulged or wrecked, in any part of the King of Fez and Morocco's dominions, ſuch ſhips or veſſels, perſons or goods, ſhall, without embezzlement or diminution, be duly reſtored

reſtored to the conſul, or to any other perſon whom the right owner ſhall appoint, and the men ſhall be at full liberty, and be permitted to go when they pleaſe, without any let whatſoever.

VII. It is agreed, That in all whatſoever towns and places, maritime or others, belonging to the King of Fez and Morocco, whereſoever the ſaid King of Great Britain ſhall think fit to appoint and eſtabliſh a conſul, that ſuch conſul or conſuls ſhall be treated with the reſpect due to his or their characters; and he and all other His Majeſty of Great Britain's ſubjects reſpectively, ſhall enjoy the free liberty of the exerciſe of their religion, without any moleſtation or reproach, in word or deed, and that they ſhall have a decent place appointed for the burial of their dead, to which no violence ſhall be offered. That the ſaid conſul and factors ſhall have the choice of their own truckman and broker, and liberty to go and travel from place to place by ſea or land. They ſhall likewiſe have liberty to go on board any ſhip or veſſel whatſoever, to trade, or likewiſe in port or road, without any let, confinement, or limitation. Their effects and eſtates ſhall be ſecure to them without danger of confiſcation, ſeizure, or embargo, on any pretence whatſoever; and the ſaid conſul or conſuls, and all whatſoever ſubjects of His Majeſty of Great Britain, trading in the territories of the King of Fez and Morocco, ſhall have free liberty to depart the country at all times, and as often as they ſhall ſee cauſe, without any impediment or detention to them, their perſons, or eſtates. And it is further agreed, That if any of the King of Great Britain's ſubjects, reſiding or trafficking in any part of the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, ſhall happen to die, in ſuch caſe the governor of the place where ſuch perſon ſhall ſo deceaſe, ſhall be obliged to ſee all his monies and effects forthwith delivered into the hands of His Majeſty of Great Britain's conſul there; and in caſe there be no conſul upon the place, then to ſome Engliſh merchant, who is to ſecure them for the uſe of the heirs of the deceaſed; and this is to be underſtood, in caſe the perſon deceaſed has not had a partner left, or factor ſurviving, or has not before his death recommended his ſaid goods, debts, &c., to any Chriſtian merchant of what nation ſoever, in which caſe the governor is not to intermeddle, further than interpoſing his authority for the cauſing due compliance to be made of the ſaid perſon deceaſed, his will, and the recovery of what ſhall be owing him, or any otherwiſe in the hands of any perſon whatſoever. And it is hereby further declared, that none of the King of Great Britain's ſubjects ſhall, on any pretence whatſoever, be compelled, or give any manner of ſatisfaction, for any other debts than ſuch as they themſelves, each of them reſpectively, ſhall contract, or be obliged to by their own act; and that the ſubjects of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, whether Moors or Jews, reſiding in the dominions of the King of Great Britain, ſhall entirely enjoy the ſame privileges that are granted to the Engliſh reſiding in Barbary.

VIII. It is agreed, That no alcayde, governor, officer, or ſubject of the King of Fez and Morocco, ſhall take poſſeſſion violently of any goods or merchandizes of any of the King of Great Britain's ſubjects, in the ſaid King of Fez and Morocco's dominions, without firſt adjuſting and agreeing upon the price, and paying down the money; or as it ſhall be agreed between them, without any compulſion whatſoever; and the ſaid ſubjects of the King of Great Britain ſhall not be forced to buy any goods or merchandizes againſt their will. And it is further agreed, That the commander or maſter of any Engliſh ſhip or veſſel, ſhall not be obliged or compelled to trade, or take on board any goods or merchandize whatſoever, he or they declaring to the conſul reſiding in the place, or otherwiſe, their unwillingneſs to undertake the ſame. And further, No ſhip ſhall be detained or embargoed on any pretence whatſoever;

ſoever; or any pilot or mariners taken out of any ſhip or veſſel on any pretence whatſoever.

IX. It is agreed, That if any of the ſubjects of the King of Great Britain ſhall happen to ſtrike, wound, or kill any Moor, in any place within the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, and the ſaid offender ſhall be taken, he ſhall be puniſhed in the ſame manner, and with no greater ſeverity than the ſubjects of the ſaid King of Fez and Morocco, being guilty of the ſame offence, ought to be by the laws of that country. But if the offender ſhall make his eſcape, then neither the conſul, nor any other perſon of the nation, ſhall be accountable or liable to give any ſatisfaction thereupon; and the like to be practiſed, if any Moor ſhould happen to ſtrike, wound, or kill any of His Majeſty of Great Britain's ſubjects. And further, If any difference ſhall happen between perſons, both of the King of Great Britain's ſubjects, ſuch difference ſhall be adjuſted and accommodated by the conſul of the Engliſh nation; but in all controverſies between the Engliſh and perſons of any other nation, ſuch controverſies ſhall be determined by the alcayde or governor in chief of the place. And that the ſame liberty ſhall be granted to the ſubjects of the Emperor of Morocco, reſiding in the dominions of His Britannic Majeſty, which is given to the Engliſh conſul in Barbary, to name a perſon or perſons to decide the differences that may happen between the ſubjects of His Imperial Majeſty, a Moor for the Moors, and a Jew for the Jews.

X. It is agreed, That not only during this peace and friendſhip, but likewiſe if any breach or war happen to be hereafter, between the ſaid King of Great Britain and between the ſaid King of Fez and Morocco, the Engliſh conſul, and all others the ſaid King of Great Britain's ſubjects, inhabiting or trafficking in the dominions of the ſaid King of Fez and Morocco, ſhall always, and at all times, both in peace and war, have full power and entire liberty to depart and go to their own, or any other country, upon what ſhip or veſſel of what nation ſoever they ſhall think fit; to be allowed ſix months time to remove in caſe of war, and to carry with them all their effects, goods, families, children though born in the country, and ſervants, without any interruption, ſeizure, or hindrance whatſoever.

XI. And to the end this treaty of peace may not be thought violated by the crimes and offences of particular men, it is hereby further agreed, That if either of their majeſty's ſubjects ſhall do any thing contrary to what is agreed in the foregoing articles, it ſhall not be reckoned to be a breach of the public peace; nor ſhall any hoſtility enſue thereupon; neither ſhall it in any caſe, of any controverſy, be reputed a denial of juſtice, but where ſatisfaction ſhall be refuſed for the ſpace of ſix months after complaint made.

XII. It is agreed, That the ſubjects of the King of Fez and Morocco ſhall be ſuffered to tranſport out of the dominions of the King of Great Britain, any ſort of goods whatſoever, to the dominions of the ſaid King of Fez and Morocco; and that they ſhall be obliged to pay no more duties or any other impoſition whatſoever, than what other nations do, according to the cuſtom of the country.

XIII. And as it has pleaſed Almighty God, that by His Majeſty's arms, the iſland of Minorca, and city of Gibraltar, are now in His Majeſty's poſſeſſion, and are become part of His Britannic Majeſty's dominions: it is therefore agreed, that every perſon ſailing in ſhips or veſſels, whether Spaniard, Engliſh, or otherwiſe, fiſhing in boats or veſſels, living or reſiding there, ſhall be eſteemed as his natural-born ſubjects, upon producing proper paſſes from the governors, or commanders in chief of thoſe places.

XIV. It is agreed, That for the better preſervation of this peace entirely, and inviolably, between the ſaid King of Fez and Morocco, and the ſaid King of Great Britain, and their kingdoms, dominions, ſubjects, and vaſſals reſpectively, proclamation ſhall be immediately made thereof, in all the ſea-ports, and towns of both Their Majeſties, and fixed upon the gates of each of the ſaid towns. And likewiſe that notice be given thereof to the reſpective governors, miniſters, officers, and captains by ſea and land, to the end that due regard be had to this peace, and that none may offend through ignorance; and this ſhall be done after the ratifications be exchanged, as it is expreſſed in the following article.

Laſtly. It is agreed, in caſe any ſhip or ſhips of war in enmity with the King of Great Britain, be in any of the ports of the King of Fez and Morocco, at the ſame time that any of the ſhips belonging to the King of Great Britain's ſubjects are there, that ſuch cruizers ſhall not be permitted to offer any violence to the Engliſh ſhips, nor to ſail after them in forty hours. And be it further agreed, That the peace ſhall commence from the day of the ſigning this treaty; after which none of the ſubjects of His Majeſty of Great Britain ſhall be bought, ſold, or made ſlaves, in any part of the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, on any pretence whatſoever. And the ratification hereof ſhall be exchanged within the ſpace of ſix months, or ſooner if poſſible; and if it ſo happen, that in the mean time any capture ſhould be made on either party to his damage or harm, reparation ſhall be made thereof by the captor, according to the rate at which the ſhips or goods, or both, ſhall appear to have been ſold; and whatſoever part thereof ſhall remain undiſpoſed of, ſhall immediately be reſtored in ſpecie, and the men ſet at liberty. That the peace ſhall be confirmed and ratified in Spaniſh; and ſhall be received and be of equal force, as if it was in the language of either nation.

A Copy of the Paſſes in Engliſh, which the Engliſh Merchant-Ships carry, word for word.

By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. and of all His Majeſty's Plantations, &c.

SUFFER the ſhip of maſter burthen about Tons, mounted with guns, and navigated with men, His Majeſty's ſubjects, built, bound for to paſs with her company, paſſengers, goods, and merchandizes without any lett, hindrance, ſeizure, or moleſtation. The ſaid ſhip appearing unto us, by good teſtimony, to belong to the ſubjects of His Majeſty, and to no foreigners. Given under our hands and ſeal at the office of Admiralty, the day of in the year of our Lord

To all perſons whom this may concern.

Signed and dated in the behalf of the Emperor of Morocco, in the camp of Ceuta, the 13th day of January, 1720, O. S.

By command of the moſt excellent Baſha Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah.

Signed, dated and ſealed by His Britannic Majeſty's plenipotentiary on board of His ſaid Majeſty's ſhip the Dover, in Tetuan Bay, the 17th of January, 1720. O. S.

CHARLES STEWART.

TRAVELS OR OBSERVATIONS,

RELATING TO

BARBARY.

By THOMAS SHAW, D.D. F.R.S.
Vicar of Bramley, Regius Profeſſor of Greek, and Principal of Edmund Hall; in the Univerſity of Oxford.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

THOMAS SHAW, D.D. was born at Kendal, in the county of Weſtmoreland, about 1692. He was educated at the grammar ſchool there, and was admitted Batchelor at Queen's College, Oxford in 1711. He received the degree of Batchelor of Arts, July 5. 1716, and of Maſter of Arts, Jan. 16. 1719.

He afterwards took orders and was appointed Chaplain to the Engliſh Factory at Algiers. He remained there for ſeveral years, and travelled from thence into various parts of the Eaſt. While he was abſent in 1727, he was choſen a fellow of his College, and after his return became Doctor of Divinity, in 1734. He was alſo in that year elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. He publiſhed the firſt edition of his Travels at Oxford, in 1738, in folio. He alſo preſented the Univerſity with ſome natural curioſities, ancient coins and buſts, which he had collected during his travels. Three of the laſt of theſe are engraved in the *Marmora Oxonienſia*. On the death of Dr. Felton, in 1740, he was nominated, by his College, Principal of Edmund Hall, which he raiſed by his munificence from a ruinous condition. He was alſo preſented at the ſame time to the vicarage of Bramley, in Hampſhire, and was Regius Profeſſor of Greek till his death, which took place in 1751.

His travels have been univerſally eſteemed, not only for their accuracy and fidelity, but on account of the illuſtrations they contain of Natural Hiſtory, of the Claſſic authors, and eſpecially of the Scriptures. They were tranſlated into French, and printed in 4to. in 1743, with ſeveral notes and emendations communicated by the author. He publiſhed, two ſupplements to them in 1746 and 1747, the latter addreſſed to Dr. Clayton, Biſhop of Clogher, in Ireland. The contents of theſe were afterwards incorporated in the ſecond edition, which, with great improvements and alterations, were prepared for the preſs by the author. Death put a ſtop to his labours, but the public have reaped the fruit of them. The preſent edition is printed verbatim from this ſecond and improved one, publiſhed in 1757, but corrected in ſeveral

reſpects, particularly in the index to the paſſages of Scripture illuſtrated. Both editions, eſpecially the latter, have become extremely ſcarce, and have ſold at a high price.

The following epitaph on the author was compoſed by Dr. Brown, Provoſt of Queen's College, Oxford, and placed on his monument in Bramley church.

EPITAPHIUM AUCTORIS.

Peregrinationibus variis
Per *Europam*, *Africam*, *Aſiamque*
Feliciter abſolutis,
Et Exuviis mortalibus hic loci
Tandem depoſitis,
Cœleſtem in Patriam remigravit
THOMAS SHAW, *S. T. P.* et *R. S. S.*
Gabrielis Fil. *Kendalienſis*:
Qui
Conſulibus Anglicis apud *Algerenſes*
Primum erat a Sacris;
Mox *Coll. Reginæ* inter Socios aſcriptus;
Aulæ dein *Sancti Edmundi* Principalis,
Ac ejuſdem munificus Inſtaurator;
Linguæ demum *Græcæ* apud *Oxonienſes*
Profeſſor Regius.
De Literis quantum meruit Auctor celebratus,
Edita uſque teſtabuntur Opera,
Pyramidibus ipſis, quas penitius inſpexerat,
Perenniora forſan extitura.

Hic, Studiis etſi ſeverioribus
Indies occupatus,
Horis tamen ſubſecivis emicuit
Eruditus idem et facetus conviva.

Optima quanquam Mentis indole
Et multiplici Scientia inſtructus;
Literatorum omnium, domi foriſque,
Suffragiis comprobatus;
Magnatum Procerumque popularium
Familiari inſignitus Notitiâ;
Nec ſummis in Eccleſiâ Dignitatibus impar;
Fato tamen iniquo evenit,
Ut *Bramleyenſis* obiret *Parœciæ*
Vicarius penè Sexagenarius
XVIII. Cal. Sept. A. D. 1751.

Uxor JOANNA, Ed. *Holden* Arm. Conſulis
Algerenſis olim Conjux, bis Vidua,
M. P.

TO THE KING.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

I BEG leave to approach Your Royal Perſon, with an humble preſent in my hand, after the faſhion of thoſe countries where I have long reſided.

It is a volume of *Travels and Obſervations*, wherein are deſcribed the ſituation, polity, and cuſtoms of various nations; nations unacquainted with liberty, and whoſe government is the very reverſe of Your Majeſty's wiſe and gracious adminiſtration.

I had an opportunity of making theſe obſervations, whilſt I had the honour of being Your Majeſty's chaplain at Algiers. It was in this ſituation that I firſt collected materials for the following ſheets; and ſo extenſive is Your Majeſty's influence, that it procured me ſafety and protection, even in countries remote and barbarous.

A work which owes its riſe, its progreſs, and completion, to theſe aſſiſtances, ſeems, in ſome degree entitled to Your Royal Favour, and is therefore, with all humility, preſented to Your Sacred Majeſty.

Whilſt I was engaged in this undertaking, it was a pleaſing encouragement to conſider, that my well-intended labours were approved by Her late Majeſty; and it did not a little inflame my endeavours, when She was pleaſed to promiſe me the honour of Her Royal Patronage.

But I muſt not preſume to mention private and perſonal favours, when whole ſocieties are indebted to that Illuſtrious Princeſs. Particularly, that ancient Houſe of Learning, of which I have the happineſs to be a member, ſtands diſtinguiſhed by Her Royal Bounty, and owes its beauty and ornament to Her munificence.

If Heaven had ſpared that invaluable life, with what zeal ſhould we have paid repeated acknowledgments to our Royal Benefactreſs! But now — we can only join with thouſands in lamenting the public loſs, and with gratitude tranſmit Her memory to our lateſt ſucceſſors.

That province may long preſerve Your Majeſty, and continue the many bleſſings of Your reign to this church and nation, is the conſtant prayer of,

(May it pleaſe Your Majeſty)

Your Majeſty's moſt humble

And moſt devoted ſervant and ſubject,

THOMAS SHAW.

April 25, 1738.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

PREVIOUS to the prefatory diſcourſe, it may be proper to obſerve wherein this *ſecond edition* of *the Book of Travels and Obſervations* differs from the *firſt*. Firſt of all then, it is printed with ſmaller types, and confined to a ſmaller volume, to be at once more portable and leſs expenſive. In the next place, ſeveral lines and pages which might be looked upon as ſuperfluous or unneceſſary, are here omitted; ſuch as the *excerpta*, as they were called, together with ſeveral of the larger notes and quotations from ancient authors, the references themſelves being only here retained. Some paragraphs likewiſe have been omitted or abridged in the work itſelf, viz. ſeveral

of the geographical obſervations in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis; particularly where neither ancient nor modern hiſtory were more immediately concerned, and where the general ſcheme of theſe geographical inquiries would admit of it. And leſt the greater proficients in botanical learning ſhould regard the *phytographia*, or hiſtory of plants, as more copious than curious, the author has continued ſuch of them only as are the moſt rare, or which have not been hitherto deſcribed. Yet ſuch caution has been every where taken in theſe, and in a few other omiſſions and abridgments of leſs account, that little or nothing material or properly eſſential to the work itſelf ſhould be wanting to this ſecond edition.

Yet what has been thus omitted or abridged, has made room not only for the ſeveral additional diſcourſes and diſſertations that were contained in the ſupplement lately publiſhed to this book, but for a variety alſo of new remarks and obſervations, which were either overlooked in the author's journals and memoirs, or which have occurred to his memory upon the reviſal of them both. And as errors and miſtakes were almoſt unavoidable in a work of this copious nature and ſubject, (ſeveral ſheets whereof, through the great importunity and impatience of the ſubſcribers, might have been too haſtily printed off,) theſe, whether they regard the preſs, or ſome geographical or hiſtorical facts, or whether they relate to numbers or meaſures, or the reaſonings thereupon, as they are, when taken all together, very few, and ſeldom of any conſequence, ſo they have all along, according to their nature and import, and as far as they came to the author's knowledge, been either rectified, altered, or entirely left out. Beſides, that order, method, and connection ſhould be the better preſerved throughout the whole, the particular paragraphs have been ſometimes tranſpoſed, and the general chapters have been ſubdivided into ſections; whilſt the ſtyle itſelf, which might frequently appear too copious and redundant, like thoſe foreign languages which were familiar to the author during his long abſence from his native country, is here, more agreeable to the Engliſh diction at preſent, rendered more terſe and conciſe.

The following pages therefore, with theſe additions, alterations, and improvements, are preſented to the reader, as an eſſay towards reſtoring the ancient geography, and placing in a proper light the natural, and ſometimes civil hiſtory of thoſe countries, where the author has travelled. In purſuance of which deſign, theſe obſervations, of what kind ſoever, whether they regard geography, natural hiſtory, or other miſcellaneous ſubjects, are not blended or mixed together as they chanced to fall in his way, but are ranged under diſtinct heads and diviſions, without repeating, upon every occaſion, the time, the place, or manner wherein they were made.

The repetition of every day's events and occurrences, beſides being frequently tedious, and ſeldom of any importance, could not have been admitted in the following ſheets, without augmenting them to twice their number. Whereas, the author's principal deſign and intent being in a literary way, and with as much brevity as the ſubject would admit of, not barely to amuſe and divert, but to inform and inſtruct the curious reader, to whom alone theſe pages were addreſſed; he has therefore confined himſelf all along, to lay down ſuch obſervations only as he judged were of greater moment and conſequence; ſuch likewiſe as were altogether new, or not ſufficiently explained in other books of travels. And as the greateſt part of theſe obſervations bear a near relation to ſeveral paſſages, cuſtoms, or expreſſions in the claſſic writers, and eſpecially in the ſcriptures, the author has further endeavoured, by comparing thoſe ancient accounts and deſcriptions with theſe his later diſcoveries, to make them receive from, and give to each other, mutual light and illuſtration.

However, as the method of travelling or ſurveying theſe countries, the diet and reception of the traveller, the hardſhips and dangers to which he is expoſed, and other incidents of the like nature, may be looked upon by ſome readers as matters of too great curioſity to be entirely paſſed over and neglected, the author propoſes to ſupply what may be wanting upon that ſubject, by placing here in one view ſuch of the moſt remarkable circumſtances and occurrences as made up the diary-part of his travels.

The reader therefore is, firſt of all, to be informed, that in the ſeveral maritime towns of Barbary and the Levant, where the Britiſh factories are eſtabliſhed, the author was entertained with extraordinary marks of generoſity and friendſhip, having the uſe not only of their houſes, but of their horſes alſo, their janiſſaries and ſervants. But in moſt of the inland towns and villages, particularly of Barbary, there is a houſe ſet apart for the reception of ſtrangers, with a proper officer, called *maharak*, to attend us, where we are lodged and entertained for one night at the expence of the community. Yet even here we ſometimes met with our difficulties and diſappointments; as when theſe houſes are already taken up, or when the *maharak* was not to be found, or when he was inclined to be ſurly and diſobliging; great diſputes, and *ſhamatan*, as they call brawls and diſcord, happening at ſuch times. And as there were no inns or public houſes to entertain us, and private families (contrary to the charitable cuſtom recorded in Job. xxxi. 32. and Matt. xxv. 35.) would never admit us, we had now and then occaſion enough to meditate upon the ſame diſtreſs with the Levite and his company, (Judges xix. 15.) when *there was no man that would take them into his houſe for lodging;* and of the propriety there was to place (1 Tim. v. 10. Heb. xiii. 2.) the lodging and entertaining of ſtrangers among good works.

But when we travel in the open country, at a diſtance from theſe towns and villages, as in Arabia and the greateſt part of Barbary, we are to take our chance, both with regard to our food and our lodgings, as will be hereafter more particular related. As to our food, we were ſometimes provident enough to take care of it, eſpecially in A bia. But to have furniſhed ourſelves with tents in travelling through thoſe deſerts, would have been both cumberſome and expenſive; beſides the ſuſpicion it might have raiſed in the jealous Arabs, that the perſons they belonged to, were of a more than ordinary rank and condition, and conſequently would be too rich and tempting a booty to be ſuffered to eſcape. The unfortunate gentlemen, who were concerned not many years ago in an embaſſy to Abyſſinia, by order of the French King, found this to be too true, at the expence of their lives.

As we ſhall have frequent occaſion, particularly in the deſcription of Barbary, to mention the Kabyles, the Arabs, and the Moors, it will be neceſſary to premiſe, that the Kabyles have generally the appellation of *Beni*, as the Arabs have that of *Welled*, prefixed to the name of their reſpective founders. Both words have the ſame ſignification, and denote the children or offspring of ſuch a tribe: thus, *Beni Raſhid* and *Welled Halfa*, equally ſignify the ſons of Raſhid and the ſons of Halfa; or the *Raſhides* or *Halfides*, as the ancient geographers and hiſtorians would have named them. We may obſerve further, that the Kabyles uſually live upon the mountains, in little villages, called *daſkrahs*, made up of mud-walled hovels (or *gurbies*, according to their own appellation); whereas the Arabs, being commonly the inhabitants of the plains, are therefore called Bedoweens, living, as the Nomades and Scenitæ did of old, in tents; a collection whereof, pitched uſually in a circle, with their doors opening towards Mecca, is called a *douwar*. But the Moors, who are the deſcendents of the ancient inhabitants, the Mauritanians, live all over Barbary, as the Turks likewiſe do, in cities, towns, and villages; habitations more permanent than thoſe of the Arabs, as they are more

more durable than thoſe of the Kabyles. The language of the Moors is the ſame with that of the Arabs; the particular dialects being alike in them both, according to their nearer or more diſtant ſituation from Egypt, where there language is ſuppoſed to be ſpoken in the greateſt propriety and perfection.

If therefore, in the courſe of our travels, we did not fall in with any of the *daſhrahs* of the Kabyles, or with the *douwars* of the Arabs, or with the towns or villages above mentioned, we had nothing to protect us from the inclemency either of the heat of the day, or the cold of the night, unleſs we accidentally fell in with a cave or grove of trees, the ſhelve of a rock, or with ſome ancient arches, that had formerly belonged to ſo many ciſterns. At theſe times, which indeed ſeldom happened, our horſes were the greateſt ſufferers; and as they were always our firſt care, we gathered for them ſtubble, graſs, or boughs of trees, before we ſat down and examined what fragments of ſome former meal were reſerved for ourſelves.

In travelling along the ſea-coaſt of Syria, and from Suez to Mount Sinai, we were in little or no danger of being either robbed or inſulted, provided we kept company with the caravan *, and did not ſtray from it; but a neglect of this kind, through too great an eagerneſs in looking after plants and other curioſities, may expoſe the traveller, as it once did myſelf, to the great danger of being aſſaſſinated. For whilſt I was thus amuſing myſelf, and had loſt ſight of the caravan, I was ſuddenly overtaken and ſtripped by three ſtrolling Arabs; and had not the divine Providence interpoſed in raiſing compaſſion in one, whilſt the other two were fighting for my clothes (mean and ragged as they were), I muſt inevitably have fallen a ſacrifice to their rapine and cruelty. In the Holy Land, and upon the iſthmus betwixt Egypt and the Red Sea, our conductors cannot be too numerous, whole clans of Arabs, from fifty to five hundred, ſometimes looking out for a booty. This was the caſe of our caravan, in travelling (A. D. 1722.) from Ramah to Jeruſalem; where, excluſive of three or four hundred *ſpahees*, four bands of Turkiſh infantry, with the *moſolom*, or general, at the head of them, were not able, or durſt not at leaſt, protect us from the repeated inſults, ravages, and barbarities of the Arabs. There was ſcarce a pilgrim, and we were upwards of ſix thouſand, who did not ſuffer, either by loſing a part of his clothes, or his money: and when theſe failed, then the barbarians took their revenge, by unmercifully beating us with their pikes and javelins. It would be too tedious to relate the many inſtances of that day's rapine and cruelty, in which I myſelf had a principal ſhare, being forcibly taken at Jeremial or Anathoth, as an hoſtage for the payment of their unreaſonable demands, where I was very barbarouſly uſed and inſulted all that night; and provided the aga of Jeruſalem, with a great force, had not reſcued me the next morning, I ſhould not have ſeen ſo ſpeedy an end of my ſufferings.

But in Barbary, where the Arabian tribes are more under ſubjection, I rarely was guarded by more than three *ſpahees* and a ſervant; all of us well armed with guns, piſtols, and ſcimitars; though even here we were ſometimes obliged to augment our numbers, particularly when we travelled either among the independent tribes, or upon the frontiers of the neighbouring kingdoms, or where two contiguous clans were at

* Vox Perſica eſt *carvan*, id eſt, *negotiator*, vel collective negotiatores; ſc. tota eorum cohors ſimul iter faciens, quæ Arabice *caſila* vocatur. Hinc mercatorum hoſpitia publica, quæ Arabibus audiunt *can*, Perſis *carvan ſerâi* nominantur, i. e. *caravanæ hoſpitium*. Nam *ſerai* eſt quævis *domus ampla*; unde in Conſtantinopoli, imperatoris palatium fœminarum Turcis dicitur, nomine Perſico, *ſerai*, Europæis minus bene *ſerail* et *ſeraglio*. Vid. Perits. *Itinera Mundi*, ed. T. Hyde, p. 61. In theſe *cans*, *kanes*, or *caravanſerais*, we can ſometimes purchaſe ſtraw and provender for our horſes, mules, &c. though, generally ſpeaking, they ſupply us barely with a dirty room to lodge in, being built in ſquares, with an area or quadrangle within for the reception of our horſes, &c.

variance.

riance. Theſe, and ſuch like *harammees*, as the free-booters are uſually named in theſe countries, muſt be what the Europeans call wild Arabs; for there is no ſuch name peculiar to any one particular clan or body of them, they being all the ſame, with the like inclinations (whenever a proper opportunity or temptation offers itſelf) of robbing, ſtripping, and murdering, not ſtrangers only, but alſo one another. In proof of this, I need only mention the many heaps of ſtones that we meet with in ſeveral places in Barbary, in the Holy Land, and in Arabia, which have been gradually erected (as ſo many ſigns, Ezek. xxxix. 15.) over travellers thus barbarouſly murdered; the Arabs, according to a ſuperſtitious cuſtom among them, contributing each of them a ſtone whenever they paſs by them. We read of ſomething like this, Joſh. vii. 26. and viii. 29. and 2 Sam. xviii. 17. where great heaps of ſtones are ſaid to be raiſed over Achan, over the King of Ai, and over Abſalom.

However, to prevent as much as poſſible the falling into the hands of theſe *harammees*, the greateſt ſafety for a traveller is to be diſguiſed in the habit of the country, or to be dreſſed like one of his *ſpahees*. For the Arabs are very jealous and inquiſitive, ſuſpecting all ſtrangers to be ſpies, and ſent to take a ſurvey of thoſe lands, which, at one time or other (as they have been taught to fear) are to be reſtored to the Chriſtians.

In our journies betwixt Kairo and Mount Sinai, the heavens were every night our covering; the ſand, with a carpet ſpread over it, was our bed; and a change of raiment, made up into a bundle, was our pillow. And in this ſituation we were every night wet to the ſkin, by the copious dew that dropt upon us, though without the leaſt danger (ſuch is the excellency of this climate) of catching cold. The continued heat of the day afterwards, made us often wiſh that theſe refrigerations could have been hourly repeated. Our camels (for horſes or mules require too much water to be employed in theſe deſerts), were made to kneel down (Gen. xxiv. 11.) in a circle round about us, with their faces looking from us, and their reſpective loads and ſaddles placed behind them. In this ſituation, as they are very watchful animals, and awake with the leaſt noiſe, they ſerved us inſtead of a guard.

As there was no chance of meeting, in theſe loneſome and dreary deſerts of Arabia, with the leaſt hoſpitality or entertainment, we were obliged to carry along with us every thing that was neceſſary for ſo long and tedious a journey. We took care in the firſt place to provide ourſelves with a ſufficient quantity of goats ſkins (the ασκοι, or *bottles*, ſo often mentioned in ſcripture), which we filled with water every four or five days, or oftener if we found it. We laid in a proviſion likewiſe of wine and brandy. Barley, with a few beans intermixed, or elſe the flour of one or other, or of both of them, made into balls with a little water, was the provender of our camels. We provided for ourſelves wheat-flour, rice, biſcuit, honey, oil, vinegar, olives, lentils, potted fleſh, and ſuch things as would keep ſweet and wholeſome during two months, the ſpace commonly taken up in completing this journey. Nor ſhould our wooden baſon and copper pot be omitted; the latter whereof was the neceſſary utenſil for cooking our proviſions, the other for ſerving it up, or kneading therein our unleavened cakes. Theſe two veſſels made up the whole of our kitchen furniture. When we were therefore either to boil or to bake, the camels dung that we found left by ſome preceding caravan (for wood is very ſcarce) was our uſual fuel; which, after being left a day or two in the ſun, quickly catches fire, and burns like charcoal. No ſooner was our food prepared, whether it was potted fleſh, boiled with rice, a lentil ſoup (the *red pottage*, Gen. xxv. 30.) or unleavened cakes ſerved up with oil or honey, than one of the Arabs (*not to eat his morſel alone*, Job xxxi. 17.), after having placed himſelf upon the higheſt ſpot of ground

in the neighbourhood, calls out thrice, with a loud voice, to all his brethren, *the ſons of the faithful*, to come and partake of it, though none of them were in view, or perhaps within a hundred miles of us. This cuſtom however they maintain to be a token at leaſt of their great benevolence, as indeed it would have been of their hoſpitality, provided they could have had an opportunity to ſhew it.

But travelling in Barbary is of a quite different nature. Here we always endeavour to find out the *douwars* of the Arabs (not being fond of viſiting the Kabyles, who are a ſet of ſturdy fellows not ſo eaſily managed), where we are entertained at free coſt, as in the towns and villages above mentioned, and as we read of the *wayfaring man*, Jer. xiv. 8. for the ſpace of one night. For in this country, the Arabs, and other inhabitants, are obliged, either by long cuſtom, by the particular tenure of their lands, or from fear and compulſion, to give the *ſpahees* and their company the *mounah*, as they call it, which is ſuch a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for ourſelves, together with ſtraw and barley for our mules and horſes. Beſides a bowl of milk and a baſket of figs, raiſins, or dates, which upon our arrival were preſented to us, to ſtay our appetites, the maſter of the tent where we lodged fetched us from his flock (according to the number of our company) a kid or a goat, a lamb or a ſheep, half of which was immediately ſeethed by his wife, and ſerved up with *cuſcaſooe*; the reſt was made *kab-ab*, i. e. cut into pieces (μισυλλον is the term, Hom. Il. A. ver. 465.) and roaſted, which we reſerved for our breakfaſt or dinner the next day.

Yet the cold and the dews that we were every night expoſed to, in the deſerts of Arabia, did not incommode us half ſo much as the vermin and inſects of all kinds, which never failed to moleſt us in Barbary. Beſides fleas and lice, which might be ſaid, without a miracle, to be here *in all their quarters*, the apprehenſions we were under, in ſome parts at leaſt of this country, of being bitten or ſtung by the ſcorpion, the viper or the venomous ſpider, rarely failed to interrupt our repoſe, a refreſhment ſo very grateful and ſo highly neceſſary to a weary traveller. Upon ſight indeed of one or other of theſe venomous beaſts, a *thaleb*, or writer, who was one of my *ſpahees*, after he had muttered a few myſtical words, exhorted us all to take courage, and not be afraid of ſuch creatures, as he had made tame and harmleſs by his charms and incantations. We were likewiſe no leſs offended (from whence we might leaſt expect it) by their young kids, lambs, and calves, that are tied up every night under the eaves of their tents, to prevent them from ſucking their dams. For the cords uſed upon theſe occaſions, being made only of yarn looſely ſpun, the fretful creatures are every moment breaking looſe, dropping their dung and trampling upon us.

When we were entertained in a courteous manner (for the Arabs will ſometimes ſupply us with nothing till it is extorted by force), the author uſed to give the maſter of the tent a knife, a couple of flints, or a ſmall quantity of Engliſh gun-powder; which, being much ſtronger than their own, is in great eſteem, and kept chiefly for the priming of their fire-arms. If the *lallah*, or lady, his wife, had been obliging alſo in her way, by making our *cuſcaſooe* ſavoury, and with expedition, ſhe would return a thouſand thanks for a ſkean of thread, or for a large needle, or for a pair of ſciſſars; all of them great rarities, and very engaging preſents with theſe people. An ordinary ſilk handkerchief, of two ſhillings value, was a preſent for a princeſs.

During the exceſſive heats of the ſummer, and eſpecially when we were apprehenſive of being intercepted by the free-booting Arabs, or *harammees*, we then travelled in the night, *which having no eyes*, according to their proverb, few of them dare venture out, as not knowing the unforeſeen and unexpected dangers and ambuſcades which they might poſſibly fall into. At this time, we have frequent opportunities of calling to remembrance

membrance the beautiful words of the Pſalmiſt, Pſal. civ. 20. "Thou makeſt darkneſs that it may be night; wherein all the beaſts of the foreſt do move." The lions roaring after their prey, the leopards, the hyænas, the jackalls, and a variety of other ravenous creatures crying out to their fellows, Iſa. xiii. 22. and xxxiv. 14. (the different ſexes perhaps finding out and correſponding in this manner with their mates), break in very awfully upon the ſolitude, and the ſafety likewiſe, that we might otherwiſe promiſe to ourſelves at this ſeaſon.

Our horſes and camels keep generally a conſtant pace; the latter at the rate of two miles and an half, the other of three geographical miles an hour; ſixty of which miles, according to my calculation, conſtitute one degree of a great circle. The ſpace we travelled over was firſt of all computed by hours, and then reduced into miles, which, in the following obſervations, when Roman is not mentioned, are always to be taken for geographical miles. I alighted uſually at noon to take the ſun's meridian altitude (called by the Arabs, *the weighing of the ſun*), and thereby adjuſt the latitudes; obſerving all along the courſe and direction of our travelling by a pocket compaſs, the variation whereof (A.D. 1727) I found at Algiers to be 14°, and at Tunis 16° to the weſt. Every evening therefore, as ſoon as we arrived at our *connack* *, for ſo the *ſpahees* call the tents, the houſes, or places where we put up, I uſed to examine what latitude we were in, how many hours, and in what direction we had that day travelled, making proper allowances for the ſeveral windings and occaſional deviations that we had made out of the direct road. In our paſſage through the mountains and foreſts, or where the plains were cut through with rivers (for we no where met with hedges, or mounds, or incloſures, to retard and moleſt us), it frequently happened, that when we had travelled eight hours, i. e. twenty-four miles, they were, according to the method above laid down, and as far as longitude or latitude were concerned, to be eſtimated for no more than eighteen or twenty. I found by obſervation the latitude of Algiers, by which that of other places is regulated, to be 3° 32′ 30″ eaſt of London, which, in the maps, is my firſt meridian; according to which, they are all of them laid down and projected. Mr. Sanſon, who attended for many years the viceroy of Conſtantina as his ſlave and ſurgeon, ſupplied me with a great many geographical remarks concerning that province; in the deſcription of which, particularly with regard to Lambeſe, I am likewiſe obliged to the learned and curious Dr. Poiſſonel, who took A.D. 1726, a ſurvey of the greateſt part of the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, at the expence of the French King. In the deſcription of the weſtern portion of the Zeugitania, which the civil wars, A.D. 1727, prevented me from viſiting, I am much indebted to the learned Father Franciſco Ximenes, then the Spaniſh adminiſtradôr at Tunis, who very generouſly communicated to me his notes and remarks, which he had made in his ſeveral journies over thoſe parts. The provinces of Zaab, Wadrang, and the other ſouthern diſtricts of the kingdom of Algiers, are laid down from the repeated accounts which I received of thoſe countries from the inhabitants themſelves;

* *Connac* is at preſent the ſame appellation in the Eaſt with the πανδοχειον and καταλυμα in the Old and New Teſtament, which are rendered inns or *hoſpitia*. But excepting the *caravanſerais*, which may in ſome meaſure anſwer to the πανδοχαι and καταλυματα, (thoſe which I have ſeen were only bare walls), there are, properly ſpeaking, no houſes of entertainment in this country, in the ſenſe at leaſt that we underſtand inns or *hoſpitia*; *viz.* where we can be provided with lodgings, proviſions, and other neceſſaries for our money. For a *connac* denotes the place itſelf only, whether covered or not, where the travellers or caravans halt or break off their journey for a time, in order to refreſh themſelves and their beaſts of burden. Thus the *malon*, or inn, Gen. xlii. 27. and xliii. 21. &c. where the ſons of Jacob opened their ſacks to give their aſſes provender, are no other than one of the like ſtations, which I have deſcribed above in Arabia, *viz.* the place where they themſelves reſted and unloaded their aſſes.

with whom we have frequent opportunities of converſing in almoſt every city of Barbary. And as I rarely found them diſagree in their accounts, I am perſuaded that I have been little, if at all, impoſed upon by them.

The ſeveral names of the places and tribes of theſe kingdoms, are all of them written according to the Engliſh pronunciation, and the force of our own alphabet. The Arabic letters, ا و ى, anſwering to our *i*, *h*, and *w*, make thoſe words (which indeed are very numerous) wherein they occur, to have an eaſier tranſition into our language, than into the French or Italian; and, for the want of the like correſpondent letters, the authors who have deſcribed theſe countries, have generally miſcalled the true Arabic appellations, and thereby rendered them uſeleſs to travellers, as I can ſpeak by experience, in making inquiries after particular places there recorded, by being thus ſtrangely expreſſed in thoſe idioms.

We learn from the Notitia, that there were, at one time or other, more than ſix hundred epiſcopal ſees in Barbary; though, for want of geographical circumſtances, I have not been able to adjuſt the ſituation of more than one hundred of them. And, in examining their ruins, I have often wondered that there ſhould remain ſo many altars and tokens of Pagan idolatry and ſuperſtition, and ſo very few croſſes or other monuments of Chriſtianity. Yet even this may perhaps be well enough accounted for, from that great hatred and contempt which the Saracens have always had for the Chriſtian name, and of their taking all imaginable opportunities to obliterate and deſtroy it; wherein they are further encouraged, by finding not only a number of coins, but large pieces of lead and iron alſo, wherewith the ſtones which they are thus induſtrious to pull down, are bound together. But of theſe coins, I rarely met with any that were either valuable or curious. Such of them as are purely African, or Carthaginian, or carry along with them at leaſt the inſignia and characteriſtics of being ſtruck there or in Sicily, and other of their colonies, may be well accounted the rareſt; not taking the leaſt notice of the Miſſilia, as they are called, of the lower empire, nor of the coins, which are equally common, of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Alexander, Gordianus, and Philippus; in whoſe times theſe parts of Africa appear to have been adorned with the moſt ſumptuous edifices. I have ſome pieces likewiſe of *glaſs money*, found in the ruins of ſuch of their buildings, as were erected by their ſultans, *viz.* Occ'ba and Ben Egib. For theſe, no leſs than thoſe that were erected by their predeceſſors, the Carthaginians and Romans, have been equally ſubject to their changes and revolutions. Theſe coins, of which I have two ſorts, the one of the bigneſs of a farthing, the other of a ſilver two-pence, are flat and plain on the one ſide, and impreſſed on the other with the Mahometan creed, *viz.* "There is no God but God: Mohammed is the apoſtle of God."

But, to return to what was the more immediate deſign of this preface: our ſtages or days journies were not always the ſame. For when any danger was apprehended, we then travelled through as many by-paths as our conductors were acquainted with; riding in this manner, without halting, ſometimes twelve, ſometimes fifteen hours. Nay, in returning from Jeruſalem, ſo vigilant were the Arabs in diſtreſſing the pilgrims, and particularly myſelf, that notwithſtanding we had the *ſheck*, or ſaint, of Mount Carmel, with twenty of his armed ſervants to protect us, we reſted only one hour in two-and-twenty; for ſo long a time we were in travelling, and that very briſkly, betwixt Sichem and Mount Carmel. But in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, an ordinary day's journey, excluſive of the time taken up in making obſervations, rarely exceeded eight or nine hours. Our conſtant practice was, to riſe at break of day, ſet forward with the ſun, and travel till the middle of the afternoon; at which time we began to look

look out for the encampments of the Arabs, who, to prevent ſuch parties as ours from living at free charges upon them, take care to pitch in woods, vallies, or places the leaſt conſpicuous. And indeed, unleſs we diſcovered their flocks, the ſmoke of their tents, or heard the barking of their dogs, it was ſometimes with difficulty if at all that we found them. Here, as was before obſerved, we were accommodated with the *mounah*; and if, in the courſe of our travelling the next day,

> We chanc'd to find
> A new repaſt, or an untaſted ſpring,
> We bleſs'd our ſtars, and thought it luxury.

This is the method of travelling in theſe countries, and theſe are its pleaſures and amuſements; few indeed in compariſon with the many toils and fatigues; fewer ſtill with regard to the greater perils and dangers that either continually alarm, or actually beſet us. And beſides, as the reader will have too frequent occaſion to remark, the diſcoveries we are thus eager to purſue, and which are the occaſion of all this anxiety and labour, how ſeldom is it that they anſwer our expectations? Even theſe larger ſcenes of ruin and deſolation at Jol Cæſarea, Cirta, Carthage, and other of the more celebrated cities in Africa, where we flattered ourſelves to be entertained with ſuch diffuſive ſcenes of antiquity and inſtruction, yet, when we come more nearly to view and examine them, how infinitely do they fall ſhort of what before hand we had conceived in our minds of their beauty and munificence. Inſtead of really diverting or inſtructing us in the manner we apprehended, they have ſometimes produced quite contrary effects, by engaging us at once in a very ſerious turn of thought and meditation. For here we are immediately ſtruck with the very ſolitude of theſe few domes, arches, and porticos that are left ſtanding, which hiſtory informs us, were once crowded with inhabitants; where Scyphax and Maſſiniſſa, Scipio and Ceſar, the orthodox Chriſtians and the Arians, the Saracens and the Turks, have given laws in their turn. Every heap of ruins points out to us the weakneſs and inſtability of all human art and contrivance, reminding us further of the many thouſands that lie buried below them, which are now loſt in oblivion, and forgotten to the world. Whilſt we are full of theſe thoughts and meditations, Chriſtianity ſteps in to our relief, acquainting us that we are only *ſtrangers and pilgrims upon earth; ſeeking a city*, not like theſe, ſubject to the ſtrokes of time and fortune, but *which hath everlaſting foundations, whoſe builder and maker is God*, Heb. xi. 9. &c.

TRAVELS OR OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO BARBARY.

PART I.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE KINGDOM OF ALGIERS.

CHAP. I. — *Of the Kingdom of Algiers in general.*

THE kingdom of Algiers, ſince it became ſubject to the Turks, has been one of the moſt conſiderable diſtricts of that part of Africa, which the latter ages have known by the name of Barbary *. It is bounded to the weſt, with Twunt and the neighbouring

* Africa veteribus proprie dicta, hodie Barbaria quibuſdam vocatur, alias Barbariæ pars. Thuan. Hiſt. l. vii. Moros, Alarbes, Cabayles, y algunos Turcos, todos gente puerca, ſuzia, torpe, indomita, inauil,

ing mountains of Trara; to the south, with the Sahara, or desert; to the east, with the river Zaine, the ancient Tusca; and to the north, with the Mediterranean sea.

Sanson *, in bounding this kingdom with the rivers Mulvia and Barbar, as he calls the Mullooiah and the Zaine, makes it 900 miles from east to west; De la Croix †, 720; Luyts ‡, by reckoning 48½ miles for one degree of longitude, allows it to be about 630: whereas others § make it of a less extent. But according to the exactest observations which I could make myself, or receive from others, I find the true length of this kingdom, from Twunt (which lies 40 miles to the eastward of the Mullooiah) to the river Zaine, to be, a little more or less, 480 miles; the first lying in 0° 16′ W. longitude from London; and the latter, upon whose western banks Tabarka is situated, in 9° 16′ to the east.

There is not the like disagreement among these geographers, in relation to the breadth of this kingdom, though none of them ‖ make it less than 150 miles where it is the narrowest; nor more than 240 where it is the broadest. The breadth indeed, though much short of these accounts, is not every where the same: for near Tlem-san it is not above 40 miles from the Sahara to the sea coast; near the sources of the rivers Sigg, and Shelliff, it is about 60; which, in the western part of this kingdom, may be taken at a medium for the extent of what the Arabs call Tell, *i. e.* land proper for tillage. But, to the eastward of Algiers, the breadth is more considerable; particularly in the meridians of Boujejah, Jijel, and Bona, where it is never less than 100 miles.

With regard to the old geography, Pliny ¶, who is followed herein by Martianus **, makes the breadth alone of the Mauritaniæ to be 467 miles, *i. e.* 300 miles at least more than will agree with that part of this kingdom which answers thereto. The 200 miles likewise, which the same author †† lays down for the particular breadth of Numidia, is nearer the truth, though still with an excess of at least 60 miles. Ptolemy ‡‡, by placing the Mauritania Cæsarienſis between the Malva and the Ampsaga, (or the *Great River*, as it is now called); *i. e.* from long. 11° 10′ to long. 26° 15′, extends that province alone, (by allowing, agreeably to these degrees of longitude, as it has been already observed, 48½ miles to one degree); upwards of 700 miles. And if to these we add 240, *i. e.* the 5° distance, as he makes it, betwixt the Ampsaga and Tabraca, the whole distance betwixt the Malva and Tabraca will be 940 miles, *i. e.* betwixt Twunt and Tabarca 900 miles. Neither must we omit another great error of this author, who, by placing his great promontory, or Cape Hone, as it is now called, in N. lat. 35°, and the Ampsaga in 31° 45′; and so, in proportion of the interjacent places, makes this part of the sea-coast to lie in an E.S.E. direction: whereas the greatest part of it, as far as Rus-acconatter, near Algiers, lies the contrary way, or nearly in a N.E. direction; not to mention other particular places in his tables, relative to them both, which are put 5° or 300 miles further to the S. than they are found to be by observation.

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inauil, inhumana, bestial: y por tanto tuuo porcierto razon, el que da pocos anos aca acostumbro llamar a esta terra, Barbaria pues, &c. D. Haedo de la captiuidad en su Topogr. e Histor. de Argel. p. 126. Vallad. 1612.

* L'Afrique en plusieurs Cartes nouvelles, &c. p. 23. a Paris, 1683.

† Nouvelle Methode pour apprendre le Geogr. Univers. Tom. v. p. 280. a Paris, 1705.

‡ Introd. ad Geographiam, p. 669. Traj. ad Rhenum, 1692.

§ Moll's Geography, Part ii. p. 146. Lond. 1722. Atlas Geograph. vol. iv. p. 182.

‖ The geographical and Roman miles differ, as 60 is to 75½, *i. e.* 60 Geogr. and 75½ Roman miles are equal to 1° of a great circle. Vide Danville's Introd. to Geogr.

¶ Plin. l. v. c. 2.

** Mart. Cap. de duab. Maurit.

†† Plin. l. v. c. 4.

‡‡ Ptol. l. iv. cap. 2.

And

And then again, with regard to the extent of this kingdom, as it is laid down in the Antonine Itinerary, we are to obſerve, that the Portus Cæcili (a few miles only from Twunt, our weſtern boundary) and Tabarca are placed nearly one thouſand Roman, or 800 geographical miles from each other; 100 miles ſhort indeed of Ptolemy's account; though above 300 miles more than the real diſtance betwixt them. But to ſhew, without being too particular at preſent, how cautiouſly this guide or directory is ſometimes to be followed or relied upon, we need only give the reader, in one view, ſome of the more noted places, with their diſtances as they are marked down there, and as they have been found, in the following ſheets, by obſervation, viz.

In the *Itinerary*.	In the following obſervations.
Malva, or, according the preſent name,	*Mullooiah*
From Cæſarea 316 - - -	or *Sherſhell* 263
From Saldis 214 - - -	or *Boujeiah* 200
From Ruſſicade 318. *Cod. Vat. mel.* 117	or *Skigata* 106
From Hippone Regio 215. *Exemp. Bland.* 115	or *Bona* 93
From Carthagine 113. *al.* 193 - -	or *Carthage* 212

But to return to the modern geography of this kingdom, and to deſcribe the further extent of it, we are to obſerve, that the dominion, which the Algerines pretend to beyond the Tell, is very uncertain and precarious: for which reaſon I have fixed the proper boundaries and limits of this kingdom that way, ſometimes upon the northern ſkirts of the Sahara; ſometimes upon the moſt advanced parts of the mountains of Atlas; which, indeed, for the moſt part, coincide with them. Some of the villages indeed of the province of Zaab, and others likewiſe, that have a more diſtant ſituation from Algiers, pay regularly their annual taxes, or at leaſt give ſome tokens of ſubmiſſion to the Turks: but the other communities are all of them independent: whilſt the correſpondent Arabs are ſeldom brought under contribution; being always upon their guard, or at a diſtance: particularly when the Turkiſh armies are abroad to collect the taxes.

The ſouthern part of this kingdom, which I am now ſpeaking of, together with the whole tract of land that lies in that direction between the Atlantic Ocean and Egypt, is called by moſt of the modern geographers, Biledulgerid; or, according to its true name, Blaid el Jeridde, i. e. *The dry country*. Though, if we except the Jerid, a ſmall portion of it, that is ſituated near the Leſſer Syrtis, and belongs to the Tuniſeans; all the reſt of it is known (at leaſt to thoſe Arabs whom I have converſed with) by no other general name than the Sahara, i. e. *The deſert*, as we may interpret it.

Gramage, De la Croix, and other modern geographers divide this kingdom into a great many provinces, according to the ſeveral petty royalties which, at one time or other, it was cantoned into, before and after the time of the Turkiſh conqueſts. But at preſent there are only three, viz. the province of Tlem-ſan, to the weſt; of Titterie, to the ſouth; and of Conſtantina, to the eaſt of Algiers. The Dey appoints over each of theſe provinces, a bey or viceroy, who has a deſpotic power within his juriſdiction; and at the appointed ſeaſons of collecting the tribute, upon a rebellion, inſurrection, or other the like occaſions, is aſſiſted with a body of troops from Algiers.

Thus ſtands, at preſent, the general deſcription and diviſion of this kingdom, which, upon compariſon, will correſpond with the Provincia Nova * or Numidia † of the

* Καισαρ —— τες Νομαδας λαβων ες τε το ὑπηκοον επηγαγε — τα εν τη Λιβυη εθνε ταυτα, το μεν περι την Καρχηδονα (ὁ δη και Αφρικην καλεμεν) παλαιον, ὁτι εκ πολλε κατειργαστο· το δε δη των Νομαδων, νεον, ὁτι νεως ειλητο επωνομασθη. Dion. Hiſt. Rom. l. xliii. p. 345-6. ed. Steph.

† Numidæ poſſedere ea loca, quæ proxuma Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Sal. Bell. Jug. Cantab. 1710. § 21. p. 287. Ad Mauritaniam Numidæ tenent. Id. § 22.

ancients.

ancients. For if we bound it with the river Tuſca * (*i. e.* the *Zaine*) to the eaſt, it will then contain a part of the Africa of Pomponius Mela † and Ptolemy ‡; the Numidia properly ſo called §, or the Numidia of the Maſſyli ‖. And again, as it is bounded to the weſtward with the mountains of Trara, (excepting that ſmall ſpace of it which lies from thence to the Mullooiah, and belongs to the Weſtern Moors) it will take in the other Numidia, viz. the Numidia of Mela ¶, or the Numidia of the Maſſæſyli **: this was called afterwards, when the Romans were in full poſſeſſion of it, the Mauritania Cæſarienſis ††; and, in the middle age, that part of it which lay near the city Sitifi, took the name of Sitifenſis, as we learn from Æthion, Iſidore, and other geographers of that time.

We may well take that remarkable chain of eminences, which ſometimes borders upon the Sahara, and ſometimes lies within the Tell to be the Aſtrixis of Oroſius, the ſame with Mount Atlas, ſo noted in hiſtory. Yet, it may be obſerved, that this mountain is not always of that extraordinary height or bigneſs which has been attributed to it by the ancients, being rarely or ever equal, as far as I have ſeen, to ſome of the greater mountains of our own iſland; and perhaps can no where ſtand in competition either with the Alps, or the Appennines. If we conceive, in an eaſy aſcent, a number of hills uſually of the (perpendicular) height of four, five, or ſix hundred yards, with a ſucceſſion of ſeveral groves and ranges of fruit and foreſt trees growing, one behind another, upon them; and if, to this proſpect, we ſometimes add a rocky precipice of ſuperior eminence and more difficult acceſs, and place upon the ſide or ſummit of it, a mud-walled Daſhkrah of the Kabyles, we ſhall then have a juſt and lively picture of Mount Atlas, without giving the leaſt credit to the nocturnal flames, to the melodious ſounds, or laſcivious revels of ſuch imaginary beings, as Pliny ‡‡, Solinus, and others, have, in a peculiar manner, attributed to it.

It has been remarked by ſome of the old geographers, that theſe mountains were called Dyris and Adiris, or Dyrim and Adderim §§ by the Indigenæ or firſt inhabitants; but have not attempted to give us the ſignification or import of thoſe words. Bochart obſerves ‖‖, that Atlas was called Dyris by the Phœnicians; perhaps from [אדיר] ¶¶

* Plin. l. v. cap. 3, 4. † P. Mel. Africæ Deſcript. c. vii.

‡ Ptolem. Africæ Sit. c. iii. Της δε Λιβυης — εισιν, αι δυο Μαυρεταναι, δυτικωτερα· μεν η Τιγγιτανη, εχομενη δε ταυτης Καισαρηνσια, μεθ' ην η Αφρικη, ειτα η Κυρηναικη, &c. Agathem. l. ii. cap. 5.

§ Plin. ut ſupra. Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 26. Æthic. Coſmog. Lug. Bat. p. 63. Martian Capell. de duabus Maurit. Iſid. c. 5.

‖ Strab. Geog. ed. Caſ. mſt. l. ii. p. 193. & l. xvii. 1188. Cum Syphace Romanis juncta amicitia eſt. Quod ubi Carthaginienſes acceperunt, extemplo ad Galam in parte altera Numidiæ (Maſſyla ea gens vocatur) regnantem, legatos mittunt. Liv. l. xxiv. § 48. Syphax erat rex Numidarum, ibid. Maſſylii regnum paternum Maſaniſſæ læti, ut ad regem diu deſideratum conceſſere. Syphax, pulſis inde præfectis præſidiiſque ſuis, vetere ſe continebat regno, neutiquam quieturus. Id. l. xxx. § 11.

¶ P. Mel. c. vi.

** Vid. Not. 7. Maſaniſſa non in poſſeſſione modo paterni regni eſſet, ſed etiam ſocios Carthaginienſium populos, Maſſæſylorum fines (id Syphacis regnum erat) vaſtaret. Liv. l. xxix. § 32. Maſſæſyli gens affinis Mauris, regionem Hiſpaniæ, maxime qua ſita eſt Carthago nova, ſpectant. Idem. l. xxviii. § 17.

Poſt hos immenſæ Nomadum de ſemine gentes,
Atque Maſæſylii, nec non Maſylia proles. *Priſcian. Perieg.* v. 176-7.

†† Plin. l. v. c. 2. Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 25. Æthic. Coſmog. p. 63. Iſid de Libya, c. 5. Ο Κλαυδιος διεχη της Μαυρους της ὑπηκοους ενειμεν, ες τε τα πεζη Τεγγιν και ες τα πεζη Καισαρειαν (αφ' ὡνπερ και ονομαζονται) και δυο αρχεσιν ιππευσι προσεταξε. Dion. Hiſt. Rom. l. lx. p. 771.

‡‡ Herod. p. 280. ed. Lugd. Bat. Plin. l. v. c. 1. Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 24. Mart. Capell. de Afric.

§§ Strab. l. xvii. p. 1185. Plin. l. v. c. 1. Solin. Polyhiſt. xxiv. Mart. Capell. de Afr.

‖‖ Phil. l. ii. c. 13. ¶¶ Vid. Schindler. Lex. in voce,

Addir, which ſignifies *great* or *mighty*. Upon the ſea coaſt of Tingitania, we find Ruſſadirum, Ρυσσαδιρον, a word of near affinity with it, mentioned by Mela, Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary. The ſame name likewiſe, or Raſaddar, is given at preſent by the Moors to Cape Bon, the Promontorium Mercurii; thereby denoting a large conſpicuous cape, promontory, or foreland. Or rather, as Mount Atlas runs for the moſt part eaſt and weſt, and conſequently bounds the proſpect as well as the agriculture of the Mauritanians and Numidians to the ſouth; we may deduce the names above-mentioned from the aſpect and ſituation of the mountains themſelves, to whom they are attributed. For, among the Moors and Arabs, Dohor ſtill denotes the place or aſpect of the ſun at noon day, as Derem * does the like in the Hebrew. If then we chooſe to call it, not ſimply Dyrim with Strabo and Pliny, but Adderim with Solinus and Martianus; Adderim or Hadderim, by the addition of Had, which denotes a mountain, will ſignify either the great, or elſe the ſouthern eminence, limit or boundary, ſuch as Mount Atlas generally is with reſpect to the Tell, or cultivated parts of this country.

Gætulia †, a part of Ptolemy's Inner Lybia, is laid down in very indefinite terms by the ancients; though by comparing their ſeveral accounts and deſcriptions together, we ſhall find the northern limits thereof to be contiguous to, and frequently to coincide with, the ſouthern limits of the Mauritaniæ and of Numidia. The villages therefore of Zaab, the ancient Zebe, with others ſituated near the parallel of the river Adjedee, will belong to Gætulia properly ſo called; as the Figigians had Beni-Mezzab, and the inhabitants of Wadreag and Wurglah, with their reſpective Bedoween Arabs, (all of them ſituated ſtill further to the ſouthward, and of a ſwarthier race and complexion), may be the ſucceſſors of the ancient Melanogætuli, and of other Libyans, if there were any, who lay nearer the river Niger and the Ethiopians.

So much in general concerning the comparative geography of this kingdom; and, if we come to particular places, Cellarius has already obſerved that the order and ſituation of them is variouſly ſet down by the ancients ‡; and, we may likewiſe add, by the moderns. The reader will ſoon be enough acquainted with this country, to embrace the ſame opinion. And, if the ſituation of ſeveral of the ancient rivers, ports, or cities, may be fixed and ſettled by ſome few names, ruins, or traditions of them that are continued down to our times, he will likewiſe have further occaſion to complain of the want of accuracy and correctneſs both in the old and the later geography.

No apology, we preſume, need be made for the little amuſement and entertainment, which ſome readers may receive from theſe or other of our geographical inquiries. Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, thoſe celebrated maſters in this branch of literature, have given us the pattern, which we have all along endeavoured to follow and imitate: with what ſucceſs, muſt be left to the judgment and deciſion of thoſe alone who are acquainted with, and take delight in theſe ſtudies.

* דרם *Auſter, Meridies: Plaga meridioralis:* ſic dicta quaſi דר רום *Habitatio alta:* quod Sol in iſta plaga altius incedat. Schind. in voce Targ. Jonath. Joſh. x. 40.

† Libyes propius mare Africum agitabant: Gætuli ſub Sole magis, haud procul ab adoribus, hique mature oppida habuere. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 21. p. 286. Super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus, partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare: poſt eos Æthiopas eſſe. Id. § 22. p. 291. Υποκεινται δε τας μεν Μαυρεταναις ἡ Γαιτελια. Ptolem. l. iv. c. 6. Strab. l. xvii. p. 1182. 1185. 1192.

——Tergo Gætulia glebam
Porrigit, et patulis Nigritæ finibus errant. *Ruf. Feſt.* l. 321.

‡ Multa in Mauritania turbata et confuſa videntur, quod ad loca ſingula demonſtrabimus. Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. l. iv. cap. 5. p. 126.

CHAP. II. — *Of that Part of the Mauritania Cæſarienſis, which belongs to the Tingitanians or Weſtern Moors.*

AS the Mauritania Cæſarienſis extended itſelf as far as the river Malva, I ſhall begin the account I am to give of it from that river.

The Malva then, Malua, Μαλαα, or Mul-looiah, (according to the pronunciation of the Moors) is a large and deep river, which empties itſelf into the Mediterranean Sea, over-againſt the bay of Almeria in Spain. It lies, as was before obſerved, about 40 miles to the weſtward of Twunt, and 240 miles from the Atlantic Ocean. Small cruiſing veſſels are ſtill admitted within its channel, which, by proper care and contrivance, might be made ſufficiently commodious, as it ſeems to have been formerly, for veſſels of greater burden. The ſources of it, according to Abulfeda, are a great way within the Sahara, at the diſtance of 800 miles; and the whole courſe of it, contrary to moſt of the other rivers, lies nearly in the ſame meridian.

The Mullooiah therefore, as it appears to be the moſt conſiderable river in Barbary, ſo it is by far the fitteſt for ſuch a boundary, as the ancient geographers and hiſtorians have made it, betwixt Mauritania and Numidia; or betwixt the Mauritania Tingitana and Cæſarienſis, as they were afterwards called. The ſame river likewiſe, by comparing together the old geographers, will appear to be the Molochath and the Mulucha; for both theſe names have no ſmall affinity with the Mullooiah, or Mul-uhhah, the true original name perhaps of the Malva, or Μυλαα. The ſame boundary likewiſe between the Mauri and the Maſſæſyli, which is by Strabo * aſcribed to the Molochath, is by Salluſt †, Mela ‡, and Pliny §, aſcribed to the Mulucha. As then the Mauritania Cæſarienſis, which extended to the Malva, was the ſame with the country of the Maſſæſyli, which likewiſe extended to the Molochath or Mulucha; the Malva, Molochath, and Mulucha muſt be the ſame river with the preſent Mullooiah.

Three little iſlands, where there is good ſhelter for ſmall veſſels, are ſituated to the N.W. of the river, at the diſtance of ten miles. Theſe are the Tres Inſulæ of the Itinerary ‖.

Six leagues further to the eaſtward is the village of Seedy ¶ Abdelmoumen, one of the tutelar marab-butts or ſaints of this country, whoſe tomb they have here in the greateſt veneration. Below it, there is a ſmall but commodious road for veſſels, which the row-boats of this country frequently touch at; as they do likewiſe at Maiſear-da, a little beyond it to the eaſt. This, which is another of the leſſer maritime villages of Barbary, from whence a great quantity of grain is often ſhipped for Europe, is made up,

* Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1183.

† Haud longe a flumine Muluchæ, quod Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungebat, &c. Sal. Bell. Jugurth. Cantab. 1710. § 97. p. 471. Gætulorum magna pars et Numidæ ad flumen uſque Mulucham ſub Jugurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat. Id. § 22. p. 292. Ego flumen Mulucham quod inter me et Micipſam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare ſinam. Bocchi Orat. Id. § 118. p. 524. Ad Mauritaniam Numidæ tenent: proxume Hiſpaniam Mauri ſunt. Id. § 22. p. 291. Pauci ad Regem Bocchum in Mauritaniam abierant. Id. § 66. p. 398.

‡ P. Melæ Afr. deſcript. cap. 5. in fine. § Plin. l. v. cap. 2.

‖ Ptol. l. iv. c. 2. in princip.

¶ Seedy or (Cid) as the Spaniſh hiſtorians write it (which we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention), is the ſame word of reſpect amongſt the Moors and Arabs, that *ſir*, *maſter*, or *lord*, is amongſt us; but which they

up, like thoſe in the inland country, in a careleſs ſlovenly manner, with mud, ſtone, timber, hurdles, and ſuch materials, as are not the moſt durable, but the moſt eaſily procured. The firſt of theſe villages was probably the Lemnis of the Itinerary.

The Tingitanians have upon the banks of the Mullooiah, in the road betwixt Fez and Tlem-ſan, a well fortified caſtle, with a garriſon of a thouſand men. They have another at El-Joube, i. e. the ciſterns, 20 miles further to the eaſtward. In the wars betwixt the late Muley Iſhmael and the regency of Algiers, they were both of them of the greateſt conſequence; as they ſtill continue to be very ſerviceable in awing the Ang-gadd and other factious clans of Arabs, inhabitants unworthy of ſo delicious and fruitful a country.

Wooje-da, the Guagida of Leo, is the frontier town of the Weſtern Moors, and lies about the half way betwixt El-Joube and Tlem-ſan.

To the ſouthward is the deſert * of the Ang-gadd, whoſe numerous and warlike offspring extend their hoſtilities and encampments to the very walls of Tlem-ſan; and to the northward, nearer the ſea, we have, together with a celebrated intermitting fountain, the mountainous and rugged diſtrict of Beni Zeneſſel, (or Jaſneten, as Leo calls them), a no leſs powerful tribe of Kabyles; who, ſecure in their numbers and ſituation, have not hitherto ſubmitted to the Tingitanians. Ptolemy's Chalcorychian mountains, the ſeat of the ancient Herpiditani, had probably this ſituation.

We ſhould not leave Tingitania, without obſerving, that, during the long reign of the late Muley Iſhmael, theſe, no leſs than the other diſtricts more immediately influenced by the capital, were under ſuch ſtrict government and regulation, that, notwithſtanding the number of Arabs who are every where in the way, intent, every one of them, upon plunder and rapine, yet a child (according to their manner of ſpeaking) might ſafely carry a piece of money in his open hand from one end of the kingdom to another, whilſt the merchant travelled with his richeſt commodities, from one fair and ſea-port to another, without the leaſt danger or moleſtation.

CHAP. III. — *Of that Part of the Sea Coaſt of the Mauritania Cæſarienſis, called at preſent the Weſtern Province, or the Province of Tlemſan.*

LEAVING Maiſearda and Woojeda at ſome diſtance to the weſtward, we enter upon Twunt and the mountains of Trara; a beautiful knot of eminences, which furniſh the markets of Tlemſan with all manner of fruit. Theſe are the confines of this province to the weſt, as the river Ma-ſaffran, at near 200 miles diſtance to the eaſt. The whole of it is almoſt equally diſtributed into mountains and valleys; and, were it better ſupplied with rivers and fountains, it would be more delightful, as it was in the time of Salluſt

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they attribute in a higher degree to their mar-rab-butts, as they call ſuch perſons who are or have been remarkable for any extraordinary ſanctity of life, or auſterity of manners. Theſe mar-rab-butts (whom I ſhall have frequent occaſion likewiſe to mention) are uſually buried under a little vaulted roof, (or cubba, as they call it; from whence our cupola), having their tombs painted and adorned with beads, ribbons, and ſuch like trinkets. A number of theſe ſanctuaries are diſperſed all over Barbary, and are uſually places of refuge: where there is kept up great hoſpitality, eſpecially for pilgrims and perſons in diſtreſs. In the Levant, theſe ſaints are called ſhecks, which word properly ſignifies *elders*.

* By deſert or wilderneſs, the reader is not always to underſtand a country altogether barren and unfruitful, but ſuch only as is rarely or ever ſown or cultivated; which, though it yields no crops of corn or fruit, yet affords herbage more or leſs for the grazing of cattle; with fountains or rills of water, though more ſparingly interſperſed than in other places. The wilderneſs or deſert where our Saviour was tempted, with ſeveral others mentioned in Scripture, was of this nature and quality.

(Bell. Jug. p. 278.) accounted a more fertile and populous diſtrict than the eaſtern part of this kingdom.

It will be difficult, from the uniformity and the little interruption there is among the mountains of this province, to diſtinguiſh that particular chain of them, which may be taken for the continuation of Mount Atlas; a point of geography that muſt be always regarded. However, as the mountains of Sachratain behind Tlem-ſan, lie the neareſt to the Sahara, and are continued, quite through this province, by thoſe of Sout el Tell, Tafarowy, Ellcalla, Benizerwall, Elcadara, and Miliana; theſe, I preſume, as they are all along remarkably conſpicuous, from the great number and variety of plains which lie on each ſide of them, ſo they ſeem to lay the greateſt claim to that celebrated ridge of mountains.

About 14 miles from Twunt, the mountains of Trara ſtretch themſelves into the ſea, and make one of the longeſt and moſt conſpicuous forelands to the eaſtward of the Mullooiah. It is called at preſent, Cape Hone, Ras Hunneine, and Mellack; and was the μεγα ακρωτηριον, or the Great Promontory of Ptolemy. The meridian of London, which likewiſe, in laying down the maps, is our firſt meridian, falls in pretty nearly with this cape.

Six leagues to the E. of this cape, is the mouth of the river Tafna, the ancient Siga *, made up of the Iſſer, the ancient Aſſanus, the Barbata, and other ſmaller rivulets. On the weſtern banks are ſeveral ancient ruins, called Tackumbreet; where the city Siga, or Sigeum, once the metropolis of Sciphax, and other Mauritanian Kings, was ſituated. We may well imagine, that from the moſt early times, great encouragement muſt have been given to trade and navigation, in as much as theſe princes choſe this for their place of reſidence, which has no beautiful proſpects or fertility of ſoil to recommend it; which likewiſe, from the influx and frequent inundations of the adjacent rivers, is far from being the moſt wholeſome and agreeable. Whe Wool-haſa are inhabitants of this neighbourhood.

Over againſt Tackumbreet, there is a ſmall iſland, the Acra of the ancient geography. This forms the port of Harſhgoone; where veſſels of the greateſt burden may lie in ſafety.

Five leagues from the Tafna, is the mouth of the Wedel Mailah, i. e. *the ſalt river*. This was the Flumen ſalſum of the itinerary; the ſame appellation, expreſſive of the ſaline quality of its water, having been given to it in all ages, and by all authors; yet, notwithſtanding this circumſtance, ſuch is the want of good water in the neighbourhood, that the Arabs, by long cuſtom and habit, are reconciled to the taſte, and drink it without reluctance.

The Si-nan, the moſt conſiderable of the brooks which fall into the Wed † el Mailah, has its ſources at no greater diſtance than the ſouthern confines of the plains

* Scylac. Perip. p. 46. edit. Oxon. Ptol. Geogr. l. iv. c. 2. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. v. c. 2.

† El Marques [de Comares] le [el Barbarroja] alanço ocho leguas de Tremecen, antes de paſſar a un grande rio que ſe dize Huexda. [*I ſuppoſe a corruption only of Wed*] Barbarroja q vido al Marques a ſus eſpaldas y tan cerca que ya venian los Chriſtianos rebueltos con ſus Turcos matando y degollando, dava ſe prieſſa por paſſar en todo caſo el rio y ſalvarſe. Y para mejor lo poder hazer y entretener al enemigo, uſo de un lindo eſtratagema de guerra (ſi lo huuiara con otra gente) porque mando ſembrar muchos vaſos de oro y de plata, muchas joyas y mucha moneda de que yuan todos cargados, con muchas otras coſas, y ropas muy precioſas: pareciendole que topando los Chriſtianos con eſto, la cobdicia los harta entretener, para cogerlo, y anſi tendria tiempo para el y ſus Turcos poder huyr y paſſar aquel rio a ſu ſalvo. &c. Epitome de les Reges de Argel. c. i. 11. p. 54. p. Diego de Haedo, &c. Valladolid. 1612. Pour les [Chriſtiens] arreſter il laſſoit couler de tems en tems de l'or et de l'argent par le chemin. Marmol. l. v. c. 11. p. 341.

of

of Zei-doure. It glides in a variety of beautiful windings through this fruitful diſtrict, and is known, as moſt of the rivers of this country are, by ſeveral names, according to the remarkable places, that are viſited by them. It was near the banks of this river, which might be occaſionally ſwelled, where the elder Barbaroſſa ſtrewed about his treaſure, when he was purſued by the victorious Spaniards; his laſt, though ineffectual effort to retard the purſuit of his enemies. The Wed el Mailah, a little after it is united with the Si-nan, diſcharges itſelf into the Harſh-goone.

Paſſing by the two iſlands Ha-beeba, the leſſer of which lies over-againſt the Wed el Caſaaph, or river of Canes, a ſmall ſtream, we double Cape Falcon, as our mariners call it; or, as it is called by the Moors, Ras el Harſhfa, *i. e.* The rugged head-land. When I paſſed by this Cape, in the month of December, ſeveral plats of ground on each ſide of it were ſown with wheat and barley; but the promontory itſelf appeared to be rocky and barren. It may be diſputed therefore, from theſe tokens of fertility in the adjacent country, whether this is the Metagonium of Strabo, as it has been taken by ſome modern geographers. For though the ſituation indeed may be oppoſite to Carthagene, or Carthago Nova, yet the diſtance being little more than 90 miles, is not one-third part of Strabo's three thouſand furlongs. There is on the eaſtern ſide of this Cape, a fine ſandy bay, expoſed only to the N. E. winds; which the Moors call the port of Ras el Harſhfa; where the Spaniards landed, with little moleſtation, in their late fortunate expedition (A. D. 1732) againſt Oran.

Two leagues farther, is the Mers' el Keeber, *i. e.* the Portus Magnus or Great Port of the Romans; ſo named, as Pliny has juſtly obſerved, from the largeneſs and capacity of it. This port, which in the Spaniſh hiſtory is called (by a corruption of the Arabic name) Mer el Guiver, or Mers' el Cabir, is formed by a neck of land, which advances almoſt a furlong into the bay, and thereby ſecures it from the N. and N. E. winds. The caſtle, built for the defence of it, was more remarkable when I ſaw it, for ſpaciouſneſs and extent, than for ſtrength and beauty; though a great part of it, particularly to the W. was, with great art and contrivance, hewn out of the natural rock.

The author of the Itinerary aſſigns 107 Roman miles for the diſtance between this port and the Flumen Salſum; whereas, in fact, it will not amount to 60. For if we take the Mers' el Kebeer for the Portus Magnus of the ancients, and the Wed-el Mailah for the Salſum Flumen, (as the tradition of the ſame appellations, from time immemorial, may be a ſufficient proof), we ſhall have in them a clear demonſtration, how little we are, in ſome inſtances, to depend upon the diſtances and ſituations of places as they are tranſmitted down to us from antiquity.

Five miles to the S. E. of the Great Port, and 54 to the N. N. E. of Tlemſan, is Warran *, commonly called Oran, a fortified city of about a mile in circumference. It is built upon the declivity, and near the foot of a high mountain, which overlooks it from the N. and N. W. and, upon the ridge of this mountain, there are two caſtles, that command the city on the one ſide, and the Mers' el Kebeer, on the other. To the S. and S. E. there are two caſtles, erected upon the ſame level with the lower part of the city, but are ſeparated from it by a deep winding valley, which ſerves

* Oranum variis nominibus vocatur a recentioribus, nam alii Madaurum, alii Aeram, Auranum nonnulli vocant; Afri hodie Guharan appellant. Omnia autem hæc nomina locum acclivem, [from *Wah-ar*, we may ſuppoſe, that ſignifies *a place very difficult to be come at*] et ventis expoſitum ſignificant. Gomecius de rebus geſtis Fr. Ximenii. l. iv. p. 1022. Franc. 1603. ☞ *Mutmeraut.* Fovea ſubterranea, crypta, in qua frumentum reconditur. Vid. Gol. in voce. *A pit under ground, wherein the Arabs depoſite their corn.*

it

it as a natural trench on the S. ſide; where likewiſe, at a little diſtance, there is a very plentiful ſpring of excellent water. The rivulet formed by this fountain conforms its courſe to the ſeveral windings of the valley; and, paſſing afterwards under the walls of the city, liberally ſupplies it with water. We ſee, at every opening of the valley, ſuch a pleaſingly confuſed view of rocky precipices, plantations of orange trees, and rills of water trickling down from them, that nature rarely diſplays herſelf in a greater variety of proſpects and cool retreats. Near the fountain, there is alſo another caſtle, which not only guards the Mattamores that are dug under the walls of it, but is, at the ſame time, an important defence to the city. From all theſe circumſtances, Oran muſt undoubtedly be a place of great ſtrength, as well by nature as art, much more tenable than Algiers; neither could it have been ſo eaſily taken, if an unaccountable panic had not ſeized upon the Bey, otherwiſe a very valiant man, in abandoning it, upon the firſt landing of the Spaniards, without ſhutting the gates, or ſhewing the leaſt preparation to oppoſe them.

The Spaniards, when they were firſt maſters of the place, built ſeveral beautiful churches, and other edifices, in the manner and ſtyle of the Roman architecture, though of leſs ſtrength and ſolidity. They have imitated the Romans further, in carving upon the frizes, and other convenient places of them, ſeveral inſcriptions, in large characters, and in their own language.

I met with no Roman antiquities at Warran, or at Geeza, a ſmall village, within half a furlong of it to the W. The latter has no ſmall affinity with the Quiza [*Colonia*] of the ancients, which is placed by them immediately after the Great Port; and therefore not far, as we may conjecture, from this poſition.

Pliny fixes his Mulucha, and Ptolemy his Chylemath, (both which have been already treated of) betwixt Quiza and the Great Port. In travelling indeed betwixt the Great Port and Warran, we paſs over a very ſmall rill of water, which has its ſources at a furlong's diſtance from the ſea; but there is no river, properly ſo called, nearer than the Wed el Mailah, on the one ſide, or the Sigg, on the other. This river therefore which has hitherto ſo much perplexed the ancient as well as the modern geography, appears to be altogether imaginary; eſpecially in this ſituation, where we are directed to look after it.

Leaving the little village of the Caraſtel, a clan of Kabyles, on our right hand, we arrive at Cape Ferrat, the Meſaff of Edriſi. This promontory is remarkable for a high rock, which, ſtanding out at a ſmall diſtance from it, in the ſea, aptly repreſents a ſhip under ſail.

Twelve miles to the S. S. E. of this cape, is the port of Arzew, called by the Moors the port of the Beni Zeian, after the name of the neighbouring Kabyles, who were formerly a conſiderable community. It is of the ſame figure, though more capacious than the Great Port: and, according to the liberty of expreſſion in the former ages, might much better deſerve the epithet of *divine*, than the ports I have mentioned, at Ras el Harſh-fa. Ptolemy, we are ſure, ſituates his Deorum Portus betwixt Quiza and Arſenaria; which can be no other than this, provided Geeza or Warran is the ancient Quiza, as Arzew is, without doubt, the ancient Arſenaria.

Arzew is at the diſtance of three Roman miles from this port, as Pliny places his Arſenaria. The country, for ſome miles behind it, is made up of rich champain ground: but towards the ſea we have a range of ſteep rocks and precipices, which muſt have been always a natural ſafeguard to it, in that direction. The water which the inhabitants uſe at preſent lies lower than the ſea; a circumſtance that may account for

the brackiſhneſs of it. However, to ſupply it, as we may well imagine, with wholeſome water, the old city was formerly built upon ciſterns, of which ſeveral ſtill remain and ſerve the inhabitants to dwell in. A great many capitals, baſes, ſhafts of pillars, and other ancient materials, lie ſcattered all over the ruins. A well finiſhed Corinthian capital of Parian marble ſupports the ſmith's anvil; and in the Kaide's houſe, I accidentally diſcovered a beautiful Moſaic pavement, through the rents of a ragged carpet that was ſpread over it. Several ſepulchral inſcriptions likewiſe, with the names of Regulus, Saturninus, and Gandus, ſtill remain in a Hypogeum, fifteen feet ſquare, built very plain, without either niches or columbria.

Five miles from the ſea coaſt are the ſalt pits of Arzew, from whence the neighbouring communities are ſupplied with ſalt. This commodity, from the facility of digging it, the ſhortneſs afterwards of the carriage, and the advantage of the adjacent port, would, under any other than a Turkiſh government, be a branch of trade as invaluable, as the pits themſelves are inexhauſtible.

Under ſome ſteep rocky cliffs, five miles to the E. of Arzew, we paſs by two little ports; one of which opens towards Muſty-gannim, the other towards the port of Arzew. Both ſeem to have been protected by one and the ſame fort, that is ſituated above them; as they were both very conveniently ſupplied with water by a ſmall conduit from an adjacent mountain.

At a little diſtance from theſe ports, the river Sigg, or Sikke, empties itſelf into the ſea. This might well be taken for the ancient Siga, provided an affinity in ſound was only to direct us; provided likewiſe the old geographers had not been unanimous in placing it further to the W. where we have the river Tafna. As therefore the fertile plains of Midly, through which it flows may be conſidered as a large garden, cantoned out into a number of partitions; and, as each of theſe partitions has a branch, *rivus* * or *incile* of the Sikke, always ready to overflow it; we may deduce the name rather from *Sikk*, or *Sakeah*, whereby the Arabs ſignify ſuch artificial drains and trenches, as this river, upon occaſion, may be derived into.

The Habrah, another conſiderable river, falls into the Sigg. It is ſo called from a numerous tribe of Arabs who live upon the banks of it. The conflux of the Sigg and Habrah from a ſtream as big as the Charwell, near Oxford; the mouth whereof is called El-muckdah, or *the Ford*; which, except in the rainy ſeaſon, is entirely drunk up by the ſand, and leaves the paſſage without water. This, in all probability, was the Cartennus of Ptolemy.

Maſagran, or Mazachran, a ſmall mud-walled town, is ſituated upon the weſtern declivity of a range of hills 12 miles to the N.E. of the Cartennus, and within a furlong of the ſea. The name ſeems to denote a place abounding with water †; a circumſtance indeed which very juſtly correſponds with the ſituation.

Muſty-gannim, the adjacent city, ſo called from the ſweetneſs of the mutton that is fed in that neighbourhood, is built in the form of a theatre, with a full proſpect of the ſea; but, in every other direction, it is cloſed up by a round of hills that hang over it. It is ſomewhat bigger than Warran, and takes place after Tlem-ſan, among the cities of

* Incilia, foſſæ ſunt quæ in agris fiunt ad aquam deducendam; dicuntur et derivationes de Rivo communi factæ. Vid. Columel. in voce *Incilia*.

Claudite jam rivos, pueri, ſat prata biberunt. Vir. Ecl. iii. v. 111.

† Vid. Gol. in voce *Sajir* (aqua implevit, ſc. fluvium) et *Zakhir* (exundavit alveus).

this

this province. The inhabitants have a tradition (and ſome vacant ſpaces ſeem to confirm it), that the preſent Muſty-gannim is made up of ſeveral contiguous villages. In the middle of it, near one of theſe vacancies, are the remains of an old Mooriſh caſtle, erected, as appears from the faſhion of it, before the invention of fire arms. The N. W. corner, which overlooks the port, ſuch an unſafe one as it is, is ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall of hewn ſtone, where there is another caſtle built in a more regular manner, with a Turkiſh garriſon to defend it. But Muſty-gannim being too much expoſed to every troop of Arabs, who have the courage to make themſelves maſters of the hills behind it, the principal ſtrength and defence of it lies in a citadel, that was lately erected upon one of theſe eminences, and which has a full command of the city and of the country round about it.

In travelling betwixt Maſagran and Muſty-gannim, we are entertained with the proſpect of a number of gardens, orchards, and country-ſeats, that are ranged, in a beautiful variety, all along the ſea-ſhore. A chain of hills bounds theſe to the S. and S. E. which not only ſhelters them from the hot ſcorching winds, that ſometimes blow in thoſe directions, but break out every where in fountains to cheriſh and refreſh them. The Alhenna, which I ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak of, is here cultivated to advantage.

The ſtrength and beauty, particularly of the walls of Muſty-gannim, to the N. W. may well allow us to ſuppoſe them to have been formerly a portion of ſome Roman fabric. For both Muſty-gannim and Maſagran are ſo copiouſly ſupplied with water; they are ſo commodiouſly ſituated with regard to the fertile and extenſive lawns that are ſpread far and near behind them; they enjoy beſides ſuch a delightful proſpect of the ſea, and of the rich maritime country, that lies in view to a great diſtance on each ſide; that, without doubt, they were ſtations too valuable to have been neglected by the Romans. Pliny and Ptolemy place their Cartenna in this direction; and, in the Itinerary, we have the ſame diſtance betwixt Arſenaria and Cartenna, that I find betwixt Arzew and theſe places. One or other of them, therefore, or both, might have formerly made up this colony; for, conſidering that their ſituations are nearly contiguous, and that the interjacent plantations belong indifferently (as they perhaps always did) to them both, there is ſome probability at leaſt that they had likewiſe the ſame intereſt, and were accordingly one and the ſame community under the name Cartennæ, as Ptolemy writes it in the plural.

Under Jibbel Diſs, or Cape Ivy (according to our modern ſea charts) betwixt the encampments of the Bookhammel and the Magrowah, at 15 miles from Muſty-gannim, is the mouth of the river Shelliff, the Chinalaph of the old geography. This is the moſt noted, as well as one of the largeſt rivers of this kingdom. When I croſſed it in Autumn, it was nearly of the bigneſs of the Iſis, united with the Cherwell. Abulfeda aſcribes to the Sheliff the ſame property with the Nile, of augmenting its ſtream in the ſummer ſeaſon; but I am perſuaded, the leaſt occaſion could never have been given for any conſtant or regular appearance of that kind. The ſources of it, which are 70 miles to the S.E. are called Sebbeine Ain, i. e. *the ſeventy fountains*; and a little way to the northward is the Nahar (i. e. *river*) Waſſel, the firſt tributary rivulet to the Shelliff. In ſtretching afterwards towards the N.E. it receives the Midroe ſo called from a diſtant Gætulian village, now in ruins. Tuckereath, the ancient Tigava, lies near the W. banks of the Midroe. The Shelliff continuing ſtill in the ſame direction, loſes itſelf in the Pond of Titterie (or Titterie Gewle, according to the Turkiſh name); and, recovering itſelf afterwards, runs directly towards the ſanctuary of Seedy ben Tyba, a little below the

city of Medea. From hence it runs all the way nearly in the ſame parallel with the ſea coaſt, receiving all along ſeveral large contributions, which will be hereafter taken notice of. The whole courſe of the Shelliff, from the Sebbeine Ain to Jibbel Diſs, i. e. *the mountain of ſpartum*, or *reedy graſs*, is little ſhort of 200 miles.

After we have touched at the Zour el Hamam, i. e. *the Pigeon Iſland*, and paſſed under the ſhade of Jibbel Miniſs, a mountain of ſalt, the rich poſſeſſion of the Weled Younouſe, we come to Tniſs or Tennis, which has a low dirty ſituation, (as the name, from טִין *mud*, may probably import) at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea. Before the Turkiſh conqueſts, it was the metropolis of one of the petty royalties of this country, though a few miſerables hovels are all that remains of it at preſent. A little brook runs winding by it, which afterwards empties itſelf into the ſea, over againſt a ſmall adjacent iſland. Tniſs has been long famous for the many loadings of corn which are ſhipped off from thence to Chriſtendom; but the anchoring ground (for harbour we cannot call it) that lies before it, being too much expoſed to the north and weſt winds, is the occaſion that veſſels are frequently caſt away, (as they are likewiſe at Hammoſe, Magrowa, and other dangerous roads on this ſide the Shelliff,) unleſs they fall in with a ſeaſon of calm weather.

Sanſon, with other geographers, make Tniſs to be the ancient Jol, or Julia Cæſarea; though the iſland which I have mentioned ſeems to be the only circumſtance in favour of that opinion.

The Moors have a tradition, that the Tniſſians were formerly in ſuch reputation for ſorcery and witchcraft, that Pharaoh ſent for the wiſeſt of them to diſpute miracles with Moſes. It is certain, that they are the greateſt cheats of this country; and are as little to be truſted to as their road. Hammet Ben Uſeph, a late neighbouring Ma-rab-butt, has left us this rhapſodical character both of the place and its inhabitants:

Tennis;		*Tennis*
Mabaneah ali dennis;		*Is built upon a dunghill;*
Mawah Shem;		*The ſoil of it is ſtinking;*
Ma dim;	*i. e.*	*The water of it is blood;*
Wa howa ſim;		*And the air is poiſon;*
Wa Hamet Ben Uſeph ma dukkul thime.		*And Hammet Ben Uſeph did not come there.*

Nakkos, the large adjacent promontory, formerly the Promontorium Apollinis of Ptolemy, is ſo called from a grotto that is formed below it in the ſhape of a bell. In advancing towards this cape from the coaſt of Spain, it appears like the head of a wild boar. We fall in afterwards with ſeveral little iſlands, where there is good ſhelter for ſmall veſſels; and upon the continent over againſt them, are the Daſhkrahs of the Beni Headjah and Beni Howah. A little further to the S. are the Goryah and other troubleſome Kabyles, which have below them, upon the coaſt, Dahmuſs and Breſk, formerly two cities of the Romans.

Sherſhell, the next place of note, was the Jol, or Julia Cæſarea, ſo famous in hiſtory. When I ſaw it (A. D. 1730) it was in great reputation for making ſteel, earthen veſſels, and ſuch iron tools as are wanted in the neighbourhood; but a few years afterwards (1738), it was entirely thrown down by an earthquake. The ruins upon which this town was ſituated, are not inferior in extent to thoſe of Carthage; and we may likewiſe conceive no ſmall opinion of its former magnificence, from the fine pillars, capitals, capacious ciſterns, and beautiful Moſaic pavements that are every where remaining.

The water of the river Hashem, according to its present name, was conducted hither through a large and sumptuous aqueduct, little inferior to that of Carthage in the height and strength of its arches; several fragments of it, scattered among the neighbouring vallies to the S. E. continue to be so many incontestable proofs of the grandeur and beauty of the work. Besides these, there are two other lesser conduits, which continue perfect and entire; and plentifully supplying Shershell with excellent water, for that of the wells is brackish, may be considered as two inestimable legacies of the ancients.

Nothing certainly could have been better contrived, either for strength or beauty, than the situation of this city. A strong wall, forty feet high, supported with buttresses, and winding itself near two miles through the several creeks of the sea shore, secured it from all encroachments from the sea. The city, to the distance of two furlongs from this wall, lies upon a level; and afterwards, rising gradually for the space of a mile, to a considerable elevation, implied in the ancient name Iol *, spreads itself over a variety of hills and vallies, and loses entirely the prospect of the sea. One of the principal gates this way is placed about a furlong below the summit of these hills, and leads us to the rugged possessions of the Beni Menasser; and, of the other two, near the sea shore, the western lies under the high mountains of the Beni Yifrah, and the eastern under that of the Shenouah.

As Shershell is thus shut up in the midst of mountains and narrow defiles, and all communication with it may be easily cut off, whenever the neighbouring tribes are disposed to be mutinous and troublesome, as it frequently happens, even to this day. And this circumstance will afford us one argument, that Shershell was the Julia Cæsarea, by interpreting Procopius's † description of it in our favour, viz. 'That the Romans could only come at Cæsarea by sea, access by land being rendered impracticable, as all the passes were then seized upon by its neighbours.'

They have a tradition, that the ancient city was destroyed, as the new one was lately, by an earthquake; and that the port, formerly very large and commodious, was reduced to the miserable condition wherein we find it at present, by the arsenal and other adjacent buildings being thrown into it by the shock. The Cothon ‡, that had a communication with the western part of the port, is the best proof of this tradition. For when the sea is calm, and the water low, as it frequently happens after strong S. or E. winds, we then discover all over the area of it so many massy pillars and pieces of great walls, that is cannot be well conceived how they should come there without such a concussion.

The port is nearly in a circular form, of two hundred yards in diameter: but the securest part of it, which, till of late, was towards the Cothon, is now filled up with a bank of sand, that daily increases. However, there still lies in the mouth of it a small rocky island, which at present is the main shelter and defence against the northern tempests. This island, therefore, and these large and sumptuous remains of an ancient city, will afford other arguments for supposing Shershell to be the Iol or Julia Cæsarea.

* Ab על vel Syr. עילי vel עלי quod celsum sonat. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 34. unde *Ili*beris, *Ili*turgis, civitates quæ altum situm habent.

† Ες ην [Καισαρειαν] Ρωμαιοι ναυσι μεν εισαει ςελλονται· πεζη δε ιεναι ουκ εισι δυνατοι. Μαυρουσιων εν ταυτη ωκημενων τη χωρα. Procop. l. ii. de Bell. Vand. c. 20. in fine.

‡ Servius in illud Virgilii Æneid. i. Hic Portus alii effodiunt. Portus non naturales, sed arte et manu factos Cothonas vocari asserit. Idem scribit et Festus, viz. a קטם *katam* vel *Phœnicio* more *katham* incidere, unde קטיב *kathum* incisus et קטים *kithum* vel קטימה *kethima* Incisio: ita etiam apud Arabes. Vid. Boch. ut supra, cap. xxiv. et Buxt. in voce.

For

For ports are very rare upon the coaſt of Barbary; eſpecially in this ſituation, where we are to look for Cæſarea; and an haven, with an iſland at the entrance into it, is only to be met with at Siga or Tackumbreet, a place at too great a diſtance to the W. to be taken for Cæſarea, Tniſs, where Sanſon * and others have placed the Julia Cæſarea, has indeed an iſland before it, yèt without the leaſt rudiments of a haven, or any heaps of ruins. Algiers, likewiſe, the other city that is brought by Dapper and later geographers into the diſpute, was formerly in the ſame ſituation with Tniſs; its preſent port having been made ſince the Turkiſh conqueſts by Hayradin Barbaroſſa, A. D. 1530, who united the iſland that formerly lay before it, to the continent. The principal characteriſtic, therefore, whereby the ancients deſcribe their Iol Cæſarea, cannot, with any propriety, be attributed to any other place than Sherſhell. Beſides, in the Itinerary, Cæſarea is placed 25 miles from Aquis, or Aquis calidis; which agrees very well with the diſtance there is betwixt Sherſhell and the Hamam Melwart, which will be hereafter deſcribed.

The country round about Sherſhell is of the utmoſt fertility, and exceedingly well watered by the Naſſara, Billack, and Haſham; neither are we to forget a beautiful rill of water, received into a large baſon of Roman workmanſhip, called Shrub we krub, *i. e.* bibe et fuge, *drink and away*, there being the like danger of meeting here with rogues and aſſaſſins, that the dog is ſaid to have had in meeting with the crocodile, in drinking of the Nile. Even the very mountainous parts, towards the ſea, the poſſeſſions chiefly of the Shenooah, are here barren, as they frequently are in many other places, covered to the very ſummits of them, with a ſucceſſion of delicate plats of arable ground, here and there diverſified with plantations of apricot, peach, and other fruit trees. Nothing certainly can be more entertaining than that variety of proſpects which we every where meet with in this delightful country.

The northern extremity of theſe mountains form a pretty large cape, called Ras el Amouſhe, the ſame with the Battal of Edriſi. Below it to the eaſtward is the IſlandBarinſhell, from whence, as they are fond of telling us, one of the neighbouring Kabyles, to avoid the fury of the Algerines, ſwam with a little child upon his back as far as the river Maſaffran, at 20 miles diſtance. A little lower is the Mers' el Amouſhe, or *Port of Amouſhe*, very ſafe in weſterly winds; after which we croſs the river Gurmant, and then fall in with a number of ſtone coffins of an oblong figure, not unlike thoſe that are ſometimes found in our own iſland. A little farther to the E., under a riſing ground, are the ruins of Tefeſſad, or Tfeſſad, called likewiſe Blaid el Madoone, which extend themſelves for the ſpace of two miles along the ſea ſhore, though the breadth is not equal to one third part of the length.

Tefeſſad, by being ſituated 13 miles to the eaſtward of Sherſhell, appears to be the Tipaſa of the old geography. For Ptolemy, in fixing Tipaſa 30′ to the E. and 10′ to the S. of Cæſarea, does not a little authorize this poſition. The author likewiſe of the Itinerary, in placing his Tipaſa Colonia 16 Roman miles to the eaſtward of Cæſarea, gives us the very ſame diſtance. Tefeſſad, likewiſe, by an eaſy tranſition, or the changing *f* into *p*, will have a ſound not very different from Tipaſa.

Both at this place and Sherſhell, we meet with ſeveral arches and walls of brick, not commonly found in other parts of Barbary; eſpecially where the work itſelf may be looked upon as Roman. The bricks (from whence the Moors might have called it Madoune) are of a fine paſte and colour, two inches and a half thick, and near a

* Atlas Geogr. vol. iv. p. 208.

foot ſquare. We have the following inſcription, upon a large pannelled ſtone, brought from hence to Algiers:

C. CRITIO. C. F.
QVIRIT FELICI.
EX TESTAMEN
TO EIVS.

The ſea coaſt, from Tefeſſad to Algiers, to the breadth, for the moſt part, of two or three leagues, is either woody or mountainous; thereby ſecuring the fine plains of the Mettijiah, which lie behind it, not only from the more immediate influence of the northerly winds, but from the ſpray of the ſea, which is equally noxious. The Kubber Ro-meah, i. e. *the ſepulchre of the Chriſtian women*, called by the Turks, from the faſhion of it, Maltapaſy, or *the treaſure of the ſugar loaf*, is ſituated upon the mountainous part of the ſea coaſt, ſeven miles to the eaſtward of Tefeſſad. According to the diſcoveries hitherto made, it is a ſolid and compact edifice, built with the fineſt free ſtone; the height whereof I computed to be a hundred feet, and the diameter of the baſis ninety. It is of a round figure, riſing with ſteps quite up to the top, like the Egyptian pyramids. This ſtructure, therefore, in conſideration of the elegancy of the workmanſhip, and the beauty of the materials, appears to be much older than the Mahometan conqueſts; and may better be taken for the ſame monument that Mela (c. vi.) places betwixt Iol and Icoſium, and appropriates to the royal family of the Numidian Kings. Sepulchres of this kind, and in the like maritime ſituation, have been taken notice of, at other places, by ancient authors*.

A few miles from the Kubben Romeah, is the mouth of the Maſaffran, the eaſtern boundary of this province, a river very little inferior to the Shelleff. In paſſing through the ſeveral deep vallies of that part of Mount Atlas, where ſome of its branches have their fountains, it runs in ſuch a variety of mazes and turnings, that I croſſed it fourteen times in an hour. The name of Maſaffran†, was probably attributed to it from the tawny or ſaffron colour of its water.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the moſt remarkable inland Places and Inhabitants of the Weſtern Province, or the Province of Tlemſan.*

IF we return, then, to the weſtward, five leagues to the ſouthward of the mouth of the river Tafna is the city Tremeſen, as the modern geographers write it, or Telemſan or Tlemſan, according to the Mooriſh pronunciation. It is ſituated upon a riſing ground, below a range of rocky precipices, the Sachratain (as we may take them to be) of Edriſi: theſe make a part of Mount Atlas; and upon the firſt ridge of them, (for there is a much higher one to the ſouthward), we have a large ſtrip of level ground, that throws out from every part of it a number of fountains. Theſe, after uniting gradually into little rills, fall in a variety of caſcades, as they draw near to Tlemſan.

* Pſylli regis ſepulchrum in parte Syrtium eſt. Plin. l. vii. c. 2.

Κειται δ' αν πεδι κολπον ιδοις ερικυδεα τυμβον,
Τυμβον ὁν Αρμονιης Καδμοιο τε φημις ενισπειν.
Dionys. Per. l. 390-1.

Τα γαρ ταφα (τα Αιαντος) τα προς τον αιγιαλον, εφασκεν τον τα επικλυσαι θαλασσαν, και τον εσοδον προς το μνημα α χαλεπην ποιησαι. Paus. in Attic. Han. 1613. p. 66. Καταβασι δε εκ ακροπολεως, μνημα εξι προς θαλασσῃ Λελεγος. Id. ibid. p. 82. vid. annot. V. Cl. Abr. Gronov. in P. Melam.

† Mazafran, fulvus; ex fulvo rubens. Vid. Gol. in voce.

In

In the weſt part of the city, there is a large ſquare baſon of Mooriſh workmanſhip, two hundred yards long, and about half as broad. The inhabitants entertain a tradition, that formerly the Kings of Tlemſan took here the diverſion of the water, whilſt their ſubjects were taught the art of rowing and navigation. But the water of the Sachratain, as Leo well obſerves, being eaſily turned off from its ordinary courſe, this baſon might have been rather deſigned for a reſervoir in caſe of a ſiege; not to conſtant uſe of it at all other times, in preſerving a quantity of water ſufficient for the beautiful gardens and plantations that lie below it. Edriſi takes notice of the method of this kind, where the fountain of Om-Iahia diſcharged itſelf. and Spaniards of Tlemſan have been built, or rather moulded in frames, a lime, and gravel, which Pliny informs us, (l. xxxv. c. 14.) was uſed by the Africans attained a in his time. The mortar of which they conſiſt is made up of ſand, of theſe length, gravel; which, by being at firſt well tempered and wrought together, has menſe ſtrength and ſolidity not inferior to ſtone. The ſeveral ſtages and removes 1670 frames are ſtill obſervable, ſome of which are at leaſt one hundred yards in for t and two yards in height and thickneſs; whereby may be eſtimated the impart quantity of this compoſt that was made uſe of at one time. About the year A , Haſſan, then Dey of Algiers, laid moſt of this city in ruins, as a puniſhment oth he diſaffection of the inhabitants; ſo that there is not remaining above one-ſixth theſ of the old Tlemſan, which, when entire, might have been four miles in circuit. foll among the eaſtern part of theſe ruins, we meet with ſeveral ſhafts of pillars, and c fragments of Roman antiquities; and in the walls of a moſque, made out of e old materials, we have a number of altars dedicated to the Dii Manes; but the owing was the only legible inſcription:

D. M. S.
M. TREBIVS
ABVLLVS VIX.
AN. LV. M. TRE
BIVS IANVARIVS
FRATRI CARISSIMO
FECIT.

Gramaye * informs us, that Rabbi Abraham had ſeen ſeveral medals dug up in this ace, inſcribed, Tremis. Col., a city, I preſume, not known in the old geography; r Timice †, from ſome ſuppoſed affinity in the name, has been generally, though, ith as little reaſon, taken for Tlemſan; whereas Ptolemy's Lanigara will better agree ith this ſituation. There is ſome room likewiſe to conjecture, that Tlemſan may be an appellation ‡ of Arabic extraction, on account of the rich arable ground which lies round about it.

Upon the banks of the Iſſer, which is the eaſtermoſt branch of the Tafna, we fall in with the baths of Seedy Ebly; and after them we enter upon the rich plains of Zeidoure, which extend themſelves through a beautiful interchange of hills and vallies, to the very banks of the Wed el Mailah, at 30 miles diſtance. Theſe have no ſmall affinity with the ζειδωρα of the Greeks; an appellation that denotes ſuch plenty and fertility as we every where meet with in theſe plains. About the middle of them is the Shurph el Graab, or *the pinnacle of the ravens*, a high pointed precipice, with a branch of the Sinan running by it. The Welled Halfa and Zeir are the principal Arabs of this part.

* Afric. illuſtr. c. 25. † Atl. Geogr. vol. iv. p. 313.

‡ Derived perhaps from *Telem*, (ſulcus terræ, ſpeciatim factus ſementis ergo) and *San*, (formare.) Vid. Gol. in voce.

Six

Six leagues to the S. of the Sinan is Jibbel Karkar, a high range of rocky mountains, which bend our proſpect to the ſouth. Beyond them are the mountains of the Beni-Smeal, with the Arabs Harar, a little beyond them in the Sahara. After them, again, at the diſtance of five days journey to the S.S.W. are the villages of Figig, noted for their plantations of palm trees, from which the weſtern parts of this province are ſupplied with figs.

Beyond the river Mailah, as far as Warran, is the Shibkah, as t[illegible]ong extenſive plain of ſandy ſaltiſh ground, which is dry in ſummer, b[illegible]everal of water in the winter ſeaſon.

The Ammer have their encampments in this neighbourhood, wh[illegible]f el Tell and intercourſe with the Spaniards, whilſt they were maſters of Warra[illegible]rbaal lie on their cuſtoms, and ſpeak their language with great propriety.[illegible]n affinity

To the ſouthward of the Shibkah, are the noted mountains of Sou[illegible] of the Taffarowy, which make part of Mount Atlas. The extenſive ruins of A[illegible]ies of the one ſide, and thoſe of Teſſailah on the other. The latter, which from a[illegible] in the name, might belong to the ancient Aſtacitis, are ſurrounded with ſome aite, moſt fertile plains of this country, cultivated by Weled Aly, the implacable ene[illegible]ſes, the Weled Zeir and Halfa. is a

Croſſing afterwards, nearly in the ſame parallel, the rivers Makerra and Ha is both of which fall into the Sigg, we come to Maſcar, a collection of mud-walled h are built in the midſt of a plain, at ten leagues diſtance from Muſty-gannim. Ther[illegible]ng little fort to defend it againſt any ſudden revolt of the neighouring Arabs, whi[illegible]ir not garriſoned as uſual by Turks, but by its own inhabitants. The Haſhem, wh the Bedoweens of this part of the country, are called Jowaite, or gentlemen, be excuſed from taxes, and ſerve only as volunteers, when the Algerines want th aſſiſtance.

Five leagues to the N. E. of Maſcar, is El Callah, the greateſt market of this count for carpets and Burnooſes. This likewiſe, though larger than Maſcah, is a dirty contrived town, without either drains, pavement, or cauſeways; being built, as t name * imports, upon an eminence, and in the midſt of other mountains, which mak part of Mount Atlas. There are ſeveral villages of the ſame nature, and in the lik ſituation, round about it; all of them very profitably employed in the ſame woolle manufactories. The Turks have here a ſmall garriſon and citadel; and from ſom few large ſtones and pieces of marble of ancient workmanſhip, we may take it to hav been formerly a city of the Romans; the Gitlui or Apfar perhaps of Ptolemy.

Travelling for ſome leagues under the ſhade of Mount Atlas, which turns here to the northward, we ford the river Minah †, which falls into the Shelliff at El Had, near the plains of Elmildegah, where the Swidde have their chief abodes. El Had may denote a mountain, by way of eminence; ſuch indeed as thoſe of the Benizerwall may be properly called, which run here parallel with the Shelliff ‡. This part of Mount Atlas is celebrated for the plenty, as well as delicacy, of its figs: ſuch as thoſe might be which Cato § threw down before the Roman ſenate, and were admired for their largeneſs and beauty.

Seedy Abid, a noted ſanctuary, lies four leagues further, at a little diſtance only from the influx of the Arhew into the Shelliff. Over againſt it, on the other ſide of

* *Calah*, cacumen, vertex, &c. Vid. Gol. in voce.
† Vid. Atlas Geogr. vol. iv. p. 211. ‡ Ibid. § Vid. Plut.

the

the Shelliff, is Mazounah, a dirty mud-walled village, without the leaſt footſteps of any ſuch Roman temples and ſumptuous edifices as are mentioned by Dapper and Marmol. It is, however, as remarkable for its woollen manufactories as either Maſcar or El Callah, and is delightfully ſituated under the ſouth ſide of Mount Atlas. The Weled Seleema are the neighbouring Bedoweens.

In the ſame meridian nearly with Mazoana, at eighteen leagues diſtance, is Tagadempt, the Tergdent, Tigedent, or Tigdentum of the Atlas Geographus, placed by Sanſon 110 miles to the S. of Oran, and more than 120 to the S. E. of Tlemſan. Yet neither theſe diſtances nor directions will fall in with our Tagadempt; which, by the ruins, appears to have been a very large city, not long ago abandoned by the Arabs, who have taken their uſual care to leave us ſeveral tokens of their own humility and ignorance in architecture, at the ſame time they have pulled down and defaced whatever was beautiful and magnificent in the buildings of their predeceſſors. If this then ſhould be the Tignident of Marmol, (lib. v. c. 34.) and there is no other place, as far as I could be informed, of the like name, it will be difficult to account for his making it the Julia Cæſarea which undoubtedly was a maritime city, far removed from the poſition wherein we find the preſent Tagadempt. The Weled Booker, with their numerous Douwars, furround theſe ruins.

If we return again to the Shelliff, four leagues from Seedy Abid is Memounturroy, as the Weled Spaihee, who live near it, call an old ſquare tower, formerly a ſepulchral monument of the Romans. This, like many other ancient edifices, is ſuppoſed to have been built over a treaſure; agreeably to which account, they tell us, theſe following myſtical rhimes were inſcribed upon it, by Prince Maimoun Tizai.

Maily		*My treaſure*
Fe thully;		*Is in my ſhade;*
Wa thully		*And my ſhade*
Fe maily.	i. e.	*Is in my treaſure.*
Etmah;		*Search for it;*
La teis;		*Deſpair not:*
Wa teis;		*Nay deſpair;*
Le tetmah.		*Do not ſearch.*

Round about this monument, there are ſeveral maſſy blocks of marble, hollowed out in the faſhion of coffins.

Five miles further, upon the banks of the Shelliff, are the ruins of Memon and Sinaab, formerly two contiguous cities. The latter, which might have been three miles in circuit, is by far the moſt conſiderable; though I ſaw nothing more of it than large pieces of walls, and capacious ciſterns.

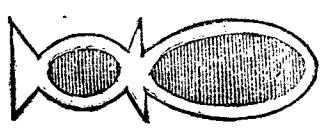
Wan-naſh-reeſe, the Gueneſeris of Sanſon, and the Ganſer of Du Val, lies eight leagues to the ſouthward of Sinaab. It is a high rugged mountain, generally covered with ſnow, and, on theſe accounts, is one of the moſt noted land-marks of this country, diſtinguiſhing itſelf all the way, from El Callah to Medea, over a number of leſſer mountains ranged far and near about it. Edriſi was greatly miſinformed concerning the length of it, which he makes to be four days journey; in as much as this will better agree with the view and proſpect we have of it, which is indeed at much more

more than that diſtance. This mountain was probably the Zalacus of Ptolemy; as Sinaab, from the poſition ſeven leagues to the northward, ſhould be his Oppidoneum.

The Wed el Fuddal, or *River of Plate*, has its ſource in this mountain. In great rains, many ſleaks of lead ore, for which this mountain is famous, are brought down by the river; and being afterwards left upon the bank, and glittering in the ſun, gave occaſion to the name. Abulfeeda, with other later geographers, have been miſtaken in deducing the river Shelliff, inſtead of this branch of it only, from Wan-naſhreeſe.

The Weled Uxeire and the Lataff rove on each ſide of the Fiddah; and over againſt the mouth of it, are the mud-walled villages of Merjejah, and of the Beni Raſhid; of which the latter made ſome figure in former ages, (Atl. Geogr. vol. iv. p. 210.) having had a citadel, two thouſand houſes, and a race of warlike inhabitants, who commanded this country as far as El Callah and Maſcar. But at preſent the caſtle is in ruins; the two thouſand houſes and their large territories are reduced to a few cottages; and the people, from a like courſe of obedience to a jealous and ſevere government, are become equally timorous and cowardly with their neighbours. However, their fruits, and particularly their figs, for which they were always famous, continue in the ſame repute, and may diſpute with thoſe of the Beni Zerwall for ſize and delicacy of taſte. The rocky ſituation, wherein the fig-tree ſo notably thrives in both theſe communities, is very agreeable to an obſervation of Columella: "Ficum," ſays he, l. xii. c. 21. "frigoribus ne ferito; loca aprica, calculoſa, glareoſa, interdum, et ſaxoſa amat."

Two leagues to the eaſtward of the Beni Reſhid, on the northern brink of the Shelliff, is El Herba, with a narrow ſtrip of plain fertile ground behind it. Here are ſeveral ſmall marble pillars of a blueiſh colour and good workmanſhip; but the capitals, which were of the Corinthian order, are defaced. There are, beſides, ſeveral coffins, like thoſe at Memounturroy; and upon one of the covers, which is ſcouped or hollowed in the upper part of the top of it, as if it were intended to receive a libation, we have this imperfect inſcription:



M. - MORI L. -
SECVNDIANI - -
VIC. XII ANNI - -
XIII LVCIO. - -
- - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - -

El Khada-rah, the Chadra of Edriſi, lies thirteen miles only in a direct line from the river Fuddah, though, by the intervention of mountains, it is as much more in the courſe of travelling. It is ſituated upon a riſing ground, on the brink of the Shelliff, in the ſame meridian with Sherſhell; and appears, by the ruins, to have been three miles in circuit. A range of mountains, riſing immediately from the oppoſite banks of the Shelliff, ſhelter it from the N. wind; whilſt, at a mile's diſtance to the ſouthward, Jibbel Dwee, another high mountain, riſing up in a conical figure, apart, (Matt. xvii. 1.) like the celebrated Mount Tabor, ſupplies the beautiful little plains between

between them with a plentiful rill of excellent water. The perpetual verdure of theſe plains might, in all probability, have communicated the name of El Khadarah, or El Chuhd-ary, i. e. *the Green*, to theſe ruins.

If then Ptolemy's authority is to direct us, we may take this place for his Zucchabbari, (the ſame will be Succabar and the Colonia Auguſta, as we may ſuppoſe, of Pliny,) placed in the ſame lat. and 50′ to the E. of Sinaab, or Oppidoneum. Jibbel Dwee likewiſe, upon the ſame ſuppoſition, will be the Mons Tranſcellenſis, which, according to Ammianus *, hung over it.

A little to the E. of El Khadarah, are the remains of a large ſtone bridge; the only one, as far as I could learn, that was ever built over the Shelliff; notwithſtanding the great inconveniences which travellers are put to, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, of waiting ſometimes a whole month before they can ford.

Seven miles to the E. of El Khadarah, at a little diſtance from the Shelliff, are the ruins of El Herba, another Roman town, of the ſame name and extent with what has been juſt now deſcribed. The ſame name occurs very frequently in this country; and is of the like import and ſignification with *pulled down*, or *deſtroyed*. Here the Shelliff begins to wind itſelf through a plain, not inferior in extent and fertility to any of this kingdom. The mountains likewiſe of Atlas, which, from the Beni Zerwall to El Khadarah, hung immediately over the Shelliff, retire now two leagues to the northward.

Maniana or Maliana, or Miliana, is ſituated upon theſe mountains, half a mile above this plain, and two leagues to the eaſtward of El Herba. It lies expoſed to the S. and S. W. promiſing a large ſcene of Roman buildings and antiquities at a diſtance; but the fatigue of climbing up to it, is badly recompenſed with the ſight only of a ſmall village, with the houſes of it tiled, inſtead of their being flat, and covered with plaſter of terrace, according to the ordinary practice of the country. However, if the acceſs to it was leſs troubleſome, Maliana has ſeveral things to recommend it: for it is exceedingly well watered from Jibbel Zickar, that hangs over it; it has a number of fruitful gardens and vineyards round about it; and, beſides all this, it enjoys a moſt delightful proſpect of the rich arable country of the Jendill, Matmata, and other Arabs, as far as Medea. In the ſpring ſeaſon, the devotees of Algiers, Bleda, Medea, and the neighbouring villages, come, with great reverence, to kiſs the ſhrine of Sede Youſeph, the tutelar ſaint of this city.

There are ſeveral fragments at Maliana of the Roman architecture; and in a modern wall, made up of theſe ancient materials, we have a Cippus, with this inſcription:

Q. POMPEIO CN. F.
QVIRIT. CLEMENTI
PA..... DIIVR
EX TESTAMENTO.
Q. POMPEIO F. QVIR.
ROGATI FRATRIS
SVI
POMPEIA Q. P.
MABRA POSVIT.

If this monument therefore ſhould bear any relation to Pompey's family, the following lines of Martial will receive from thence an additional force and beauty, as

* Ammian. Marcell. l. xxix. c. 5.

we find Pompey's grandſon, and probably his great-grandſon, to have been buried at this diſtance from their anceſtors, and in ſuch an obſcure place.

Pompeios juvenes Aſia atque Europa, ſed ipſum
Terra tegit Libyes: ſi tamen ulla tegit.
Quid mirum toto ſi ſpargatur orbe? jacere
Uno non poterat tanta ruina loco. Epigr. l. v. Ep. 75.

Eight miles to the E. N. E. of Maliana, at the half way betwixt the Shelliff and the ſea, are the Hammam, i. e. *the baths of Mereega*, the Aquæ Callidæ Colonia of the ancients. The largeſt and the moſt frequented of them is a baſon of twelve feet ſquare, and four in depth; and the water, which bubbles up in a degree of heat juſt ſupportable, after it has filled this ciſtern, paſſes on to a much ſmaller one, which is made uſe of by the Jews, who are not permitted to bathe in company, or in the ſame place with the Mahometans. Theſe baths were formerly covered, and had corridores of ſtone running round the baſons; but at preſent they lie expoſed to the weather, and are half full of ſtones and rubbiſh. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, a great concourſe of people uſually reſort hither in the ſpring, the ſeaſon of theſe waters; which are accounted very efficacious in curing the jaundice, the rheumatic pains, and ſome of the moſt inveterate diſtempers. Higher up the hill there is another bath, which being of too intenſe heat to bathe in, the water thereof is conducted through a long pipe into another chamber, where it is uſed in *Duccian;* an operation * of the like nature and effect with pumping. Betwixt this and the lower bath are the ruins of an old Roman town, equal to that of Herba; and at a little diſtance from it, we ſee ſeveral tombs and coffins of ſtone, which I was informed were of an unuſual ſize. Muzeratty, the late Kaleefa, or lieutenant of this province, aſſured me, that he ſaw a thigh bone belonging to one of them, which was near two of their *draas*, (i. e. thirty-ſix inches) in length. The like account I had from other Turks, who pretended to have meaſured it; but when I was there half a year afterwards, I could not receive the leaſt information about it. The graves and coffins likewiſe that fell under my obſervation, were only of the uſual dimenſions. However, the people of *this*, as well as of other countries, are full of ſtories and traditions of the like nature; and, indeed, provided theſe ſhould not have been human bones, as the Africans are no nice diſtinguiſhers, we may poſſibly account for them from the cuſtom of the Goths and Vandals, which might paſs over with them into Africa, of burying the horſe, the rider, and their armour together in the ſame grave. Long ſwords, with large croſs handles, have been often found in this country; one of which, that was found not many years ago, in the ruins of Temendfuſe, is ſtill preſerved in the dey's palace at Algiers. The Roman poet has a few fine lines upon this occaſion:

Agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exeſa inveniet ſcabra rubigine pila:
Aut gravibus raſtris galeas pulſabit inanes;
Grandiaque effoſſis mirabitur oſſa ſepulchris. Virg. Georg. I. v. 494, &c.

* Aſperſionem in Balneis naturalibus Ducciam appellant.—Sunt ergo in Balneis, quæ ad hunc uſum probantur, conſtitutæ fiſtulæ—quæ digiti parvi magnitudine vel majori, ubi opus eſt, volubili epiſtomio clauſæ: e ſuperiori alveo, qui infixas ex ordine habeat fiſtulas, ac ſtatim a communi fonte ſinceras recipiant aquas, pro eo ac quiſquam voluerit, vel quantum voluerit, recluſo epiſtomio, vel clauſo infundant ſtillicidium. Delabuntur autem ſic acquæ palmi unius, vel ad ſummum cubiti ſpatio, unde ex inſultu convenientem faciant impreſſionem; vel in Balneum, vel in ſubjectum ad eas recipiendas alveolum, &c. Baccius de Thermis, lib. ii. cap. 16.

The

The country round about theſe baths, inhabited by the Bookelcran and the Wuzra, is made up of a ſucceſſion of exceedingly rugged hills and deep vallies; each of them, in their turn, very difficult and dangerous to paſs over. Yet this danger and fatigue is ſufficiently recompenſed, by travelling afterwards through the rich and delightful plains of the Hadjoute and the Mettijiah, which lie beyond them to the northward. The latter are called by Abulfeda, Bledeah Kibeerah, i. e. *A vaſt country* *, being near fifty miles long, and twenty broad, watered in every part by a variety of ſprings and rivulets. The many country ſeats and *maſhareas*, as they call the farms of the principal inhabitants of Algiers, are taken out of theſe plains, as it is chiefly from them that the metropolis is ſupplied with proviſions. Flax, alhenna, roots, pot-herbs, rice, fruit, and grain of all kinds, are produced here to ſuch perfection, that the Mettijiah may be juſtly reckoned the garden of the whole kingdom.

CHAP. V.—*Of the Sea Coaſt of that Part of the Mauritania Cæſarienſis, called the Southern Province, or the Province of Titterie.*

THIS province, which lies bounded to the E. by the river Booberak, as it does to the W. by the Maſaffran, is much inferior to the weſtern in extent; being, excluſive of the Sahara, ſcarce ſixty miles either in length or breadth. Neither is it, in general, ſo mountainous; for the ſea coaſt, to the breadth of five or ſix leagues, the ſeat formerly of the ancient Machurebi, as it is now of the Durgana, Raſſouta, and Beni Hameed, is made up chiefly of rich champaign ground; behind which indeed we have a range of rugged mountains, the continuation of Mount Atlas, that run, almoſt in a direct line, in a paralleliſm with the ſea coaſt. But beyond them, particularly in the neighbourhood of Medea, Titterie Doſh, and Hamza, the ancient territories of the Tulenſii and Baniuri, we have other extenſive plains; though none of them equal to thoſe of the Mettijiah. Such is the general plan of this province, which has the city of Algiers, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, for its capital.

In deſcribing this province, therefore, we are to obſerve, that after we have left the Maſaffran, we paſs by a little round tower, ſituated upon a ſmall rocky cape, that ſtretches itſelf about a furlong into the ſea. The inhabitants call it Seedy Ferje, from the ſanctuary of that ſaint, which is built upon it, where we have ſome few walls and ciſterns of Roman workmanſhip, which, by the order of Ptolemy's tables, may lay claim to his *Via*. We meet with ſeveral pieces of a Roman highway betwixt Seedy Ferje, Ras Accon-natter, and Algiers; and near the tomb of Seedy Halliff, another Marabbutt, about the half way betwixt Seedy Ferje and Algiers, we fall in with a number of graves, covered with large flat ſtones, each of them big enough to receive two or three bodies.

The high mountain of Boorjereah, with its three contiguous *daſhkrahs*, are nine miles from Seedy Ferje, to the N. E. Half a league from them, to the W. N. W. is the Ras Acconnatter, the Cape Caxines of our modern ſea charts. After which, about three miles further to the S. E. we turn into the port of Al Jezeire el gazie, i. e. *Algiers the warlike*, as the Turks are pleaſed to call their metropolis.

This place, which for ſeveral ages has braved the greateſt powers of Chriſtendom, is not above a mile and a half in circuit, though it is computed to contain about 2000 Chriſtian ſlaves, 15,000 Jews, and 100,000 Mahometans, of which thirty, at

* *Giazaier* Mazghannan, ſita ad littus maris, eſt admodum populoſa, et mercatores lucri addictiſſimi: plateæ ejus elegantes; ubi adjacet, *Bulediah Kubeerah*. Abulf. ex traduct. V. Cl. J. Gagnier.

moſt, may be Renegadoes. It is ſituated upon the declivity of a hill, that faces the N. and N. E. whereby the houſes riſe ſo gradually above each other, that there is ſcarce one but what, in one or other of thoſe directions, has a full proſpect of the ſea. The walls are weak and of little defence, unleſs where they are further ſecured, which is chiefly at the gates, by ſome additional fortification. The caſſaubah, or citadel, built upon the higheſt part of the city towards the S. W. is of an octogonal figure, each of the ſides in view having port-holes or *embraſures*, defended with cannon. A ditch formerly ſurrounded the whole city to the landward, which, at preſent, is almoſt entirely filled up, except at the weſt and ſouth gates, called Bab el wed, *the gate of the river*, and Bab Azoona; where it is ſtill of little conſequence or defence. But towards the ſea, it is better fortified, and capable of making a more ſtrenuous defence. For the embraſures, in this direction, are all employed; the guns are of braſs, and their carriages and other utenſils in good order. The battery of the Mole-Gate, upon the eaſt angle of the city, is mounted with ſeveral long pieces of ordnance, one of which has ſeven cylinders, each of them three inches in diameter. Half a furlong to the W. S. W. of the harbour, is the battery of *Fiſher's Gate*, or *the gate of the ſea*, which, conſiſting of a double row of cannon, commands the entrance into the port, and the road before it.

The port itſelf is of an oblong figure, a hundred and thirty fathoms long, and eighty broad. The eaſtern mound of it, which was formerly the iſland that gave name to the city, is well ſecured by ſeveral fortifications. The *Round Caſtle*, built by the Spaniards whilſt they were maſters of the iſland, and the two remote batteries erected within this century, are ſaid to be bomb-proof, and have each of them their lower embraſures mounted with thirty-ſix pounders. But the middle battery, which appears to be the oldeſt, is of the leaſt defence. Yet none of theſe fortifications are aſſiſted either with mines or advanced works; and as the ſoldiers, who are to guard and defend them, cannot be kept up to any regular courſe of duty and attendance, a few reſolute battalions, protected by a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, would find little difficulty to take them.

There is very little within the city that merits the attention of the curious. Upon the tower of the great moſque, we have ſome broken inſcriptions; but the letters, though of a ſufficient bigneſs to be ſeen at a diſtance, are all of them either inverted, or filled up to that degree with lime and white-waſh, that I could never particularly diſtinguiſh them. They may probably be the ſame with theſe following ones taken notice of by Gramaye:

IVLIO CAESONI. M. M.	P. O. MAVRIT. X.
II LEG. MAVRIT. . .	COH. IVL. M. F
PRISCA F. ELIA POS.	. ISRVFVSETLETVS
PTOLO. IVB. F. .	P. D. ONV. MIS . .

Gram. Afr. Illuſt. l. vii. c. 1.

The public buildings, ſuch as their *bagnios*, *koſhareas*, &c. their officers, ſuch as the *mufty*, *kady*, &c. the inhabitants, ſuch as Jews and Moors, &c. have been already ſufficiently deſcribed by other authors. The additions therefore which I have to make, will relate chiefly to the government, the army, the navy, and the political intereſts and alliances of this regency; but of theſe in their proper place.

Leo and Marmol inform us, that it was formerly called Meſgana, from an African family of that name. The preſent name, Al Jezeire (for ſo we ſhould pronounce it), ſignifies in their language, *the iſland*; which was ſo called from being in the neighbourhood, not as Leo wrongly ſuppoſes, of the Balearick iſlands, but of the eaſtern mound

mound of the harbour, which, before the time of the Turkiſh conqueſts, was ſevered from the continent. In their public letters and records, they ſtyle it, Al Jezeire Megerbie, i. e. *The iſland in the Weſt*, to diſtinguiſh it from a city of the ſame name, near the Dardanelles, in the Archipellago.

The hills and vallies round about Algiers are all over beautified with gardens and country-ſeats, whither the inhabitants of better faſhion retire, during the heats of the ſummer ſeaſon. They are little white houſes, ſhaded with a variety of fruit-trees and ever-greens; which, beſides the ſhade and retirement, afford a gay and delightful proſpect towards the ſea. The gardens are all of them well ſtocked with melons, fruit, and pot-herbs of all kinds; and, what is chiefly regarded in theſe hot climates, each of them enjoys a great command of water, from the many rivulets and fountains which every where abound in this ſituation. The fountain water made uſe of at Algiers, univerſally eſteemed for its excellency, is likewiſe brought through a long courſe of pipes and conduits, from the ſame ſources.

Four miles to the S. E. of Algiers, we croſs the river Haratch, the ancient Savus, that has a beautiful bridge lately built over it. Upon the banks, we meet with the ruins of a Roman city, which bids fairer than Algiers to be the ancient Icoſium, placed by the Itinerary, as this is, 47 miles from Tipaſa, or Tefeſſad. Croſſing afterwards the Hamaeſe, another conſiderable ſtream, we arrive at Temendfuſe, or Metafus, a low cape with a *tabled land*, as the mariners call a flat hillock, that riſes up in the middle of it. The Turks have here a ſmall caſtle for the ſecurity of the adjacent roads, once the chief ſtation of their navy, where we have ſtill the traces of an ancient cothon, with ſeveral heaps of ruins, of the ſame extent with thoſe of Tefeſſad, and which have no leſs contributed to the fortifications of Algiers. The diſtance of fifteen Roman miles, betwixt theſe ruins and thoſe upon the Haratch, is the ſame we find in the Itinerary, between the Ruſguniæ Colonia and Icoſium. Ruſgunia is the ſame with the Ruſtonium of Ptolemy, the Ruthiſia of Mela, and the Ruſconia of Pliny, and others. In an inſcription at Sour, the ancient Auzia is called Col. Ruſcunienſis.

After fording the rivers Regya, Budwowe, Corſoe, Merdaſs and Yiſſer, which run at no great diſtance from each other, and deſcend from the adjacent mountains of Atlas, we come to the little port Jinnett, from whence a great quantity of corn is ſhipped off yearly for Chriſtendom. Jinnett is a ſmall creek, with tolerably good anchoring ground before; and was probably Edriſi's Mers' el Dajaje, i. e. *Port of Hens*. I was told that Jinnet, or *Paradiſe*, was given to this place, on account of a row-boat, which was once very providentially conducted within the creek, when the mariners expected every moment to have periſhed upon the neighbouring rocks. The ſea-ſhore, which from Algiers to Temendfuſe, and from thence to this place, is very little interrupted with rocks and precipices, begins now to be very rugged and mountainous; and among theſe eminences, three leagues farther to the E. we have the mouth of the Booberak, the eaſtern boundary of this province.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the moſt remarkable inland Places and Inhabitants of the Southern Province; together with the correſpondent Part of the Sahara.*

BLEEDA and Medea, the only inland cities of this province, are each of them about a mile in circuit; but their walls, which are chiefly of mud, perforated all over by *hornets*, cannot much contribute to their ſtrength and ſecurity. Some of their houſes are flat-roofed, others tiled, like thoſe of Maliana; with which they alſo agree, in being well watered, and in having all around them very fruitful gardens and plantations.

tions. A branch of an adjacent rivulet may be conducted through every houſe and garden at Bleeda; and at Medea, the ſeveral conduits and aqueducts that ſupply it with water, ſome of which appear to be of Roman workmanſhip, are capable of being made equally commodious. Both theſe cities lie over againſt the mouth of the Maſaffran; *viz*, Bleeda, at five leagues diſtance, under the ſhade of Mount Atlas, and Medea three or four leagues on the other ſide of it. As Bleeda, therefore, and Medea, lie nearly in the ſame meridian; as they are ſituated at a proper diſtance from the Hamam Mereega, the Aquæ Calidæ Colonia of the ancients; as likewiſe there is little difference betwixt the modern and what may be preſumed to be their ancient names, we may well be induced to take the one for the Bida Colonia, the other for the Lamida of Ptolemy.

That part of Mount Atlas which lies betwixt theſe cities, and reaches as far as Mount Jurjura, is inhabited by numerous clans of Kabyles, few of which, from their rugged ſituation, have been made tributary to the Algerines. The Beni Sala and Haleel overlook Bleeda and the rich plains of the Mettijiah, whilſt the Beni Selim and Haleefa ſometimes deſcend into the paſture ground, near the banks of the Biſhbeſh, or *river of fennel*, a great quantity of which grows upon the banks of it. Further to the eaſtward, a branch of the Megrowa live, in a full proſpect of the extenſive plains of Hamſa, over againſt Sour Guſlan; and beyond them are the Inſhlowa and Bonganie, who have below them, to the ſouthward, the fertile plains of the Caſtoolah, noted for the feeding and breeding up of cattle. Not far from the Caſtoolah are the Kabyles of Mount Jurjura, of which the Beni Alia are the chiefeſt on the N. ſide, as the Beni Yala are on the S.

Jurjura, the higheſt mountain in Barbary, is as noted and conſpicuous a landmark in this province, as Wannaſhreeſe is in the weſtern. It is at leaſt eight leagues long; and, if we except a pool of good water, bordered round with arable ground, that lies near the middle of it, the whole, from one end to another, is a continued range of naked rocks and precipices. In the winter ſeaſon, the ridge of this mountain is always covered with ſnow; and it is further remarkable, that whilſt the inhabitants of the one ſide of it carry on an hereditary and implacable animoſity with thoſe of the other, yet, by conſent, this border of ſnow puts a full ſtop to all hoſtilities during that inclement ſeaſon, which, like thoſe of the cranes and pigmies, as related by the poet, are renewed with freſh vigour in the ſpring:

Ηερι δ' αρα ταιγε κακην εριδα προφερονται. Il. γ. v. 7.

Jurjura, as well from its extraordinary ruggedneſs, as from the ſituation of it betwixt Rufucurium, or Delly, and Saldis, or Boujeiah, ſhould be the Mons ferratus*, taken notice of by the geographers of the middle age.

If we return again to the weſtward, we ſhall find, at five leagues diſtance to the S. of Medea, the Titterie Doſh, as the Turks call Hadjar Titterie, or *rock of Titterie*, a remarkable ridge of precipices, four leagues in length, and, if poſſible, even more rugged than Jurjura. Upon the ſummit, there is a large piece of level ground, with only one narrow road leading up to it, where, for their greater ſecurity, the Welled Eiſa have their granaries. Beyond the Welled Eiſa are the encampments of the Welled In-anne, the principal Arabs of the diſtrict of Titterie, properly ſo called, which lies in the neighbourhood only of this mountain.

* Vid. Peuting. Tab. Æthic. &c.

It will be difficult perhaps to determine the meaning and import of the appellation Titterie, as this province is called. Probus *, in his obſervations upon Virgil, makes Tityrus, the name of one of his ſhepherds, to ſignify, in the African language, *a he-goat*. The ſame interpretation, among others, is given to Tityrus by the Greek Scholiaſt † upon Theocritus. We likewiſe ſee, upon ſome of the Etruſcan medals, an animal not unlike a fawn or a kid, with [ⵎⵓⵜⵔ † V †] Tutere for the Legend ‡; that particular piece of money being perhaps denominated, as Pecunia in general was from Pecus, from the animal there exhibited. But the people of this diſtrict informed me, that Titterie, or Itterie, was one of their words for *cold* or *bleak*; a circumſtance indeed which, in the nights and mornings eſpecially, I often experienced to be very applicable to this region, and ſo far may well juſtify the etymology.

Burg Hamza, or *the caſtle of Hamza*, where there is a Turkiſh garriſon of one Suffrah §, is ſituated two leagues to the ſouthward of the rich plains of that name, and five to the eaſtward of the rock of Titterie. It is built out of the ruins of the ancient Auzia, called by the Arabs, Sour, or Sour Guſlan, i. e. *the walls of the antilopes*. A great part of this ancient city, fortified at proper diſtances with little ſquare turrets, is ſtill remaining, and ſeems to have been little more than ſix furlongs in circuit.

Tacitus ‖ has left us a very juſt deſcription of this place. For Auzia was built upon a ſmall plat of level ground, every where ſurrounded with ſuch an unpleaſant mixture of naked rocks, and barren foreſts, that, through the whole courſe of my travels, I ſcarce ever met with a more gloomy and melancholy ſituation. Menander, as he is quoted by Joſephus ¶, mentions an African city of this name, built by Ithobaal, the Tyrian; though Bochart ** ſeems to doubt, whether the Phœnicians were at all acquainted with the inland parts of Africa. Yet provided we could rely upon the tradition recorded by Procopius ††, that a number of Canaanites fled from Joſhua into the weſtermoſt parts of Africa, ſome of which, upon ſuch a ſuppoſition, might have reſted at this place, nothing, I preſume, can be objected againſt the ruggedneſs of the ſituation; in as much as ſuch an one, from the very nature of it, would not only be the propereſt for the firſt ſettlement of a colony, but for the future ſafety and ſecurity of it. Due regard might have been had to this circumſtance in the founding of Capſa, Feriana, and other cities of Africa, which will he hereafter taken notice of, whoſe

* Tityri et Melibœi perſonas de Theocrito ſumpſit (Virgilius) ſed tamen ratio hæc nominum eſt: Hircus Libyca lingua Tityrus appellatur, &c. Prob. gramm. de Bucol. carminis ratione. Vid. et Pomponii Sabini annot. in 1 Eclogam Virg. Bucol.

† Τας αιγας, τιτυρας λεγουσι, νυν δε ονομα εστιν αιπολε, κατα εμφερειαν τε Χαραικτηρος. Αλλως. ονομα κυριον ὁ Τιτυρος. Τινες δε φασιν οτι Σιληνος τις. ὁ Σικελιωτης. Αλλοι δε τας ΤΡΑΓΟΥΣ, ἑτεροι τας σατυρους, &c. Schol. in 3 Idyll. Theocr.

‡ Vid. Dempſt. Hetrur. reg. tab. lx. fig. 4.

§ *Suffrah*, the common name among the Algerines for a band or company of Turkiſh ſoldiers, conſiſting for the moſt part of twenty perſons, including a cook, ſteward, and *Oda Baſha*, or lieutenant; ſo called from being ſuch a number, or *meſs*, as for the conveniency of eating can ſit about one [*Suffrah*] table. This was like Contubernium of the Romans, though conſiſting of no more than ten perſons, who lived in one *papilio* (pavilion) or barrack, as theſe Turks live under the ſame tent. The *Decanus*, who commanded the former, anſwers to the *Oda Baſha*, who commands the latter.

‖ Nec multo poſt adfertur Numidas apud Caſtellum ſemirutum, ab ipſis quondam incenſum, cui nomen Auzea, poſitis mapalibus conſediſſe fiſos quia vaſtis circum ſaltibus claudebatur. Tacit. annal. l. iv.

¶ Ουτος [Ithobalus] πολιν Βοτρυν εκτισε την επι Φοινικη και Αυζατην (vel disjunctis vocibus Αυζα τη) ω Λιβυη. Joſ. Antiq. Jud. l. viii. c. 7.

** Sed Mediterranea hæc oppida, tot millibus a Phœnice diſſita non videntur quicquam habere commune cum Auza Ithobuli. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

†† Procop. De bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 20.

founders

founders muſt otherwiſe have made an improper choice, provided they were guided by any other conſideration than the natural ſtrength of the ſituation.

We have at Sour the following inſcriptions:

Upon a Stone, adorned with Figures and Garlands.

AVZIO DEO GENIO ET CONSERVATORI COL.
EXTRICATVS - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Upon the end of a Tomb-ſtone, a quarter of a mile from the City.

AAÑBVS HOC SACRVM CERTA PI
ETATE RESOLVO HOC NOVELLVS EGO
MATRI FILIOQVE SEPVL†S VALEN†AA †BI
DIGNO DVLCISSIMA MATER NOMEN
VIGET ECCE TWM IN †TYO CLARVM
ÐNVM NATVRAE MERI†S DE CARMINE
SIGNO FELIX ECCE SOLVM EC† HAEC DVO
NOMINA CARA EXTRICATE FILI AD
PLANCTVS AVIAE ÐLENTI
AELIA VALENTINA VIXIT ANNIS LV
IVLIUS EXTRICATVS VIXIT XII.

Upon a moulded Stone.

Q. GARGILIO Q. F. - - - -
PRAEF COH - - - - BRITANIAE
TRIB CO - - - MAVRCAE
AMIL PRAE. COH. SING ET VEX
EQQ MAVROR IN TERRITORIO
AVZIENSI PRETENDENTIVM
DEC DVARVM COLL AVZIEN
SIS ET RVSCVNIENSIS ET PAT
PROV OB INSIGNEM IN CI
VES AMOREM ET SINGVLA
REM ERGA PATRIAM ADFEC
TIONEM ET QVOD EIVS VIR
TVTE AC VIGILANTIA FA
RAXEN REBELLIS CVM SA
TELLITIBVS SVIS FVERIT
CAPTVS ET INTERFECTVS
ORDO COL AVZIENSIS
INSIDIIS BAVARVM DE
CEPTO PPFDD VIII KAL
FEBR. PR. CCXXI *.

Upon a moulded Stone, in half foot Letters.

IVLIAE
AVGVS
TAE AARI
CAESA
RIS ET
CASRO
RVM

A few miles to the ſouthward of Sour, we enter upon Gætulia; the firſt remarkable place whereof, in this direction, is Jibbel Deera, where the river Jin-enne has its ſources, which, after it has run about 30 miles through a dry ſandy ſoil, loſes itſelf gradually in the Shott. Moſt of the Getulian Arabs, who dwell upon the banks of it, are *Zwowiah*,

* Provided Mauritania was made a Roman colony, A. U. C. 721, and before Chriſt 32, then the defeat of Earaxen here recorded, but no where mentioned in the Roman hiſtory, will fall in with the clxxxix. year of our Chriſtian æra; or with the eleventh of L. Septimius Severus. Mauritania was likewiſe divided into two provinces, by the Emperor Claudius, A. U. C. 795, A. D. 42.

as

as they call the children and dependents of their Marabbutts, who, like thoſe of the ſame denomination in all the Mahometan dominions, enjoy great privileges, and have their poſſeſſions free from taxes. The Welled Seedy Eeſa, the northermoſt of theſe communities, have the Cubba * or ſepulchre of their tutelar ſaint at the diſtance of five leagues from Sour; and there is hard by it, on the one ſide, a large rock, upon which Seedy Eeſa was daily accuſtomed to offer up his devotions. On the other, is the Ain Kidran, or *fountain of tar*, ſuppoſed to have been miraculouſly beſtowed upon them by this their progenitor, which they conſtantly uſe inſtead of common tar, in ſalving their camels, and other uſes.

Six leagues farther, are the Welled Seedy Hadjeras, called ſo from another of theſe Marabbutts. Here the Jin-enne changes its name into that of the Wed el Ham, i. e. *the river of carnage*, from the number of people that have been at one time or other drowned in the fording of it. A little higher, is Seedy Braham Aſlemmy, and his offſpring, who ſpread themſelves to Hirmam, a noted *daſhkrah* in the way to Booſaadah, at which place the palm brings forth its fruit to perfection.

Jibbel Seilat lies about ſeven leagues to the weſtward of Seedy Braham; and twelve leagues farther, in the ſame direction, are the [Theneate el Gannim] *Sheep-cliffs*, called likewiſe Ede Tepelaar, or *the Seven Hills*, by the Turks. Theſe are ſituated over againſt the Burgh Swaary and the Titterie Doſh, at thirteen leagues diſtance. A little way beyond the *Seven Hills* are the eminences and ſalt-pits of Zaggos, after which are the Saary, and the Zeckar, two noted mountains; this twelve, the other five leagues to the ſouthward of Zaggos. Theſe, with many other rugged and mountainous diſtricts in the Sahara, very well illuſtrate what Strabo may be ſuppoſed to mean by the γη των Γαιτελων ορεινη, *the mountainous country of the Gætulians*.

Six leagues to the E. of the Zeckar, is Fythe † el Bothmah; ſo called, perhaps, from the broad or open turpentine trees that grow upon the ſpot. Seven leagues from thence to the N. is Thyte el Bo-tum, i. e. *the thick* or *ſhady turpentine tree*, as it is probably named in contradiſtinction to the others. Theſe are two noted ſtations of the Beni Mezzah, and other Getulians, in their journeyings to Algiers.

At Herba, a heap of ruins a little to the eaſtward of Fythe el Bothmah, are the ſources of Wed el Shai-er, i. e. *the Barley River*, a conſiderable ſtream of this part of Gætulia. The courſe of it, from Herba to the Daſhkrah of Booferjoone, is ten leagues in a N. N. E. direction. At a little diſtance from Booferjoone, below a ridge of hills, there are other ancient ruins called Gahara. Beſides the palm, which grows in this parallel to perfection, Booferjoone is noted alſo for apricots, figs, and other fruit.

To the N. of Booferjoone, the Wed el Shai-er acquires the name of Mailah, from the ſaltneſs of its water; and paſſing afterwards to the E. of Ain Deſla, or Defaily, i e. *the Fountain of Oleanders*, it loſes itſelf in the Shott. Over this fountain hangs the mountain Mai-herga, the noted haunt of leopards, ſerpents, and other noxious animals.

Six leagues to the S. of Fythe el Bothmah, are Gumra and Amoura, two *daſhkrahs*, with their ſprings and fruit-trees. Beyond them, at a greater diſtance to the S. W. is the Ain Maithie; and then Dimmidde, which, with the *daſhkrahs* of the Low-aate,

* *Cubbah*, Fornix, concameratum opus et tale ſacellum. Gol. in voce, from whence perhaps the cupola of the later architects. The Marabbutts are generally buried under one of theſe buildings, which have frequently an oratory annexed to them, and ſometimes a dwelling-houſe, endowed with certain rents for the maintenance of a number of *Thul-by* [ſtudents] who are to ſpend their time in reading and devotion. I have often obſerved, where there is an inſtitution of this kind, that then the place, including the *Kubbah* [the oratory], &c. is called the *Zwowah* of ſuch or ſuch a Marabbutt.

† *Viz.* a *Futteh* latum efficere. Gol. in voce.

nine leagues farther to the W. are the moſt conſiderable villages of this part of Gætulia. They have likewiſe in all theſe places large plantations of palms, and other fruit-trees.

The numerous families of Maithie, Noile, and Mel-leeke, with their ſeveral ſubdiviſions and dependents, range all over this country, from the Burg Swaary and the river Jin-enne, to the *daſhkrahs* of the Low-aate and Ammer, who ſpread themſelves over a mountainous diſtrict, a great way to the weſt; the ſame probably with the Mons Phruræſus of the old geography.

The villages of the Beni Mezzab are ſituated thirty-five leagues to the S. of the Low-aate and Ammer, which, having no rivulets, are ſupplied altogether with well-water. Gardeiah, the capital, is the fartheſt to the W. Bery-gan, the next conſiderable *daſhkrah*, is nine leagues to the E. and Grarah, the neareſt of them to Wurglah, has the like diſtance and ſituation with reſpect to Bery-gan. The Beni Mezzab, notwithſtanding they pay no tribute to the Algerines, and, being of the ſect of the Melaki, are not permitted to enter their moſques; yet they have been from time immemorial the only perſons who are employed in their ſlaughter houſes, and who have furniſhed their ſhambles with proviſions. It may be farther obſerved of theſe ſons of Mezzab, that they are generally of a more ſwarthy complexion than the Gætulians to the northward; and as they lie ſeparated from them by a wide inhoſpitable deſert, without the leaſt traces of dwellings, or even the footſteps of any living creatures, they may be in all probability, as it will be elſewhere obſerved, the moſt weſtern branch of the Melanogætuli, ſo much ſought after, and ſo little known in the modern ſyſtems of geography.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Sea Coaſt of that Part of the Mauritania Cæſarienſis and Numidia, called the Eaſtern Province, or the Province of Conſtantina.*

THIS province, which lies betwixt the meridians of the rivers Booberak and Zaine, is nearly equal to the other two in extent, being upwards of 230 miles in length, and more than a hundred in breadth. The tribute likewiſe collected by this viceroy is proportionably greater. For whilſt the Titterie bey brings every year into the treaſury of Algiers little more than twelve thouſand dollars *, and the Tlemſan bey from forty to fifty thouſand: the viceroy of Conſtantina pays in never leſs than eighty and ſometimes a hundred thouſand.

The ſea coaſt of this province from the Booberak to Boujeiah, and from thence almoſt entirely to Bona, is rocky and mountainous, anſwering very appoſitely to the title of El Adwah, i. e. *the high or lofty*, as Abulfeda has called it. In this rugged ſituation, I have already taken notice of the mouth of the Booberak, which is made up of a number of branches, like the Shelliff and Maſaffran, and is likewiſe of the ſame bigneſs.

At a league's diſtance from the mouth of this river, is Dellys, or Teddeles, according to Leo and the ſea charts. It is a ſmall town, built out of the ruins of an ancient city, partly at the foot, partly upon the declivity of a high mountain, by which token of antiquity, it ſhould be the Ruſucuriam of Pliny, the Ruſuccoræ of Ptolemy, and the Ruſuccuro of Peutinger's tables. In a wall juſt over the harbour, we have a ſmall niche, with an image placed in it, in the attitude of a Madona; but the features and drapery are defaced.

* A dollar of Algier, Tunis, &c. paſſeth uſually for three ſhillings and four-pence or ſixpence; and of the like value are the *aſlanee* or current dollars of the Levant.

Paſſing

Paſſing afterwards by the port of the Zuffoone, commonly called Mers' el Fahm, or *the Port of Charcoal*, and doubling Cape Aſh-oune-mon-kar, where ſtood the ancient Vabar, the next remarkable place is the Mettſe-coub, or *perforated Rock*, which anſwers to the TPHTON of Ptolemy in the import of the name, though not in ſituation. The Spaniſh prieſts, who have been for many ages ſettled at Algiers, as father-confeſſors to the ſlaves, have preſerved a tradition, that Raymund Lully, in his miſſion to Africa, was wont to retire frequently to this cave for meditation.

At a ſmall diſtance from the Mettſe-coube, is the port of Boujeiah, called by Strabo the Port of Sarda, or Salda rather, which is much larger than either that of Warran or Arzew. It is formed, however, in the ſame manner, by a neck of land that runs out into the ſea. A great part whereof was formerly faced with hewn ſtone, over which likewiſe an aqueduct was conducted, for the greater conveniency of ſupplying the port with water. But at preſent, the wall, the aqueduct, and the baſons where the water diſcharged itſelf, are all of them deſtroyed; and the tomb of Seedy Buſgree, one of the tutelar ſaints of Boujeiah, is the only thing for which it is now remarkable.

Boojeiah, or Bugia, as the modern geographers write it, is built upon the ruins of a large city, in the ſame manner, and in a like mountainous ſituation with Dellys, though of thrice the circuit. Beſides the caſtle, upon the ſummit of the hill, which commands the whole city, there are two others at the bottom of it, for the ſecurity of the port, where ſeveral breaches ſtill remain in the walls, made by the cannon-balls that were fired againſt them by Sir Edward Spragg, (A. D. 1671,) in his memorable expedition againſt this place *.

Boujeiah is one of the garriſoned towns of this kingdom, where three Suffrahs conſtantly reſide; yet they are of ſo little conſequence, that the Goryah, the Toujah, and other neighbouring Kabyles, lay it under a perpetual blockade. Every market day, eſpecially, ſtrange diſorders are occaſioned by theſe factious clans. All the morning, indeed, while the market continues, every thing is tranſacted with the utmoſt peace and tranquillity; but immediately afterwards, the whole place is in an uproar and confuſion, and the day rarely ends without ſome flagrant inſtance of rapine and barbarity.

The Boujeians carry on a conſiderable trade in plowſhares, mattocks, and ſuch like utenſils as they forge out of the iron, dug out of the adjacent mountains. Great quantities likewiſe of oil and wax, brought down every market day by the Kabyles, are ſhipped off for the Levant, and ſometimes for Europe.

Roujeiah, lying at the diſtance of 91 Roman miles, according to the Itinerary, or 1° 45′ according to Ptolemy, from Dellys or Ruſucurium, may be well taken for the ancient Saldæ; though the latter is vaſtly miſtaken in placing it in lat. 32° 30′; *i. e.* 4° 15′ too far to the ſouthward. Abulfeda alſo, though nearer to the truth, yet, in giving to it 34° of N. lat. throws it 2° 48′ too far to the S. Boujeiah being the only city of this part of Barbary that is taken notice of by Abulfeda, will give us room to ſuſpect that Algiers was either not built, or of little conſideration in his time.

A large river runs a little to the eaſtward of Boujeiah, which may be the Naſava of Ptolemy. It is of a very great extent; and, if we except the plains of Hamza and Seteef, the whole country, which is watered by ſeveral branches of it, is very rocky and mountainous; thereby occaſioning ſuch a number and variety of torrents, particularly in the winter ſeaſon, that infinite loſſes and calamities are daily ſuſtained by the inhabitants. The Beni Boo-Maſoude, who live near the mouth of it, have frequent

* Vid. Atlas Geogr. vol. iv. p. 191.

occaſion to make this complaint; where we may very juſtly apply the beautiful deſcription that Horace has left us of the Tiber.

—— Cætera fluminis
Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
Cum pace delabentis Etruſcum
In mare, nunc lapides adeſos,
Stirpeſque raptas, et pecus, et domos
Volventis una, non ſine montium
Clamore, vicinæque ſylvæ:
Quum fera diluvies quietos
Irritat amnes, &c. *Lib.* iii. *Carm. Od.* 29.

The Manſoureah, or Siſaris, another large river at a ſmall diſtance from the Naſava, ſeparates the diſtricts of the Beni Iſah and the Beni Maad. The nickname of Sheddy, i. e. *Monkey*, that was given two centuries ago by the Beni Maad to the ſheck or *chief* of the Beni Iſah, occaſioned that bloody and irreconcileable animoſity which has ever ſince ſubſiſted betwixt them. The greateſt part of the oaken plank and timber that is made uſe of in the docks of Algiers is ſhipped off from the Man-ſou-reah.

Jijel, the Igilgili of the ancients, lies a little beyond the cape that forms the eaſtern boundary of the gulf of Boujeiah. There is nothing left us of this ancient city, except a few miſerable houſes and a ſmall fort, where the Turks have a garriſon of one Suffrah. It will not, I preſume, be diſputed that Boujeiah and Jijel are the Saldæ and Igilgili of the ancients; though it may be difficult to reconcile the thirteen leagues, which, in travelling along the ſea coaſt, we find betwixt them, with the 2° of Ptolemy, or with the ninety-three Roman miles of the Itinerary. Ptolemy likewiſe places Igilgili half a degree to the ſouthward of Saldæ, in a ſituation quite contrary to that of Jijel, which lies 12′ more to the northward. This circumſtance, together with the diſtance of 733 miles which Agathemer places betwixt Γιλγελις *, as he calls it, and Maſſilia, now Marſeilles, in the gulph of Narbonne, inſtead of 400 at the moſt, as it ſhould be, are other inſtances, among many already given, of the inaccuracy of the ancient geography.

The Wed el Kibeer, i. e. *the Great River*, the Ampſaga † of the ancients, falls into the ſea ten leagues to the E. of Jijel. Beyond it are the Sebba Rous, or *Seven Capes*, where the Sinus Numidicus may be ſuppoſed to begin; where likewiſe the river Zhoora has its influx.

The Welled Attyah, and the Beni Friganah, the two principal clans of the Sebba Rous, drink of this river, and dwell not, like other Kabyles, in little mud-walled hovels, but in caves, which they themſelves have either ſcouped out of the rocks, or found ready made to their hands. When any veſſel, either in the courſe of ſailing, or by diſtreſs of weather, approaches their coaſt, theſe inhoſpitable Kabyles immediately ſtart out of their holes, and running down to the cliffs of the ſhore, which they cover with their multitudes, they throw out a thouſand execrable wiſhes, that God would deliver it into their hands. And probably the name of Boujarone or Catamite, was firſt given by the Italian geographers to theſe capes, in conſideration of the brutal and inhuman qualities of the inhabitants.

The Tritum of Strabo, and the Matgonium of Mela anſwer to theſe promontories. And, indeed, the Metagonium of Strabo, in being placed at the diſtance of three thouſand furlongs from Carthago Nova, or Carthagena, according to its preſent name,

* Agatham. Geogr. l. ii. c. 14.

† Ampſaga, Arabice אפסח *aphſach*, latum et amplum ſonat. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

will

will much better agree with this place, than with the Ras el Harſhfa, as it has already been taken notice of.

Cull, the Collops Magnus, or Cullu of the ancients, another maritime garriſon of the Algerines, is ſituated under the eaſtermoſt of theſe capes, 18 miles from the *Great River*. It is in the ſame miſerable condition with Jijel, and with as few antiquities to boaſt of. The ſmall haven that lies before it, is in the ſame faſhion, though more capacious than that at Dellys, from which the adjacent city might receive its name*. Here the river Ze-amah has its influx.

Sgigata, the ancient Ruſicada, called likewiſe Stora in the ſea charts, is of a greater extent than Cull, and diſcovers more tokens of antiquity; though a few ciſterns, converted at preſent into magazines for corn, are the only remains of it. The author of the Itinerary, in laying down 60 miles betwixt Culli and this place, more than doubles the real diſtance betwixt them. The adjacent rivulet may be well taken for the Tapſas † of Sequeſter.

Five leagues to the N. E. of Sgigata is the little port of Gavetto; and then, after doubling Ras Hadeed, i. e. *The Cape of Iron*, four leagues further, which is the eaſtern boundary of the Sinus Numidicus, we arrive at the iſland Tuckuſh, with a village of the ſame name ſituated over againſt it, upon the continent. This was probably the Tucatua of the Itinerary, and the Tucaccia of Thuanus, l. vii. *in principio*. Leaving this iſland and village, we double Cape Hamrah, or *the Red Promontory*, the Hippi Promontorium of the ancients; and paſſing by the little port, Barber, called by the Europeans Port Genoeſe, we arrive at Bona; known to the Moors by the name of Blaid el Aneb, or *the town of Jujebs*, from the plenty of fruit which is gathered in the neighbourhood. Bona is, without doubt, a corruption of Hippo or Hippona; though we are not to look for that ancient city here, where the name is preſerved, but among a heap of ruins a mile farther to the ſouth. Leo informs us, that Blaid el Aneb was built out of theſe ruins of Hippona; and it is certain, if we except one or two of the ſtreets that are made with cauſeways, after the Roman manner, the reſt might have been the later work of the Mahometans. Bona therefore may be rather the Aphrodiſium of Ptolemy, which he places 15′ to the N. of Hippo; as the Colonia, joined with it in the tables, will, according to Cellarius, l. iv. c. 5. be an appellation more ſuitable to the latter.

Bona, beſides its capacious harbour to the E., had formerly a convenient little port under the very walls of it to the ſouthward; but by the conſtant diſcharge of ballaſt into the one, and neglecting to cleanſe the other, both of them are every day rendered leſs ſafe and commodious. However, a great quantity of corn, wool, hides, and wax, are every year permitted to be ſhipped off from this place, which, by proper care and encouragement, might become the moſt flouriſhing city in Barbary; as, by removing the rubbiſh, repairing the old ruins, and introducing a ſupply of freſh water, which is much wanting, it would be one of the moſt convenient and delightful.

Betwixt Blaid el Aneb and the ancient Hippo, we have a low, marſhy plain, which appears to be an acquiſition from the ſea, and might have therefore been formerly the haven of Hippo. The river Boo-jeemah, which has a bridge of Roman workmanſhip built over it, runs along the weſtern ſide of this marſh, as the Seibouſe, a much larger river, does to the eaſtward: both of them having their influx together into the ſea. They both of them likewiſe are very ſubject to inundations, and bringing along with

* *Viz.* a *Culla*, Portus, tuta navium Statio, unde Italorum Scala. Vid. Gol. in voce.

† Tapſas Africæ fl. juxta Ruſicadem. Vib. Sequeſt. de flumin.

them,

them, at theſe times, a great many roots and trunks of trees, and leaving them afterwards upon the neighbouring ſhore, might have firſt occaſioned, as I have mentioned, this addition of land to the continent. The low ſituation of the adjacent country, and the inundations conſequent thereupon, ſufficiently juſtify the etymology which Bochart * has left us of Hippo.

The ruins of this ancient city are ſpread over the neck of land that lies betwixt theſe rivers, which, near the banks, is plain and level, but riſes afterwards to a moderate elevation. They are about half a league in circuit, conſiſting as uſual of large broken walls and ciſterns; ſome of which were ſhewn by the Moors, who have an intereſt in keeping up ſuch a profitable tradition, for the convent of St. Auſtin. This city was called Hippo Regius, not only in contradiſtinction to the Hippo Zarytus, but from being one of the royal cities of the Numidian kings. For Silius Italicus † acquaints us, that it was formerly one of their favourite ſeats; and, indeed, if a city, ſtrong and warlike ‡, commodiouſly ſituated, as well for trade and commerce, as for hunting and diverſion; that enjoyed a healthful air, and took in, at one view, the ſea, a ſpacious harbour, a diverſity of mountains loaded with trees, and plains cut through with rivers, could engage the affections of the Numidian kings, Hippo had all this to recommend it.

The Sei-bouſe and Ma-fragg, the principal rivers betwixt Hippo and Tabraca, anſwer to the Armua and Rubricatus of the ancients. Thuanus, l. vii. p. 612. ſeems to have been very little acquainted with the courſe of the latter, in conducting it, below the promontorium Apollinis, into the Gulf of Carthage.

Doubling Cape Roſa, five leagues from the Mafragg to the N. E. we turn into the Baſtion, where there is a ſmall creek, and the ruins of a fort, that gave occaſion to the name. The factory of the French African company had formerly their ſettlement at this place; but the unwholeſomeneſs of the ſituation, occaſioned by the neighbouring ponds and marſhes, obliged them to remove to La Calle, another inlet, three leagues farther to the eaſt, where thoſe gentlemen have a magnificent houſe and garden, three hundred coral fiſhers, a company of ſoldiers, ſeveral pieces of ordnance, and a place of arms. Beſides the advantage of the coral fiſhery, and of the whole trade of the circumjacent country, they have alſo at Bona, Tuckuſh, Sgigata, and Cull, the monopoly of corn, wool, hides, and wax; for which they pay yearly to the government of Algiers, to the Kaide of Bona, and to the chiefs of the neighbouring Arabs, thirty thouſand dollars, i. e. about five thouſand guineas of our money; a trifling ſum for ſuch great privileges. The Baſtion, and La Calle, are, I preſume, too near each other to be taken for the Diana and Nalpotes of the Itinerary, which, however, we are to look for in this ſituation.

Among the principal inhabitants of the maritime parts of Numidia, we have, along the banks of the Zeamah, the Beni-Meleet; and after them the Reramnah, Taabnah, and Beni Minuah, who, with the Hajaitah and Senhadgah, the Bedoweens of Porto Gavetto and Ras Hadeed are the chief communities of the Sinus Numidicus, or gulf of Stora. But the mountains from Tuckuſh to Bona, and the plains from thence to the Mafragg, are cultivated by the citizens of Bona. The Merdaſs, who have continued

* Nec ab equis aut equilibus Hipponem Græco nomine Phœnices appellaſſent. — Hippo nempe a Phœnicibus *ubo* vel *ubbo* dici potuit, quia in ſinu latet. Sinus enim Syris eſt עובא *ubo*, vel עבא *ubbo*, etiam ut multi ſcribunt. Et Arabice עב *ubbon* tam STAGNUM quam Sinum ſonat. Giggeius אלעב (*alubbo*) Sinus, Stagnum. Chan. l. i. cap. 24.

† Antiquis dilectus regibus Hippo. l. iii. v. 259.

‡ Ες πολιν Νομιδων ισχυραν επι θαλασσῃ κειμενην, αφικομενος, ἣν δε Ιππων ῥηγιον καλεσι. Proc. Bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4.

to

to live in this ſituation from the time of J. Leo *, are the Bedoweens of the champaign country betwixt the Mafragg and the Baſtion. Beyond them are the Mazoulah, who have an unwholeſome diſtrict, full of ponds and marſhes, quite up to the Nadies. Theſe, a miſchievous plundering tribe, like the reſt who live upon the frontiers, ſpread themſelves from the Wed el Erg, to the mountains of Ta-barka; where the river Zaine, the ancient Tuſca, the eaſtern boundary of this province, has its ſources.

Zaine, in the language of the neighbouring Kabyles, ſignifies *an oak tree;* a word of the ſame import nearly with Thabraca, or Tabraca, as the ancient city, built upon the weſtern banks of it was called. Leo, indeed, and others upon his authority, call it Guadilbarbar, i. e. *the river Barbar*, and deduce it from the city Urbs, which lies a great way to the ſouthward. But this river is known by no ſuch name at preſent; neither are its fountains at any greater diſtance than the adjacent mountains. Tabarca, as it is now called, has a ſmall fort to defend it, but can boaſt of few other remaining antiquities, beſides a Cippus, with the following inſcription:

D. M. S.
NEVIA GEMIS.
TA PIA CASTA
VIX. ANN. XXII.
MENS. VI. H. XI.
H. S. E.

The Lomellines, a noble Genoeſe family, have been in poſſeſſion of the little iſland that lies before Tabarca, at the mouth of the Zaine, ever ſince the time of the famous Andrea Doria, to whom the Tuniſeans gave it, with the ſolemn conſent of the Grand Segnor, in ranſom for one of their princes, whom Andrea had taken captive. This place is defended by a ſmall caſtle, well armed, and in good order, and protected the coral fiſhery, which was carried on in theſe ſeas. But A. D. 1740, that monſter of princes, Ally Baſhaw, the reigning King of Tunis, took it by treachery from the Genoeſe; and, contrary to all juſtice, and the right of nations, put ſome of them to the ſword, and the reſt, to the number of three or four hundred, he carried into captivity.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the moſt remarkable inland Places and Inhabitants of the Eaſtern Province, or Province of Conſtantina, together with the correſpondent Part of the Sahara.*

THE whole tract of this province, which lies between the meridians of the rivers Boo-berak and Zhoore, from the ſea coaſt to the parallels of Seteef and Conſtantina, is, for the moſt part, a continued chain of exceedingly high mountains; few of whoſe inhabitants, from the ruggedneſs of their ſituation, pay any tribute to the Algerines. Near the parallels of Seteef and Conſtantina, it is diverſified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which afterwards grows leſs fit for tillage, till it ends, upon the Sahara, in a long range of mountains, the Buzara, as I take it to be, of the ancients. The diſtrict of Zaab lies immediately under theſe mountains; and beyond Zaab, at a great diſtance in the Sahara, is Wadreag, another collection of villages. This part of the eaſtern province, including the parallel of Zaab, anſwers to the Mauritania Sitifenſis, or the *Firſt Mauritania* †, as it was called in the middle age.

* Huic oppido (Bonæ) ſpatioſiſſima quædam eſt planities, cujus longitudo quadraginta, latitudo autem viginti quinque continet milliaria: hæc frugibus ferendis eſt feliciſſima, ab Arabibus quibuſdam colitur, quos Merdez appellant. J. Leo, p. 211.

† Procop. Bell. Vand. c. 30. l. ii. p. 287.

The mountainous country betwixt the meridians of the rivers Zhoore and Seibouſe is of no great extent, rarely ſpreading itſelf above ſix leagues within the continent; the inhabitants whereof, near Tuckuſh and Bona, are tributaries to the Algerines, but in the Gulf of Stora, near Port Gavetto, Sgigata, and Tull, they bid them defiance. From the Sei-bouſe to the Zaine, except in the neighbourhood of Ta-barka, where it begins again to be very mountainous, the country is moſtly upon a level, though ſometimes interrupted by hills and foreſts. The like interruptions we meet with below Tuckuſh, along the encampments of the Hareiſhah, Grarah, and other Bedoweens, as far as Conſtantina, where we ſometimes ſee a ſmall ſpecies of red deer, which are rarely, if ever, met with in other parts of this kingdom. Beyond this parallel, we have a range of high mountains, the Thambes of Ptolemy, extending themſelves as far as Ta-barka; behind which there is paſture and arable ground, ending at length upon the Sahara, as the Mauritania Sitifenſis did before, in a ridge of mountains, the Mampſarus probably of the ancients. Part of the Africa Propria of Mela and Ptolemy, the Numidia Maſſylorum, the Metagonitis Terra*, &c. was comprehended in this part of the province.

But, to be more particular. A few leagues to the S. E. of Mount Jurjura, among the mountains of the Beni Abbeſs, we paſs through a narrow winding valley, continued for above half a mile, under two oppoſite ranges of exceedingly high precipices. At every winding, the rocky ſtratum that originally went acroſs it, and thereby ſeparated one part of this valley from another, is hewn down like ſo many door-caſes, each of them ſix or ſeven feet wide, which have given the Arabs an occaſion to call them the Beeban, or *gates*, whilſt the Turks, in conſideration of their ſtrength and ruggedneſs, know them by the additional appellation of Dammer Cappy, i. e. *the gates of iron*. Few perſons paſs through them without horror; a handful of men (and the maſters of them are a race of ſturdy fellows) being able to diſpute the paſſage with a whole army. A rivulet of ſalt water, which attends us all along this valley, might firſt point out the way that art and neceſſity would afterwards improve.

Two leagues to the S. S. E. of the Beeban, is the Accaba, or *aſcent*; another dangerous paſs, the very reverſe of the Beeban. For here, as in the noted Mount Cenis in Italy, the road lies upon the narrow ridge of a high mountain, with deep vallies and precipices on each ſide, where the leaſt deviation from the beaten path expoſes the traveller to the almoſt inevitable danger of his life. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the common road from Algiers to Conſtantina lies over this ridge, and through the Beeban; being preferred to another a little on the right hand, by being wider, and to Wan-nougah in being more direct.

Mount Atlas, which quite through the province of Titterie, as far as Mount Jurjura, ran nearly in a paralleliſm with the ſea coaſt, begins from thence to incline to the S. E. In the ſame direction likewiſe are the high mountains of Wannougah and I-aite; which are ſucceeded afterwards, though more in a paralleliſm with the ſea coaſt, by thoſe of the Welled Selim, Muſtewah, Aureſs, and Tipaſa, quite into the kingdom of Tunis.

Three or four leagues to the ſouthward of Mount I-aite, is Meſſeelah, the frontier town of this province to the weſtward. It is built upon the ſouthern ſkirts of the plains of El Huthnah, nine leagues to the S. S. W. of Seedy Embarak El-mati, and ſixteen to the S. W. of Seteef; ſo that Abulfeda† muſt be greatly miſtaken in placing it only

* Plin. l. v. c. 3.

† Al Kaiem Billah Fathemita condidit Meſeela An. Heg. 315. appellavitque eam Al Mohammediah. Inter Coſtinam et Meſeelam octodecim miliaria, et mons continuus. Abulf. ut ſupra.

eighteen miles from Conſtantina. It is a dirty place, like other villages of this country, having its houſes built, either with reeds daubed over with mud, or elſe with tiles baked in the ſun. Here the Algerines had formerly a garriſon of three ſuffrahs, which is changed at preſent into a ſmall body of ſpahees, who have little duty upon their hands; and upon any inſurrection or diſturbance, as there is no caſtle to protect them, have only their arms to truſt to. The air is too cold at this, as well as at other places upon the ſkirts of the Sahara, for the production of dates; and therefore the gardens that ſurround it, are only furniſhed with peach, apricot, and ſuch fruit trees as are common to the more northern parts of Barbary. Meſ-ſeelah * denotes a ſituation like this, which borders upon a running water.

At the ſame diſtance on the other, *i. e.* the N. ſide of Jibbel I-aite, we enter upon the plains of Ma-janah, ſhaded to the northward by the Dra el Hammar, and to the W. by the mountains of Wannougah. Theſe plains are both extenſive and fertile, but the many pools of ſtagnating water, as the name imports, that are left here in the rainy ſeaſon, and corrupt afterwards in the ſpring, occaſion a variety of agues and ſuch like diſtempers as are common to other places in the like ſituation. We have ſeveral heaps of ruins diſperſed all over theſe plains; out of which, the Turks have lately built a fort, called Burg Majanah, where they have a garriſon to watch the motions of the Beni Abbeſs, and other neighbouring Kabyles and Arabs.

We have nothing further remarkable, till paſſing by the village Zammora, i. e. *of olive trees*, and the ſanctuary of the Seedy Embarak Eſ-mati, we come to Seteef, the ancient Sitipha or Sitifi, the metropolis of this part of Mauritania; which is recorded in hiſtory to have made a ſtout reſiſtance upon the incurſions of the Saracens. This city, which I conjecture might have been a league in circuit, was built upon a riſing ground, that faces the S.; but the Arabs have been ſo very ſevere to it, that there is ſcarce one fragment left us either of the ancient walls, pillars, or ciſterns of the Romans; the few remaining ſtructures being obviouſly the work of the later inhabitants. The fountains, which continue to flow very plentifully near the centre of the city, are equally delightful and convenient; and, without doubt, gave occaſion formerly for many ingenious and uſeful contrivances in the diſtribution of the water. I found here the two following inſcriptions; the latter whereof is inſcribed in beautiful characters, ſix inches or more in length.

D. M S.
C. IVLIVS
CALLIS
TIANVS
VIX. IXI.
H. S. E.

NINO. AVG. P.
GERM. TRIB. PO.
VS DIVI TRA
ΣR. AVG. MA.

The plains and rich paſture grounds of Caſſir Attyre lie a little to the ſouthward of Sateef. They are cultivated by the Raigah, a clan of Arabs famous for the breeding of cattle, particularly of horſes, which are reckoned the beſt in this kingdom. Here, and in ſeveral other diſtricts already deſcribed, πολυβοτειρος, ιπποβοτος, ερισωλαξ, and other the like fine epithets of Homer, might be well applied. The Σιταφιον πεδιον

* *Muſleh* (viz. *Sauba* fluxit aqua) locus torrentis ſeu fluentis aquæ. Vid. Gol. Gig. &c. in voce.

likewiſe of Ptolemy, provided Σιταφιον has any relation to Sitipha, might juſtly claim this ſituation.

Near the Raigah are the Ammer, who are a powerful, though infamous tribe; proſtituting contrary to the practice of their brethren, their wives and daughters. Both theſe tribes drink of the Booſellam, the river of Seteef.

Eight leagues to the S.E. of Seteef, are the ruins of Taggah and Zainah, ſituated at half a league's diſtance from each other, in a fruitful and champaign country, below Jibbel Muſtewah; the chief abode of the Welled Abdenore, a very numerous and powerful clan. Taggah and Zainah are rarely mentioned apart, but from their contiguity are called jointly Tagou-Zainah. A little brook runs betwixt them; and at Zainah, the only appellation I have met with in this country that bears any affinity with the ancient Zama, once a royal city of the Numidian Kings, we have, among other ruins, the remains of a triumphal arch, ſupported by two large Corinthian pillars. Upon the frize is the following inſcription, which fixes the Diana of the Itinerary at this place.

IMP. CAES. M. SEVERO. PIO. FELICI. AVG.
PONT. MAX. TRI. POT. PROVIDENTISSIMO.
ET SANCTISSIMO. PRINCIPI. ET. ANTONINO.
NOBILLISSIMO. CAESARI. PRINCIPI. IVVEN-
TVTIS. DIANENSIVM. EX. DECRETO. D.D. P.P.

Diana likewiſe, as we learn from the Itinerary, was called Diana Veteranorum, from ſome veteran troops that might have been there ſtationed. In Peutinger's table alſo, we ſee at Diana a large temple dedicated no doubt to the goddeſs of that name, the protectreſs of the highways, which temple, as Africa was always fond of Pagan ſuperſtitions, might continue even a long time after this country was governed by Chriſtian princes.

Five leagues to the E. of Tagou-zainah, upon the northern ſkirts of Jibbel Aureſs, we have a very remarkable ſepulchral monument, called Medraſhem, or Mail' Caſhem, i. e. *the treaſure of Caſhem.* It is nearly of the ſame faſhion with the Kubber Romeah, but differs in being larger, and in having the corniſh of the baſe ſupported with Tuſcan-like pilaſters. The Arabs imagine that an immenſe treaſure lies buried underneath it; and have therefore made the like attempts as at the Kubber Romeah to lay it open.

The diſtrict, in the neighbourhood of this Mauſoleum, is called Ai-yac-coute; probably from the Ain-yac-coute *, or *diamond* (*i. e.* tranſparent) *fountain*, that flows near the middle of it. Several fragments of Roman highways, and other ruins, are ſcattered all over it; amongſt which the chiefeſt are thoſe of Om-oley-Sinaab, a league or more to the weſtward of Medraſhem, in the way to Tagou-zainah.

Tattubt, bordering upon the Ai-yac-coute to the N. E. is about four leagues from Om-oley Sinaab, and eight to the S. S. W. of Conſtantina. This has been formerly a conſiderable city, but at preſent, it is almoſt entirely covered with earth and rubbiſh. Haſſan, the bey of this province, dug up lately out of theſe ruins, ſeveral beautiful

* This is the uſual name for the diamond in the ſeveral places both of the Levant and Barbary, where I have been. The זכוכית *Zakoukit* in the book of Job, xxviii. 17. ſeems to be the ſame; and, being there joined with things of the greateſt price, may perhaps be much better rendered the *diamond* than *cryſtal*, as it is in our tranſlation. However Golius and other interpret it differently; *viz.* Voce hac Orienti diverſæ appellantur gemmæ: ſiquidem hyacinthi ſuæ ſpecies quatuor numerat; rubram, flavam, cæruleam, et albam. Atque ita quoque ſapphirus et chryſolithus. Abſolute tamen intelligitur hyacinthus rubra; qui lapis vulgo rubinus dicitur.

granite

granite pillars, of twelve feet long, which may juſtly be reputed the moſt graceful ornaments of the new moſque that he has lately erected at Conſtantina. Tattubt ſeems to be the ſame with the Tadutti of the Itinerary; and, lying betwixt Lambeſe and Gemellæ, as the ancients called Tezzoute and Jim-meelah, will accordingly lay claim to this ſituation.

Ten leagues to the S. of Taggon-zainah, and twelve from Medraſhem, are the ruins of the ancient Thubuna, as the preſent name Tubnah ſeems to inſinuate, and as Ptolemy's poſition of it, in the ſame meridian nearly with Igilgili, may farther confirm. It is ſituated in a fine plain betwixt the rivers Bareekah, and Boo-ma-zooſe; but the few remains of it are ſo much buried in ſand and rubbiſh, that it will be difficult to determine its former extent. The opinion of the Arabs, that a large treaſure lies buried in theſe ruins, gave occaſion to the following rhapſody.

Mel Tubna taat thul athloulah	*The treaſure of Tubnah lies under the ſhade of what is ſhaded.*
Afer? Weis! la takoun toumah.	*Dig for it? Alas! it is not there.*

Seven leagues to the S. S. W. of Tubnah, and ſixteen to the S. E. of Me-ſeelah, is Em-dou-khal, a little village ſurrounded with mountains. Here we meet with the firſt plantation of date trees, though the fruit does not ripen to that delicacy and ſweetneſs as in the province of Zaab, that commences a little beyond it.

The Shott is a large valley or plain, that runs, with few interruptions, betwixt two chains of mountains, from the neighbourhood of Em-dou-khal, to the weſtward of the meridian of Meſ-ſeelah. The word commonly ſignifies *the ſea ſhore* or *the banks* of ſome lake or river; but the meaning here is ſomewhat varied, and denotes *the borders* or *area* rather of ſuch a plain, as according to the ſeaſons of the year, is either covered with ſalt, or overflowed with water. Several parts of the Shott conſiſt of a light oozy ſoil, which, after ſudden rains, or the overflowing of the adjacent rivers, are changed into ſo many quickſands, and occaſion no ſmall danger to the unweary traveller. La Croix (tom. v. p. 282.) was badly informed in affirming that all the rivers of this kingdom run from ſouth to north; ſince, beſides ſeveral others in a quite contrary direction, we have no fewer than five, and thoſe very conſiderable ſtreams, which empty themſelves from the northward into the Shott.

Croſſing the Boo-ma-zooſe, over againſt Tubnah, we have a large mountain of excellent free-ſtone, with a number of ſquare blocks, ready prepared for the builder. It is called Muckat el Hadjar, i. e. *the quarry*; and the Arabs have a tradition that the ſtones employed in building Seteef (and without doubt, Nic-kowſe, Jigbah, and other neighbouring cities) were brought from this place.

Four leagues to the northward of this quarry, is Boo-muggar, a fruitful little diſtrict, with ſome traces of ancient buildings. Betwixt it and Ras el Aioune, is the village of Nic-kowſe or Bencowſe, as the Turks call it; where there is a garriſon of one ſuffrah, a mud walled rampart, and three pieces of cannon. The inhabitants are chiefly Zwowiah, under the protection of Seedy Laſſan, their tutelar ſaint; the revenues of whoſe ſanctuary maintain two hundred thalebs. Nic-kowſe is ſituated in a valley, with a circle of mountains at a moderate diſtance from it. A rivulet glides by it to the W.; but, being impregnated with too many nitrous particles, which the ſoil is here ſufficiently charged with, the water is ſeldom made uſe of in the offices of the table or kitchen. We have the traces here of a large city, with the remains as uſual of pillars, broken walls, and ciſterns; but at preſent, the Nic kowſians make themſelves famous for the tombs, which they pretend to ſhew, of *the*

Seven Sleepers *, whom they ſtrenuouſly maintain to have been Muſſulmen, and to have ſlept at this place.

The powerful clans of the Lakhder, Coſſoure, and Hirkawſe, are maſters of the mountainous diſtrict to the eaſtward of Tubnah and Nic-kowſe, as far as Jibbel Aureſs, or Eureſs, as the Turks pronounce it. This, the Mons Auraſius of the middle age, and the Mons Audus of Ptolemy, is not one ſingle mountain, as the name would inſinuate, and as Procopius † ſeems to deſcribe it, but it is a large knot of eminences running one into another, with ſeveral beautiful little plains and vallies intervening. However, both the higher and the lower parts of it, are moſt of them of the utmoſt fertility, and ſtill continue to be the garden of this province. The whole mountainous tract may be a hundred and twenty miles in circuit, or three long days' journey according to Procopius: and the northern part alone, which is viſited every year by a flying camp of the Algerines, is poſſeſſed by ſuch a number of clans, viz. the Boozeenah, Laſhaſh, Maifah, and Booaref, that it requires forty of their ſtations to bring them all under contribution. However, the Turkiſh ſoldiers have rarely the courage to penetrate ſo far to the S. E. as the Ain Ou-heide, which is a noted intermitting fountain, flowing only, as I was informed, on Fridays; at which time, it diſcharges itſelf in a very plentiful flux of water, into the river of Bag-gai. The like rugged ſituation to the ſouthward, equally diſcourages them from ſubduing the Near dee, a ſturdy community, and ſo well fortified by nature, that one of their Marabbutts expreſſed the danger of attacking them, by *eating fire* ‡. A high pointed impenetrable rock, the ſeat of their Daſhkrah, ſeems to be the Petra Geminiani §, or the Tumar of Procopius, anſwering to all the circumſtances of thoſe places as they are recorded by that hiſtorian. Within our memory, Umhaany, a brave warlike princeſs, like one of the heroines of old, commanded ſeveral of theſe ſturdy clans, whom ſhe has often led out to battle, and animated them therein by her own courage and example.

There are a number of ruins ſpread all over theſe mountains, and their fruitful vallies; the moſt remarkable of which are thoſe of L'erba or Tezzoute, three leagues nearly in circumference, where indeed we have a great variety of antiquities; for beſides the magnificent remains of ſeveral of the city gates, which, according to the tradition of the Arabs, were forty in all, and that when the place was in proſperity, it could ſend out of each of them forty thouſand armed men, we have the ſeats and upper part of an amphitheatre; the frontiſpiece of a beautiful Ionic temple, dedicated to Eſculapius; a large oblong chamber, with a great gate on each ſide of it, intended perhaps for a triumphal arch; and the Cubb' el Ar-roſah, i. e. *the cupola of the bride*, as the Arabs call a little beautiful mauſoleum, built in the faſhion of a dome, ſupported with Corinthian pillars.

Theſe, and ſeveral other edifices of the like elegant ſtructure, ſufficiently demonſtrate the importance and magnificence of this city; which alone, without the authority of inſcriptions, might be a preſumptive argument for what has been already ſuggeſted, that Tezzoute or L'erba was the Lambeſe or Lambaſa of the ancients. The particular notice that is taken of Lambeſe in the Itinerary, ſhould induce us to ſuppoſe it to have been the moſt conſiderable city of that part of the country, where

* The common opinion is, that they ſlept in a cavern of Mount Ochlon, near the city of Epheſus, from A. D. 253 to A. D. 408, viz. from the Decian perſecution, to the time of the younger Theodoſius. Vid. Gregoire de Tours de gloria martyrum, cap. 95. Diction. de Moreri, in voce Dormans.

† Procop. Bell. Vand. l. ii. cap. 13. p. 266.

‡ La ſhuff Neardy! Tackul el Nahar. *Don't ſee* (fight with) *the Neardy*: in ſo doing, *you will* (catch *a Tartar*) *eat fire*.

§ Procop. Bell. Vand. l ii. cap 13. p 286. et cap. 19.

it was ſituated; and the reſpective diſtances and directions laid down by the ſame author in conducting us thither, point out to us the ſituation of it in general, viz. that it made, with Theveſte and Sitifi, an irregular triangle, whoſe height was to be determined by the diſtance of Cirta. Ptolemy indeed, by placing Sitifi to the ſouthward of Cirta and Lambeſa, or in the ſituation of the preſent Theveſte, gives to each of theſe places a poſition very different from what they are placed in; however, by informing us, that the *Legio tertia Auguſta* was ſtationed at Lambeſa, he furniſhes us with a matter of fact, and ſo far inſtructs us, that where we find the third legion, as we do here at Tezzoute, there we may fix his Lambeſa. The word LAMBASENTIVM, in the firſt of the following inſcriptions, may further confirm it.

In an old Moſque.

IMP. CAESARE
M. AVRELIO ANTONINO
ARMENIACO
PARTHICO
TRIB. POTEST --- PONT. MAX.
LAMBASENTIVM ----
D.D. P.P.

Upon the frize of a Temple dedicated to Æſculapius.

AESCVLAPIO ET SALVTI IMP. CAES. MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS
AVG. PON MAX.
IMP. CAES. LVCIVS AELIVS VERVS. AVG.

Upon a ſquare Stone hard by it.

DEONTEIO FONTINIANO
STERNIO RVTINO
LEGATO AVGVSTORVM
PR. PR. COS. DESIGNATO
SEX. TERENTIVS SATVR
NINUS LEG. . .
AVGVST.

Near a triumphal Arch.

IMP. CAES.
AELIO HADRIANO
ANTONINO AVG.
PONT. II. MAXIMO
TRIB. POTEST. X.
IMP. II. COS. III. P. P.
DEDICANTE
INDVIO CR. . .
LEG. AVG. PR. PR.

PRO CO. . .
. . . ISSIMO
BENIGNISSIMO
CAES. . . .
IANVARIVS
LEG. III. AVG.
. . . . .

Near

Near the Amphitheatre.

MAXIMIANO
INVICTO AVG.
LEG. IIII. AVG.
P. F.

The Kabyles of theſe mountains of Aureſs have a quite different mien and aſpect from their neighbours. For their complexions are ſo far from being ſwarthy, that they are fair and ruddy; and their hair, which, among the other Kabyles is of a dark colour, is with them of a deep yellow. Theſe circumſtances, notwithſtanding they are Mahometans, and ſpeak the common language of the Kabyles, may induce us to take them, if not for the tribe mentioned by Procopius *, yet at leaſt for ſome remnant or other of the Vandals †, who, notwithſtanding they were diſpoſſeſſed in his time of theſe ſtrong holds, and diſperſed among the African families, might have had ſeveral opportunities afterwards of collecting themſelves into bodies, and re-inſtating themſelves.

Betwixt Jibbel Aureſs and Conſtantina is the high mountain of Ziganeah, at the foot of which is Phyſgēah, formerly a city of the Romans, where there is a plentiful fountain and reſervoir according to the import of the name, the water whereof was formerly conducted by an aqueduct to Conſtantina.

Conſtantina ‡, or Cirta §, or Cirta Sittianorum ‖, as it was anciently called, is well ſituated by Pliny 48 miles from the ſea. We learn from hiſtory ¶, that it was one of the chiefeſt, as well as one of the ſtrongeſt cities of Numidia; the firſt of which circumſtances is confirmed by the extent of the ruins, the latter by its particular ſituation **. For the greateſt part of it has been built upon a peninſular promontory, as I may call it, inacceſſible on all ſides, except towards the S.W. where it was joined to the continent. This promontory I computed to be a good mile in circuit, lying a little inclined to the ſouthward; but to the northward, it ended in a precipice of at leaſt a hundred fathom in perpendicular; from whence we have a beautiful landſcape over a great variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which lie to a great diſtance, before it. The view, which Cuper (in his notes upon Lactantius de Mort. Perſecut.) has given us of Cirta, is on the north ſide of it, though very incorrect, and not at all like it. To the eaſtward, our proſpect is bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the S. E. the country is more open, entertaining us with a diſtant view of the mountains of Seedy Rougeiſe and Ziganeah. And in theſe directions this peninſular promontory is ſeparated from the continent by a deep narrow valley, perpendicular on both ſides, where the Rummel or Ampſaga conveys its ſtream. The neck of land to the S.W. where we find the principal gate

* Procop. Bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 13. † Id. l. i. c. 22.

‡ Per Africam ſacerdotium decretum Flaviæ genti, Cirtæque oppido, quod obſidione Alexandri ceciderat, repoſito ornatoque, nomen Conſtantina inditum. Aur. Victor in Vita Conſtantini.

§ Cirta s. Cirtha, Punice, קִרְתָּא *Cartha*, i. e. *Civitas*. Boch. Chan. l. i. cap. 24. Kiriath, joined with Arba, Jerim, &c. in the H. Scriptures, ſeems to be the ſame word.

‖ Cirta Sittianorum (*viz.* a militibus Sittianis) cognomine. Plin. l. v. c. 3. P. Sittii meminere. Salluſt. in conjur. Catil. c. 21. Hirt. de B. Afr. c. 36. Dio. l. xliii. p. 242. App. de Bell. Civ. l. iv. p. 996.

¶ Jugurtha — neque propter Naturam loci Cirtam armis expugnare poteſt. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 25. Exc. p. 7. B.

** See the plan of this city in Ampl. Cuperi notis ad Lactant. de Mort. Perſec. c. 44. which marks out the precipice; but is otherwiſe very incorrect, and gives us little knowledge of the place.

of the city, is about the breadth of half a furlong, being entirely covered with broken walls, ciſterns, and other ruins, which are continued quite down to the river; and carried on from thence over a ſtrip of plain ground that runs parallel with the deep narrow valley already deſcribed. Such was the ſituation and extent of the ancient Cirta. But the preſent city has not the ſame dimenſions, being confined to the peninſular promontory only.

Beſides the general traces of a diverſity of ruins ſcattered all over this place, we have ſtill remaining, near the centre of the city, thoſe capacious ciſterns which received the water brought thither from Phyſ-geah by an aqueduct; a great part of which ſtill remains, and is very ſumptuous. The ciſterns, which are about twenty in number, make an area of fifty yards ſquare. The gate I have mentioned, is of a beautiful reddiſh ſtone, not inferior to marble well poliſhed and ſhining; the ſide poſts or pillars whereof are neatly moulded in pannels. An altar of pure white marble makes part of a neighbouring wall, and the ſide of it in view preſents us with a well ſhaped ſimpulum in a bold relief. The gate towards the S. E. is in the ſame faſhion and deſign, though much ſmaller, and lies open to a bridge that was built over this part of the valley. This indeed was a maſterpiece in its kind; the gallery, and the columns of the arches being adorned with cornices and feſtoons, ox-heads and garlands. The key-ſtones likewiſe of the arches are charged with caducei and other figures. Below the gallery, betwixt the two principal arches, we ſee, in a bold relief, and well executed, the figure of a lady treading upon two elephants, with a large eſcallop ſhell for her canopy. The elephants, facing each other, twiſt their trunks together; and the lady, who appears dreſſed in her own hair, with a cloſe-bodied garment, like the women's riding habit of our times, raiſes up her petticoat with her right hand, and looks ſcornfully upon the city. This group, in any other ſituation, might well be ſuppoſed to have belonged to ſome fountain, as fountains or ſpouts of water were ſometimes laid out in ſuch ludicrous and wanton deſigns. Upon a ſtone, in the river below it, I traced out the following words, CAI. IVLI SIGNINARI: as in a wall, near the northern precipice, where we have the baſes and pedeſtals of a magnificent portico, we ſee this broken inſcription:

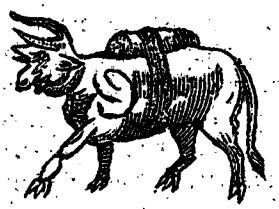
AID. IIII VIR. PR
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
RVSICADE BIS
PONTIFEX - - -
PERFECIT.

Below the bridge, the rummel turns to the northward, where it runs near a quarter of a mile through a rocky ſubterraneous paſſage, deſignedly laid open in ſeveral places, for the greater conveniency of drawing up the water, and cleanſing the channel. This, according to all appearance, ſeems to be an extraordiuary proviſion of nature for the admiſſion of the river, which otherwiſe muſt have formed a moſt extenſive lake, and thereby laid a great part of the neighbouring country under water, before it could have found its way to the ſea.

Among the ruins to the S. W. of the bridge, upon the narrow ſtrip of land juſt now deſcribed, we have the greateſt part of a triumphal arch, called Caſſir Goulah, or the *Caſtle* (as they interpret it) *of the Giant*, conſiſting of three arches, the middle-moſt whereof, as uſual, is the moſt ſpacious. All the mouldings and frizes are curiouſly embelliſhed with the figures of flowers, battle-axes, and other ornaments. The Corinthian pilaſters, erected on each ſide of the grand arch, are pannelled, like the gates of the city, in a ſtyle and faſhion peculiar to Cirta.

Without

Without the precincts of the city, under the great precipice, we meet with the following ſepulchral inſcriptions. The firſt of them, which is upon a cippus, with the figure of a loaded beeve in baſſo relievo above it, and of a crab below it, makes one of the ſteps, as we deſcend to the lukewarm ſprings of Seedy Meemon, a Marabbutt, who lies there interred. Beeves are ſtill made uſe of in Numidia as beaſts of burthen.



M. MAGNI IVS - -
FELIX QVIRIT - - -
SECR. ET IVS - - -
VIX. AN. XXXX.

POMPEIO
RESTITVTO
IVDEO
POMPEIA KARA
PATRA KARIS
SIMO
FECIT.

A quarter of a mile to the eaſtward of Seedy Meemon, the rummel falls from its ſubterraneous channel in a large caſcade. The higheſt part of the city, with the magnificent portico already taken notice of, lies above it; from whence criminals continue to be precipitated into the river, as they uſed to be in former times *. A little way beyond the caſcade, is Kabat-beer-a-haal, as they call a neat tranſparent fountain, full of tortoiſes. Several ſtrange and fooliſh ſtories of their being demons, and the authors of fevers and other diſtempers, have been related of theſe animals by J. Leo, and other credulous hiſtorians.

Five leagues, or, according to the Itinerary, 25 miles to the N. W. of Conſtantina, is the city Meelah, the Milevum or Mileu of the ancients, built in the centre of a beautiful interchange of vallies and mountains. It is ſurrounded with gardens, and plentifully ſtocked with fountains; one of which, bubbling up in the centre of the city, is immediately received into a large ſquare baſon of Roman workmanſhip. Conſtantina is ſupplied chiefly from this place with herbs and fruit; whoſe pomegranates particularly are of ſo large a ſize, and have withal ſo delicate a mixture of the tart and ſweet, that they are in great eſteem all over the kingdom. Leo and Marmol bear teſtimony likewiſe to the goodneſs of the apples, in as much as they have thought fit to derive the very name of the city from that fruit.

* Sui fratris uxorem ligato pondere lapidum in Ampſagam fluvium Cirtenſem famoſum jactando demerſit. Vict. Vit. l. ii.

In

In travelling from Conſtantina to the eaſtward, we paſs by Alleegah and Announah, at each of which places there are large heaps of ruins. After them we come to the Hamam Meſkouteen, i. e. *the ſilent or inchanted baths*, ſituated on a low ground, ſurrounded with mountains. There are ſeveral fountains that furniſh the water, which is of an intenſe heat, and falls afterwards into the river Ze-nati. At a ſmall diſtance from theſe hot fountains, we have others, which, upon compariſon, are of as intenſe a coldneſs; and a little below them, ſomewhat nearer the banks of the Ze-nati, there are the ruins of a few houſes, built perhaps for the conveniency of ſuch perſons who came thither for the benefit of the waters. All this country, from Conſtantina to the Ze-nati, is a fruitful interchange of hills and vallies; ſome of which are all over interſperſed and diverſified with foreſts and plantations of olive trees.

The diſtrict of the Bookalwan, with the Aquæ Tibilitanæ upon it, called only at preſent Hamam, or the baths, lies to the eaſtward of the Hamam Meſkouteen, on the N. ſide of the river Seibouſe. On the other ſide is the diſtrict of Mownah, the poſſeſſion of the Beni Sala, a warlike tribe, with the ruins of Gelma or Kalma, as the Turks pronounce it. This undoubtedly is the Calama ſo much wanted in the old geography*, which was ſituated by St. Auſtin †, in an indetermined manner only, betwixt Hippo and Conſtantina, though nearer the former.

Behind Mownah is Tiffeſh, the Theveſte, Thebes ‡, Thebæ, or Thebeſtis of the ancients. This is the only city in the diſtrict of the Hen-neiſhah which has preſerved its old name, though, at the ſame time, it could not ſecure its walls from the devaſtations of the Arabs. It has been ſituated, like the reſt, in a fine plain with a little rivulet running by it, and lies about nineteen leagues to the E. S. E. of Conſtantina.

In the neighbourhood of Tiffeſh is the country of the Hen-neiſhah, who are not only a powerful and warlike, but a genteel and comely tribe. To them, and their gallant commander, Sultan Bwoazeeſe, the Algerines, in their late wars with Tunis, have been often indebted for a complete victory, or an honourable retreat. This gallant, though unfortunate prince, in the late revolutions at Tunis, was, by the perfidiouſneſs of his own father-in-law, Aly Baſhaw, the preſent dey, moſt villanouſly betrayed, and inhumanly murdered. And, what is more extraordinary, his body was afterwards given to his drunken janizaries, to be made into *cabab*, and eaten; which was accordingly done with great feſtivity and rejoicing.

This diſtrict, the moſt fruitful as well as the moſt extenſive of Numidia, lies betwixt the rivers Hameeſe and Myſki-anah; the latter the moſt ſouthern, the firſt the moſt northern branch of the Me-jer-dah. There is ſcarce an acre of it, but what is watered by ſome choice fountain or rivulet; and there are few of theſe conveniences without having had ſome city or village built either upon or in the neighbourhood of them; which are now ſo miſerably defaced, that a heap of rubbiſh, without either name or inſcription, is all that remains of them at preſent.

To the ſouthward of the Henneiſhah, near the banks of the Melagge, is Tipſa, or Tibeſſa, the Tipaſa of the ancients, at preſent a frontier city and garriſon of the Algerines. This place, which enjoys a fine ſituation, with ſome mountains at a ſmall diſtance, ſtill preſerves the principal gate, ſeveral fragments of old walls, and other marks of the rank and figure it formerly obtained among the cities of Numidia. There is a large ſubterraneous quarry in the adjacent mountains; the ſame place perhaps that Leo was informed had been formerly inhabited by giants.

* Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. l. iv. c. 5. p. 122. † Contra Literas Petiliani, l. ii. c. 99.

‡ Præterea Thebas Liber, quas in Africa condidit Liber pater, quæ civitas nunc Thebeſtis dicitur. Hieron. Præf. l. xi. Comment. ad Galatas.

The river Melagge runs a little to the northward of Tipaſa, being a continuation of the Myſkianah, which has its ſources at Ain Thyllah, in the weſtern confines of the Henneiſhah. A little further, the Melagge, ſtill directing its courſe to the N. E. aſſumes the name of Serrat, and is the eaſtern boundary of this kingdom. This, when joined a little further with the Sugeraſs, which comes from Millah, Hameeſe and Tiffeſh, to the weſtward, aſſumes the name of Mejerdah, the ancient Bagradas, which will be further taken notice of hereafter.

Near the weſtern banks of the Serratt, ten leagues from Tiffeſh, is Collah, Gellah, or Gellah ad Snaan, a conſiderable village, built upon a high pointed mountain, with only one narrow road leading up to it. This place, which is only to be conquered by hunger or ſurpriſe, is a convenient ſanctuary for the rebels and villains both of this and the neighbouring kingdom, where they are hoſpitably entertained, till their friends have either procured their pardons, or compounded for their crimes.

So much then for the more remarkable places and inhabitants of the Tell. That part of the Sahara, which lies behind this province, has, excluſive of the diſtant city of Wurglah, and the village Engouſah, the two conſiderable diſtricts of Zaab and Wadreag; with their reſpective numerous villages. Theſe, a collection of dirty hovels, are all built in the ſame manner, with mud walls, and rafters of palm trees; expreſſive probably of Hazazen-Tamar, (2 Chron. xx. 2.) or Tuguria in palmeto ſita, as Bochart (Hieroz. p. i. l. ii. c. 52.) explains that name. And as the inhabitants likewiſe are all of them alike occupied in cultivating the date tree, few of them will require a particular deſcription.

The diſtrict then of Zaab, the Zebe or Zabe * of the ancients, (once a part of the Mauritania Sitifenſis, as it was always of Gætulia) is a narrow tract of land, lying immediately under the mountains of Atlas, and has its villages, with few intermiſſions or vacant ſpaces betwixt them, reaching from the meridian of Meſ-ſeeleh to that of Conſtantina. Of theſe, Douſan, Toodah, Seedy Occ'ba, Biſcara, and Oumilhennah, receive their rivulets from the Tell; but the fountains and rivulets which refreſh the others, riſe within the Sahara, or elſe they ooze immediately from the ſouthern and adjacent ſkirts of Mount Atlas. The Wed Adje-dee or Jiddee, i. e. *The river of the Kid*, receives theſe ſeveral ſtreams, and running afterwards towards the S. E. loſes itſelf in the Mel-gigg, an extenſive tract of the Sahara, of the ſame ſaline and abſorbent quality with the Shott, that has been already deſcribed. This river ſhould be the Garrar or Jired of Abulfeda †; and, as there is no other noted ſtream on this ſide the Niger, it may be the ſame likewiſe with Ptolemy's Gir ‡, though placed by him among the Garamantes, who, according to all the geographical circumſtances relating to them, muſt have been ſituated a great way further to the E. or S. E.

Biſcara, the capital of Zaab, is the reſidence of a Turkiſh garriſon, who have here a ſmall caſtle, built lately by Haſſan, the munificent bey of Conſtantina. The chief ſtrength and defence of it lies in ſix ſmall pieces of ordnance, with a few unwieldy muſkets, that are mounted likewiſe upon carriages.

The village of Seedy Occuba, or Occ'ba as the Arabs contract it, is famous for the tomb of the Arabian general of that name, and for that of Seedy Laſcar, its tutelar

* *Zabe*, regio ſupra (*i. e.* ad auſtrum) montem Auraſium, ad Mauritaniam pertinentem, *Sitiphin* metropolim habens. Procop. de Bell. Vand. l. xi. c. 20.

† Al Zeb eſt territorium magnum, et fluvius Garrar s. Jirad in regione Al Megreb, cujus long. 30. 30. lat. 31 30. Abulf.

‡ Ο Γειρ ὁ επιζευγνυων το, τε Ουσαργαλα ορος και τον Φεραλγα την Γαραμαντικην, αφ' ᾧ ὁ εκτραπεις ποταμος επιεχει κατα Θεσιν μοιρας μϚ'. ις'. Ptol. Geogr. l. iv. c. 6.

ſaint. It is a common report, that the tower adjoining to the ſanctuary of Seedy Occ'ba, will very ſenſibly tremble upon calling out, TIZZA bil ras Seedy Occ'ba, i. e. *Shake for the head of Seedy Occuba.* An effect ſomething like this is produced in a tower at Rheimes in France, and with the like niceneſs in its frame or equilibre, by ringing one of the bells; the conſtituent parts of the fabric being perhaps ſo particularly and harmoniouſly put together, as to act in concert and at uniſons with ſuch ſounds. Pliny likewiſe relates ſomething of the ſame nature, l. ii. c. 96. "Juxta Harpaſa oppidum Aſiæ cautes ſtat horrenda, uno digito mobilis; eadem, ſi toto corpore impellatur, reſiſtens." There is likewiſe near the Land's End, in Cornwall, a high rock called the Logging Stone, of the like moveable quality.

The Roman maſonry may be traced out all over this province; and at Banteuſe, one of the ſouthern villages, there were lately dug up ſeveral ſtone coffins. It is very much to the honour of the Romans to find how careful they have been, where theſe rivulets ran through a looſe and ooſy ſoil, to ſupport their banks with walls of hewn ſtone, and to pave their beds with pebbles.

The eating the fleſh of dogs, for which the Carthaginians were formerly remarkable *, and from whence the Canarii might rather receive their name, than from their feeding promiſcuouſly with dogs upon the carcaſes of wild beaſts, according to Pliny †, continues in practice to this day among the inhabitants of Zaab.

Wad-reag is another collection of villages, like thoſe of Zaab. They are reckoned to be twenty-five in number, ranged in a N. E. and S. W. direction; the capital of which is Tuggurt, built upon a plain, without any river running by it. For the villages of Wadreag are ſupplied, in a particular manner, with water. They have, properly ſpeaking, neither fountains nor rivulets; but by digging wells to the depth of a hundred, and ſometimes two hundred fathoms, they never want a plentiful ſtream. In order therefore to obtain it, they dig through different layers of ſand and gravel, till they come to a fleaky ſtone, like ſlate, which is known to lie immediately above the Bahar tâht el Erd, or *the Sea below Ground*, as they call the abyſs. This is eaſily broken through; and the flux of water which follows the ſtroke, riſes generally ſo ſuddenly, and in ſuch abundance ‡, that the perſon let down for this purpoſe has ſometimes, though raiſed up with the greateſt dexterity, been overtaken and ſuffocated by it.

Thirty leagues to the S. W. of Tuggurt is Engouſah, the only village of many in this ſituation, which ſubſiſted in the time of Leo. After Engouſah, at five leagues diſtance to the weſtward, is the noted and populous city of Wurglah, the moſt diſtant community on this ſide the Niger. Theſe ſeveral cities and villages, which together with thoſe of Figig and of Beni Mezzab, are very juſtly compared by the ancients § to ſo many fruitful and verdant ſpots or iſlands, in the vaſt expanſe of a large deſert, might formerly belong to, and make up the greateſt part of the country of the Melanogætulians. For, after Gætulia, Ptolemy reckons up the nations that were ſituated

* Juſt. Hiſt. l. xix. c. 1. † Plin. l. v. c. 1.

‡ Of the like guſhing, riſing, or aſcending nature, might poſſibly have been the Beer or *well*, Numb. xxi. 17. "which the elders digged, and the people cut" or hewed (כרוה) out of the rock, "by the direction of the law-giver," (במשענתם) with their ſtaves. May it not rather be rendered, *with their united applauſe*, or *clapping of hands*, as שעב ſignifies in the Chaldee? For the digging or cutting a well with ſtaves, as it is in all verſions except the 70., ſeems to be very incongruous and abſurd. But my learned friend, Dr. Hunt, ſupplies me with another interpretation of this difficult text, wherein במחקק, which we render *by the direction of the law-giver*, may be expreſſed by *deſcribing* or *marking out* the figure or faſhion of *the well* במשענתם *with their ſtaves.*

§ Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. ii. p. 192. Εστι δ' εοικνα Λιβυη παξδαλει, &c. Dionys. Perieg. l. clxxxi. Παξδαλεη δε, &c.

beyond it to the ſouthward; among which, the Melanogætuli and Garamantes, were the chiefeſt. Theſe nations certainly extended themſelves behind the greateſt part of that country, which belongs at preſent to the regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly; or, from the meridian of Siga, near Tlemſan, to the Cyrenaica, 35° further to the E. And as, incluſive of the Bedowen Arabs, there are no other nations in this direction beſides the Figigians, the Beni Mezzab, the inhabitants of Wadreag and Wurglah to the weſt; and thoſe of Geddemz, Fezzan, and Oujelah to the eaſt; it is very probable that the Melanogætuli muſt have been the predeceſſors of theſe weſtern Libyans, as the others to the eaſt were, for the ſame reaſon, the ſucceſſors of the Garamantes. This ſeems to be a very clear and full account of the ſituation of thoſe diſtant communities, ſo much enquired after by Cellarius, and other later geographers, which likewiſe may have been too haſtily charged with inaccuracies and contradictions in the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, vol. xvii.

PART. II.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE KINGDOM OF TUNIS.

CHAP. I.—*Of the Kingdom of Tunis in general.*

THE kingdom of Tunis is bounded to the N. and E. with the Mediterranean Sea, to the W. with the kingdom of Algiers, and to the S. with that of Tripoly. It is from the iſland Jerba, in N. lat. 33°. 30′. to Cape Serra in N. lat. 37°. 12′. 220 miles in breadth, and 170 miles only in length. Sbekkah, the moſt advanced city of this kingdom to the W. lying in 8°. and Clybea, the fartheſt to the E. in 11°. 20′. E. long. from London.

Of the modern geographers, Luyts*, by giving this kingdom 3°. of long. and 4°. of lat. ſeems to have been the beſt acquainted with the extent of it. For Sanſon, in placing Cape Bon in N. lat. 34°. 15′. and Capes as he calls Gabs, in N. lat. 30°. ſituates it more than 3°. too far to the ſouth. Moll indeed brings it a few minutes too far to the N. but extends it to the S. beyond the parallel of Tripoly; as Deliſle has likewiſe done in his royal map (as he calls it) of Africa. Whereas a remarkable chain of mountains, called the Jib-beleah, in the ſame parallel with the iſland Jerba, is the boundary betwixt this kingdom and that of Tripoly.

If we attend to the ancient geography, we ſhall find the like errors and diſagreements that have been taken notice of in the kingdom of Algiers. For Ptolemy, (beſides his poſition of Carthage, and ſo reſpectively of other places, 4° too far to the S.) makes the latitudinal diſtance betwixt the promontory of Apollo, i. e. Cape Zibeeb, and the iſland Meninx, i. e. Jerba†, to be no more than 1°. 55′. inſtead of 3°. as I find it. The Itinerary alſo, though in many caſes a much better conductor than Ptolemy, yet, as Ricciolius‡ has already obſerved, he may well be charged with faults and contradictions, proper notice whereof will be taken in their reſpective places. Pliny§ too, by putting the greateſt part of theſe cities in an alphabetical order, very little inſtructs us. Even in the enumeration of the maritime towns of Bizacium‖, where he ſeems to follow ſome method, yet, by placing Leptis before,

* Ptolem. Geograph. l. iv. cap. 3. † Id. Ibid. ‡ Geogr. l. iii. c. 10.
§ Lib. v. c. 4. ‖ Id. Ibid.

i. e. to

i. e. to the northward of Adrumetum and Ruſpina, he inſinuates thereby, that the latter was ſituated at a greater diſtance from the leſſer Syrtis, contrary to what appears from Hirtius and others. The ſame author, likewiſe, in making the province of Bizacium 250 miles only in compaſs *, falls vaſtly ſhort of what it is found to be by obſervation. For if we bound Bizacium, to the N. and S. with the parallels of Adrumetum and Tacape, and to the W. with Sufetula, one of the weſtern cities of it, we ſhall have a circuit of at leaſt 500 Roman miles, i. e. twice the number which are laid down by that author.

It may be farther obſerved, that this kingdom is not divided into provinces, and governed by provincial beys or viceroys, like that of Algiers, but the whole is under the immediate inſpection of the bey himſelf, who collects the tribute in perſon. For which purpoſe he viſits, with a flying camp, once every year, the principal parts of it; traverſing, in the ſummer ſeaſon, the fertile country in the neighbourhood of Keff and Baijah, and in the winter, the ſeveral diſtricts betwixt Kairwain and the Jereed. And as theſe two circuits very nearly correſpond with the Regio Zeugitana, or Zeugitania, as I ſhall call it, and the Bizacium of the ancients, I ſhall deſcribe this kingdom under thoſe diviſions. The Zeugitania therefore, or the ſummer circuit, will take in that portion of it which lies to the northward of the parallel of the gulf of Hamam-et, as Bizacium, otherwiſe called the country of the Libyphœnices †, will contain the other part which lies beyond it to the ſouthward.

CHAP. II.—*Of the Sea Coaſt of the Zeugitania, or the Summer Circuit.*

THE ſummer circuit, therefore, as it is bounded by the river Zain, or Tuſca, will anſwer to the Regio Carthaginienſium of Strabo ‡; to the Regio Zeugitana and the Africa Propria of Pliny, Solinus §, &c.; to the eaſtern part of the Africa of P. Mela and Ptolemy ‖; to the Provincia Proconſularis of the Notitia; to the Provincia Vetus of the old hiſtorians ¶; and to the Zeugis of Æthicus **. It is much better inhabited, particularly the Frigeah ††, as they ſtill call thoſe parts of it which lie near Keff and Baijah, than any portion of the neighbouring kingdom of the like bigneſs, having a greater number of cities, villages, and dowars; where there is likewiſe a greater appearance of affluence, proſperity, content, and cheerfulneſs, owing, no doubt, to fewer inſtances of ſeverity and oppreſſion in the government. Such was the happy condition of this country, under Haſſan ben Aly, A.D. 1727; but ſince that time, after that worthy prince was cruelly murdered by his nephew Aly Baſhaw, all things continue in the greateſt confuſion, nothing heard of but the moſt flagrant inſtances of tyranny, oppreſſion, and barbarity.

Leaving, therefore, the iſland of Tabarca, five leagues to the S. W. we go round, or double (in the mariner's phraſe) Cape Negro, where the French African company have a ſettlement. The high pointed rocky iſland Ialta, the Galata of the ancients, lies a few leagues to the N. W. after which we arrive at Cape Serra, the moſt advanced part of Africa to the N. At the half way from this cape to the white promontory, we paſs by three low flattiſh iſlands, called the Frati, or *Brothers*, lying not far from the continent.

* Lib. v. c. 4. † Strab. Geogr. l. xvii. p. 1192. ‡ Strab. Geogr. l. ii.
§ Plin. l. v. c. 4. Sol. Polyhiſt. c. 17. Æth. Coſmog. p. 63. ‖ Cap. 7.
¶ Dion Hiſt. Roman l. xliii. p. 245. ed. *Steph.* ** Coſmogr.
†† *Frigeah*, a corruption doubtleſs of the ancient name *Africa*.

The White Promontory, or Cape Blanco, or, which is ſtill the ſame, as it is called by the inhabitants, Ras el Abead, is of a white chalky ſubſtance; upon which account, it may be well taken, not only for the Promontorium Candidum of Pliny, but likewiſe for the Promontorium Pulchrum of Livy, where Scipio landed in his firſt African expedition *. That this was the Promontorium Candidum, beſides the colour of it, and the tradition of the ſame name to this day, we have this further to urge, that Hippo Diarrhytus, according to the deſcriptions of Mela † and Pliny ‡, lies in the very gulf which is formed by this cape and that of Apollo §. If then we may, particularly with regard to this point in diſpute, take *pulchrum* and *candidum* for ſynonymous terms, we want no further proof that this was alſo the Promontorium Pulchrum.

Beſides, Livy ‖ informs us, that when Scipio was in ſight of the Promontory of Mercury, or Cape Bon, as it is now called, he did not think fit to direct his courſe thither; but the ſame wind (an eaſterly one, we may ſuppoſe, from the hazy quality of it) continuing, he ordered that ſome convenient place for landing ſhould be pitched upon [*infra*] below it, i. e. as we may conjecture, to the weſtward. But there being no other promontories, beſides thoſe of Apollo and the Candidum in this direction, the Promontorium Pulchrum and Candidum muſt conſequently be the ſame.

Xylander indeed, as he is quoted by Sir Walter Rawleigh, p. 963. ſuppoſes the place where Scipio landed to have been at Cape Bon; but as this, without queſtion, is the Promontory of Mercury, ſo it could by no means be the place. Livy alſo acquaints us, as has been already obſerved, that Scipio did not land there, but at ſome other place below it. Now, as *infra* cannot be ſuppoſed to imply a ſouthern direction, as well from the difficulty that Scipio would thereby have had in landing upon the eaſtern ſhore of Africa, as for the neceſſity there would have been afterwards of paſſing by Tunis and Carthage, in his intended journey towards Utica, too daring an enterpriſe certainly at that time; ſo there are not wanting authorities for rendering *infra*, as I have done, to the weſtward. Thus the courſe of ſailing from the ſtraits of Gibraltar to the Levant, is ſtill called *going up* the Mediterranean Sea; as, in returning from thence to Gibraltar, we are ſaid to *ſail down* it. Virgil likewiſe, in placing Italy betwixt the Adriatic Sea, to the eaſt, and the Tyrrhene to the weſt, makes uſe of *infra* ¶ in the ſame ſenſe with Livy, viz. to denote a poſition to the weſtward. The Promontorium Pulchrum therefore, as I have ſuppoſed, muſt be the ſame with the Candidum, or *White Promontory*, as it is univerſally called to this day.

Eight miles to the ſouthward of this cape, at the bottom of a large gulf, is the city Bizerta, pleaſantly ſituated upon a canal, betwixt an extenſive lake and the ſea. It is about a mile in circuit, defended by ſeveral caſtles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the ſea. Bizerta is a corruption of the Hippo Diarrhytus or Zaritus of the ancients; though the preſent inhabitants derive it from their own language, and affirm it to be the ſame with Benſhertd, i. e. *the offspring of a canal* or *rivulet*. Though this etymology cannot be received, yet it is ingenious enough, as it in ſome meaſure falls in with the meaning of the Diarrhytus of the Greeks, and with the Aquarum Irrigua, as that appellation ſeems to have been tranſlated by Pliny.

* T. Liv. l. xxix. c. 27. † P. Melæ Orb. deſcr. l. i. c. 7. ‡ Plin. l. v. c. 4.
§ Apollo, or Zibeeb, as it is now called. ‖ Ut ſupra.
¶ An mare, quod *ſupra*, memorem; quodque alluit *infra*? *Virg. Georg.* ii. v. 158.
Supra, i. e. ad partem ſuperiorem, hoc eſt, orientem verſus ad Venetias. *Infra*, i. e. a parte inferiori; hoc eſt, mare Tyrrhenum, quod Inferum vocant, occidentem verſus. Vid. B. Aſcenſii et Donati annot. in locum.

For

For the lake upon which Bizerta is ſituated, has an open communication with the ſea; and, according to an obſervation of the younger Pliny *, is either continually receiving a briſk ſtream from the ſea, or elſe diſcharging one into it. In the hotter ſeaſons, nay, ſometimes when the weather is calm and temperate in winter, the ſame phenomenon that has been taken notice † of betwixt the Atlantic Ocean, and the Mediterranean Sea, is to be obſerved betwixt the latter ſea and this lake; what the lake loſes at theſe times in vapour, being proportionably ſupplied from the ſea, which then runs very briſkly into the lake ſo make up the equilibrium. The like happens when the winds are northerly, whereby a great quantity of water is uſually accumulated upon the ſouthern coaſt of theſe ſeas. But when the winds are from the ſouthward, whereby the water is blown away from this coaſt, or when any conſiderable rains have fallen in the adjacent parts, whereby it receives a greater ſupply of water than is expended in vapour, then the contrary happens, and the lake empties itſelf into the ſea.

The channel of communication betwixt the lake and the ſea, is the port of Hippo Diarrhytus, which ſtill receives ſmall veſſels; though it muſt have been formerly the ſafeſt, as well as the moſt beautiful haven of this part of Africa. There are ſtill remaining the traces of a large pier that was carried out into the ſea, to break off the N. E. winds, the want whereof, together with the great averſion of the Turks to repair it, will in a ſhort time make this haven uſeleſs, which, in any other country, would be ineſtimable.

Scylax, in his deſcription of this city, calls it only Hippo, though at the ſame time he takes notice of the lake upon which it was ſituated. Diodorus ‡ relates the ſame, but gives the name Hippouacra to it, in regard perhaps to the neighbouring promontory. By the direction of Scipio's marches, from the Promontorium Pulchrum to Utica, there is room likewiſe to conjecture, that this ſhould be the rich anonymous town which is mentioned by Livy §. And indeed, provided the Turks were proper encouragers of trade and induſtry, no place certainly could lay a better claim to that title than Bizerta; in as much as, beſides fiſh and fruit of all kinds, it abounds with corn, pulſe, oil, cotton, and a variety of other valuable productions.

The gulf of Bizerta, the Sinus Hipponenſis of the ancients, is a beautiful ſandy inlet, near four leagues in breadth. The bottom of it, being low, gives us a delightful proſpect through variety of groves and plantations of olive trees, a great way into the country. But, to the eaſtward, the eye is bounded by a high rocky ſhore, which reaches as far as Cape Zibeeb; a place ſo called, from the great quantity of Zibeeb, or *raiſins* that are made upon it. The eaſtern extremity of this cape, is remarkable for the whiteneſs of its cliffs, and for having the *Pil-loe*, as theſe people call a high-pointed rock, in the ſhape of their favourite diſh of that name, which is placed below it. Betwixt this and the White Promontory, are ſome low flat iſlands, called the Cani or *Dogs*, which were the Dracontia of the ancients, and ought to be carefully avoided by the mariners.

* Eſt in Africa Hipponenſis colonia, mari proxima: adjacet ei navigabile ſtagnum, ex quo in modum fluminis æſtuarium emergit, quod, vice alterna, prout æſtus aut repreſſit aut impulſit, nunc infertur mari, nunc redditur ſtagno. Plin. Ep. xxxiii. l. 9. ad Caninium.

† Vid. Phil. Tranſ. No. 189. p. 366. Lowth. Abridg. vol. ii. p. 108.

‡ Εστρατοπεδευσεν (Agathocles) επι τον Ιππου καλουμενην ακραν, ωχυρωμενην φυσικως τη παρακειμενη λιμνη. Diod. Sic. l. xx.

§ Scipio (expoſitis apud Promontorium pulchrum copiis) non agros modo circa vaſtavit, ſed urbem etiam proximam Afrorum ſatis opulentam cepit. Liv. l. xxix. 28.

Cape

Cape Zibeeb, the Promontorium Apollinis of the ancients, makes the weſtern point (as Cape Bon or Ras-addar, the Promontorium Mercurii, at eleven leagues diſtance, does the eaſtern) of the *ſinus alter* of Zeugitania, as Pliny ſtyles it, or the gulf of Tunis, according to the preſent name. Zowamoore, the Zimbra of our ſea charts, and the Ægimurus of the ancients, lies betwixt theſe promontories, but nearer the latter, in the very mouth of the gulf *; which, being remarkable for the great depth as well as breadth of it, might very juſtly be named by Virgil †, feceſſus longus, *a long receſs*. The iſland Gamelora is a little way from Cape Zibeeb to the eaſt; and four miles to the weſtward, within the cape, is Porto Farina, called by the inhabitants, from an ancient ſalt work hard by it, Gar el Mailah, i. e. *the cave of ſalt*. This place, as well as Bizerta, has been miſtaken by ſeveral geographers and hiſtorians ‡ for Utica; whereas, it ſeems to be the very port § whither the Carthaginian fleet retired, the night before they engaged with Scipio, near Utica. Livy tells us, that the Africans called it Ruſcinona ‖, a word doubtleſs of Phœnician extraction; and, as the firſt part of it, *Rus* or *Ras*, *i. e.* the cape, well anſwers to the ſituation, ſo the latter (*annona*) may, I preſume, be of the like import with the preſent name, and denoting the great quantity of corn and proviſions that were ſhipped off, as they continue to be, from this place. This port, eſpecially the *Cothon*, or inward part of it, is ſafe in all accidents of weather, and opens into a large navigable pond, formed by the Me-jerdah, which at preſent diſcharges itſelf through it, in its way to the ſea.

The Me-jerda, the Bagrada ¶, or Bagradas, or Brada, ſo famous in hiſtory, is equal to the Iſis united with the Cherwell. It continues winding, during its whole courſe, through a rich and fertile country; and becomes thereby ſo well ſaturated with ſoil **, that it is of the ſame complexion with the Nile, and has the ſame property likewiſe of making encroachments upon the ſea. And to this we may attribute, not only the many changes and alterations which appear to have been made, at one time or other, in the channel of it; but likewiſe that an open creek of the ſea, into which the Me-jerdah, no longer than a century ago, diſcharged itſelf, is now circumſcribed by the mud, and become a large navigable pond, the anti-harbour, as we may call it, to Port Farina.

That the Me-jerdah, in the time of Scipio, lay betwixt Carthage and the Caſtra Corneliana, and not where we find it at preſent, appears as well from the circumſtance of landing the ambaſſadors ††, after they departed for Carthage, at the river Bagrada, the neareſt place, we may ſuppoſe, for that purpoſe, as from Curio's ‡‡ leaving Rebi-

* Liv. l. xxx. § 24. † Virg. Æn. lib. i. 163.

‡ Utica, hodie Farinæ Portus. Thuan. l. vii. p. 605.

§ Claſſis Carthaginienſis ſub occaſum ſolis ſegni navigatione in portum (Ruſcinonam Afri vocant) claſſem appulere. Liv. l. xxx, 10. ראש אנונא s. promontorium Annonæ vel frumenti, ut Annona forſan ſignificet. Vid. Buxt. Lex. Rab.

‖ Id. ut ſupra. ¶ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1189. P. Mela. l. i. c. 7. Plin. l. v. c. 4.

** Bochart deduceth the name from ברכתא *Bracha* a pond. Vid. l. i. c. 24. agreeably to the deſcription of the poet:

Turbidus arentes lento pede ſulcat arenas
Bagrada, non ullo Libycis in finibus amne
Victus limoſas extendere latius undas,
Et *ſtagnante vado* patulos involvere campos. *Sil. It.* l. vi. 140.

†† Legati petierunt a magiſtratibus, ut navés mitterent, quæ ſe proſequerenter. Datæ triremes duæ cum ad Bagradam flumen perveniſſent, unde Romana caſtra conſpiciebantur, Carthaginem rediere. Liv. l. xxx 25.

‡‡ Bidui iter progreſſus (Curio. ſc. ex Aquilaria) ad flumen Bagradam pervenit: ibi C. Caninium Rebilum legatum cum legionibus relinquit: ipſe cum equitatu antecedit ad caſtra exploranda Corneliana. Cæs. de bell. civ. l. ii. 24.

lus

lus at the ſame river, whilſt he himſelf is ſaid to have advanced farther to view the Caſtra Corneliana. Agreeably to theſe accounts, Ptolemy places the mouth of it 10′ only to the weſtward of Carthage; a ſituation which falls in with the ſanctuary of Seedy Ammer Bucktewah, where there is the ancient bed of a river, with a large mountain (perhaps one of thoſe taken notice of by Polybius *) that ends in a precipice above it. And it may be farther obſerved, that in travelling from this ſanctuary to Gellah, we ſee the interjacent plains diſperſed all over with pine apples, trunks of trees, and other tokens of large inundations. Beſides the ancient channel juſt now mentioned, we paſs over others, which, to all appearance, muſt have been, at one time or other, either the natural or the occaſional beds of this river. For as the whole extent of the ſea ſhore, from Carthage to Port Farina, is very little higher than the ordinary level of the ſea, and thereby lies expoſed to the ravages of the E. and N. E. winds, it is poſſible that the mouth of the Me-jerdah, as well as of other rivers in the like ſituation, might from time to time be ſtopped up; as we find indeed it actually was, in the time of Polybius †. Being therefore forced, under ſuch circumſtances, to find out one new channel after another, as each of them in its turn was filled up, or the communication with it cut off, the Me-jerdah, I ſay, might at laſt gradually retire under cape Zibeeb, where thoſe winds could give it no diſturbance. Yet, even in the preſent ſituation, there is room enough to apprehend, that in a few years the channel will return again to the ſouthward. For the navigable pond which I have mentioned, continues to be every day more and more choaked up with mud and ſlime; whilſt the mouth, or *bar*, in the mariner's ſtile, of the river, which, till of late, admitted veſſels of the greateſt burthen, is now too ſhallow to receive one of their ſmall cruiſers, unleſs it be diſcharged of its lumber and ballaſt.

Such revolutions having happened to the Bagrada, the famous city Utica, which we learn ‡ was ſituated to the northward of it, is now to be inquired after to the ſouthward, as will appear from the following conſiderations. For, laying aſide the authority of Ptolemy, who very erroneouſly places it 20′ to the eaſtward, inſtead of ſo many nearly, as it ſhould be, to the weſtward of the Promontorium Apollinis, let us examine the other geographical and hiſtorical circumſtances that are left us of this place.

As then all of them agree that Utica was a maritime city, ſituated betwixt Carthage and the Promontory of Apollo, we are to ſearch for it upon the interjacent ſea coaſt. But here are no ruins at all to be met with in this ſituation; there is no eminence §, under which Utica is ſaid to have been built; there is no promontory ‖, which lay at a ſmall diſtance to the E. or N. E. and formed the harbour. On the contrary, the whole extent of the ſea ſhore, from Carthage to the Me-jerdah, lies in a ſemicircular form, and the land, for ſome miles behind it, very ſmooth and level. Utica therefore cannot be found upon the ſea coaſt, according to the preſent ſhape and faſhion of it, by any of thoſe tokens and characteriſtics that are left us of it by the ancients.

But upon the ſuppoſition that the ground, to the breadth of three or four miles from the ſea ſhore, ſhould appear to be an acquiſition to the continent, occaſioned as above

* Polyb. Hiſt. l. i. p. 75, 76. † Id. Ibid.

‡ Vid. Scylac Peripl. p. 46. Strab. l. xvii. p. 1188. Plin. l. v. c. 4.

§ Imminente prope ipſis mœnibus (*Uticæ*) tumulo. Liv. l. xxix. § 35.

‖ Scipio caſtra hyberna in promontorio, quod tenui jugo continenti adhærens in aliquantum maris ſpatium extenditur, communit, *Id. ibid.* Id autem (*caſtra Corneliana*) eſt jugum directum, eminens in mare, utraque ex parte præruptum atque aſperum; ſed paullo tamen leniore faſtigio ab ea parte quæ ad *Uticam* vergit. Abeſt directo itinere ab *Utica*, paullo amplius paſſuum mille: ſed hoc itinere eſt fons, quo mare ſuccedit; *longe lateque is locus reſtagnat*; quem ſi quis vitare voluerit, VI millium circuitu in oppidum perveniet. Cæs. Bell. Civ. l. ii. 22.

by the eaſterly winds, and the copious addition of mud that is left at every inundation by the Me-jerdah; if this river, by frequently ſhifting its channel, took at laſt the advantage of the lake * that lay betwixt Utica and the Caſtra Corneliana, and forced itſelf, by that way, into the ſea; then we may very juſtly fix Utica at a place called at preſent Booſhatter, where, beſides the eminence taken notice of by Livy, we have a great variety of old walls, a large aqueduct, ciſterns to receive the water and other traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence. Theſe ruins lie about 27 Roman miles from Carthage, as the diſtance is recorded in the Itinerary; and behind them, towards the S. W. we are entertained with a view of the large fields †, which the Romans have made famous by their military exploits. Utica, therefore, or, as Bochart writes, the old name עתיקא, *Atica*, i. e. *the ancient city*, may in all probability be fixed at theſe ruins.

Two leagues to the E. of Boo-ſhatter, is Gellah, the moſt northern and rugged part of that remarkable promontory, where P. Cornelius Scipio may be ſuppoſed to have fixed his winter quarters, called from thence the Caſtra Cornelia, or Corneliana ‡. The whole is a narrow neck of land, near two furlongs in breadth, and continuing from one end of it to the other, in a moderate elevation, makes, with the hill that hangs over Boo-ſhatter, a moſt beautiful landſcape, in the figure or faſhion of a theatre, with the Me-jerdah winding itſelf through the midſt of it. The Romans very probably extended their encampments all over this promontory, which is more than a league in length; inſomuch, that when Cæſar acquaints us, that the Caſtra Corneliana were only at a mile's diſtance from Utica, he might regard that part only of their encampments which lay the neareſt to the city. At preſent, the Me-jerdah runs below the S. W. extremity of this neck of land, as Gellah makes the N. E. and at a little diſtance from it, on the other ſide, though ſeven miles from the ſea, are the ruins, as they have been deſcribed, of Boo-ſhatter, or Utica, hitherto wanted in the old geography.

Neither has Carthage §, the next place to be taken notice of, much better ſupported itſelf againſt the united encroachments of the N. E. winds, and the Me-jerdah which have likewiſe ſtopped up its ancient harbour, and made it almoſt as far diſtant from the ſea as Utica. However, the place itſelf ſtill continues to be called El Merſa, i. e. *the port*, lying to the N. and N. W. and forms, with the lake of Tunis, this peninſula upon which Carthage was built. But, upon the other ſide of the peninſula, towards the S.E. Carthage has been a loſer to the ſea; in as much as in that direction, for the ſpace nearly of three furlongs in length, and half a furlong or more in breadth, it lies entirely under water. A little to the northward of theſe ruins, but to the S. E. of El Merſa, are the traces of a Cothon, ſcarce a hundred yards ſquare. This was probably the new port ‖, which the Carthaginians built, after Scipio had blocked up the old; it might be the ſame likewiſe that, in the time of Procopius, was called the Mandracium ¶.

Carthage was built upon three hills or eminences, inferior indeed to thoſe upon which its rival city Rome was erected. Upon that which overlooks the S. E. ſhore,

* Vid. not. ult.

† Magni campi. Liv. l. xxx. 8.

‡ Inde petit tumulos, exeſaſque undique rupes
Antæi, quæ regna vocat non vana vetuſtas, &c.
Sed majora dedit cognomina collibus iſtis
Scipio..... *Luc. de Bell. Civ.* l. iv.

§ קרתא חדתא i. e. *civitas nova*. Exc. pag. 24. D. unde Καρχηδών, κ et θ permutatis, quod Siculum proprium eſt, ut notat Salmas. in Solinum, p. 322.

‖ Carthaginienſes, portu novo, (quia vetus a Scipione erat obſtructus facto, &c. Liv. Ep. 51.

¶ Procop. l. i. c. 20.

there is the area of a ſpacious room, with other ſmaller ones hard by it, ſome of which have teſſellated pavements, though neither the deſign nor the materials of them are worthy of our notice. The Byrſa * probably had this ſituation.

In rowing along the ſea ſhore, the common ſewers are frequently diſcovered; which, being well built and cemented together, length of time has not been able to impair. The ciſterns are other ſtructures, which have very little ſuffered; for beſides thoſe appertaining to particular houſes, which are very numerous, there were two ſets of them belonging to the public; the greater whereof, which was the grand reſervoir for the famous aqueduct, (a great part whereof is ſtill ſtanding), lay near the weſtern wall of the city, and conſiſted of more than twenty contiguous ciſterns, each of them at leaſt a hundred feet long, and thirty broad. The leſſer is in a higher ſituation, near the Cothon and the Byrſa; being contrived to collect the rain-water which fell as well upon the top of it as upon ſome adjacent pavements made for that purpoſe. This reſervoir might be repaired with little expence; the ſmall earthen pipes, through which the rain-water was conducted from the roof, wanting only to be cleanſed and opened.

Beſides theſe, there are no other tokens left us of the grandeur and magnificence of this famous place. We meet with no triumphal arches, or ſumptuous pieces of architecture; here are no granate pillars, or curious entablatures, but the broken walls and ſtructures that remain are either built in the Gothic taſte, or according to that of the later inhabitants. The following lines very juſtly deſcribe the preſent condition of Carthage:

... .Qua devictæ Carthaginis arces
Procubuere, jacentque, infauſto in littore, turres
Everſæ; quantum illa metus, quantum illa laborum.
Urbs dedit inſultans Latio et Laurentibus arvis;
Nunc paſſim, vix relliquias, vix nomina ſervans,
Obruitur, propriis non agnoſcenda ruinis, &c.

.....Solatia fati
Carthago Mariuſque † tulit, pariterque jacentes
Ignovere Deis. *Lucan. de Bell. Civ.* l. ii. 91.

Giace l'alta Carthago, e a pena i ſegni
De l'alte ſue ruine il lido ſerba, &c. *Balz. Diſſert.* xxv. *Chreſt.*

Pliny ‡ ſeems to make the ancient Carthage much bigger than when it was a Roman colony; which according to Livy §, was 23 miles in circuit. Strabo circumſcribes the peninſula, upon which it was built with 360 furlongs, or 45 miles; but aſſigns no particular number for the extent of the city. According to an eſtimate made upon the ſpot, I judge the peninſula to be about thirty miles round, and that the city may have taken up near half that ſpace; and more, I preſume, it could never lay claim to. For Livy || tells us, that Carthage was nearly twelve miles from Tunes; which is the

* Strab. Geogr. l. xvii. p. 1189. Liv. l. xxxiv. § 61. Virg. Æn. i. 371. &c. Docti pridem exploſerunt, et monuerunt a Græcis Βυρσαν dici pro בצרה *Boſra*, ad vitandam κακοφωνιαν; quia Græcæ linguæ genius non patitur ut S et R continuentur. Tale αλσος nemus pro אשלא *Aſla*. Boſra Hebræis eſt munimentum, a verbo בצר munire. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

† Marius curſum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in Tugurio ruinarum Carthaginienſium toleravit: cum Marius aſpiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri poſſent eſſe ſolatio. Vell. Patere.

‡ Colonia Carthago Magnæ in veſtigiis Carthaginis. Plin. l. v. c. 4.

§ Carthago in circuitu viginti tria millia paſſus patens. Liv. Epit. l. li.

|| Scipio — in Carthaginem intentus occupat relictum fuga cuſtodum Tuneta (abeſt ab Carthagine quindecim millia ferme paſſuum) locus quum operibus, tum ſuapte natura tutus, et qui et ab Carthagine conſpici et præbere ipſe proſpectum quum ad urbem, tum ad circumfuſum mare urbi poſſet. Id. l. xxx. 9.

ſame diſtance that ſtill ſubſiſts betwixt that city, and a fragment of the old weſtern wall of Carthage which I have mentioned. And as there are ſeveral ſalt pits, which reach from the neighbourhood of this wall, as far nearly upon the S. E. ſhore as the Guletta, Carthage could not have extended any farther to the W. or to the S. unleſs theſe pits (which cannot well be ſuppoſed) were incloſed within, and made part of the city. Nay, if Polybius * is to be credited, who makes the diſtance betwixt Tunes and Carthage 15 miles, the boundary this way will be thrown further to the ſea; and we may thereby be induced to ſuſpect, that the wall I have mentioned was erected by the Romans, and took in a greater ſpace of the peninſula than might be the original area of the firſt city. The large moraſs, or El Merſa, that was formerly the port, continues to be, as it muſt always have been, the ſame limit to the N. and N. W. whilſt, to the E. and N. E. the whole extent of the capes Carthage and Commart, to the diſtance of one, ſometimes two furlongs from the ſea ſhore, have not the leaſt traces of ruins upon them; and therefore might never have been included in the city. If we may then be permitted to calculate the extent of the ancient Carthage from theſe circumſtances, 15 miles will be ſufficient to circumſcribe it.

The remains of the celebrated † aqueduct above mentioned, may be traced all along, from the greater ſet of ciſterns, as far as Zow-wan; and from thence to Zung-gar, which is at the diſtance of at leaſt 50 miles from them. The whole has been a work of extraordinary labour and expence; and that portion of it in particular, which runs along the peninſula, was all of it elegantly built with hewn ſtone. We ſee at Arri-ana, a little village, two leagues to the northward of Tunis, a long range of its arches, all of them entire, ſeventy feet high, ſupported by columns ſixteen feet ſquare. The channel that conveyed the water lies upon theſe arches, being high and broad enough for a perſon of an ordinary ſize to walk in. It is vaulted above, and plaſtered in the inſide with a ſtrong cement; which, by the ſtream running through it, is diſcoloured to the height of about three feet. This will ſufficiently ſhew the capacity of the channel; but as there are ſeveral breaches in the aqueduct, ſometimes for three or four miles together, I had no method to determine the velocity or angle of deſcent, ſo as to aſcertain the quantity of water that might be daily conveyed through it to Carthage.

Both at Zow-wan and Zung-gar, there was a temple erected over the fountains which ſupplied this aqueduct with water. That at Zung-gar appears, by the remaining ornaments, to have been of the Corinthian order ‡, where there is a beautiful dome, adorned with three niches, placed immediately over the fountain. Theſe might probably receive ſo many ſtatues of the deities preſiding over water §. Upon the frize of the portal, we have this broken inſcription:

\- - - - - - - RORISII TOTIVSQVE DIVINAE DOMVS
EIVS CIVITAS ZVCCHARA FECIT ET DEDICAVIT.

Leaving Carthage, and paſſing over the Salinæ, or *ſalt pits*, that were occaſionally mentioned above, we come to Guletta; as the Italian geographers have tranſlated Ha'ck

* Ο δε Τυνης απεχει μεν της Καρχηδονος ως εκατον εικοσι σταδιους. Polyb. l. xiv.

† Γενομενοι τε Καρχηδονος αγχιστα, τον τε ΟΧΕΤΟΝ ΛΞΙΟΘΕΑΤΟΝ οντα διειλον, ὃς ες τον πολιν εισηγε το ὑδωρ. Procop. B. Vand. l. iv. c. 1.

‡ Veneri, Floræ, Proſerpinæ, fontium nymphis, Corinthio genere conſtitutæ ædes, aptas videbantur habere proprietates, quod his Diis propter teneritatem graciliata, et florida foliis et volutis ornata, opera facta augere videbantur juſtum decorem. Vitr. l. i. c. 2.

§ Such as were Hercules, Minerva, and Diana. HERCULI (fontium præſidi) SACRUM. Fabrett. Inſcript. cap. iv. No. 170. Ιερο δε αυτης (εικονος Ἱππολυτου) εστιν Ηρακλειος καλεμενη κρηνη, το ὑδωρ (ὡς οἱ Τροιζηνιοι λεγουσιν) ανευροντος Ηρακλεους. Pauſ. in Corinth. MINERVAE SACRUM. Fabrett. Inſcript. No. 495. DIANAE (*f. p.*) SACRUM. *Id.* No. 496.

el

el Wed, i. e. *The throat of the river.* This is the channel of communication, as we may call it, betwixt the lake of Tunis and the ſea, where there is, on each ſide, a tolerably ſtrong and well built caſtle, intended as well for the ſecurity of this narrow paſſage, as of the harbour and anchoring ground that lies before it. This lake was formerly, as Procopius informs us, a deep and extenſive port *, capacious enough to take in the largeſt navy; but at preſent, by receiving all the common ſewers from Tunis, the deepeſt part of it does not exceed ſix or ſeven feet, while the reſt, for the ſpace of a mile or more within the banks, is generally dry and nauſeous. However, the proſpect of this large piece of water receives no ſmall beauty from the many flocks of the Flamant, or Phœnicopterus, that ſometimes frequent it; and from the caſtle Shickley which is built within it, and frequently viſited by the Tuniſeens, and Chriſtian merchants, as a place of pleaſure and recreation. Neither is this lake leſs famous for the number and largeneſs of its mullets, which are accounted the ſweeteſt upon the coaſt of Barbary; the roes whereof, after they are preſſed and dried, are accounted a great delicacy, and known by the name of Bo-targo †.

Tunis, the Tunes of the ancients, and the capital of this kingdom, is ſituated upon a riſing ground, along the weſtern banks of this lake, in a full proſpect (as the ancients have deſcribed it ‡) of Carthage †, and the iſland Ægimurus. Diodorus Siculus calls it ΛΕΥΚΟΝ ΤΥΝΗΤΑ, i. e. *White Tunis*, perhaps from the chalky cliffs that lie round about it, when we view it from the ſea. The many lakes and marſhes that ſurround it, might probably render the ſituation leſs healthy, were not theſe inconveniences in a great meaſure corrected by the great quantity of maſtic, myrtle, roſemary, and other gummy and aromatic plants, which frequently communicate a ſenſible fragrancy to the air, whilſt they are heating their ovens and bagnios with them. The want of water is another complaint of the Tuniſeens, who, from the brackiſhneſs of their well water, and the ſcarcity of ciſterns, are obliged to fetch the greateſt part of what they drink from Bardo, Beer el Kelp, and other places at a mile's diſtance. If we except this inconvenience, no place enjoys a greater plenty of the neceſſaries of life.

The Tuniſeens are the moſt civilized nation of Barbary. They have very little of that inſolent and haughty behaviour which is too common at Algiers. All affairs likewiſe with the regency are tranſacted in ſuch a friendly complaiſant manner, that it was no ſmall pleaſure to attend Mr. Conſul Lawrence at his audiences. This nation, which for many years has been more intent upon trade, and the improvement of its manufactures, than upon plunder and cruiſing, has always had the character and reputation of living, not like their neighbours, in open war or perpetual diſputes with the Chriſtian princes, but of cultivating their friendſhip, and coming readily into their alliances; but the late revolution, and change of government that has been hinted at before, may have introduced a new ſyſtem of policy among them.

If we take in the Bled el Hadrah, and the Bab el Swaiky, as they call the ſuburbs, Tunis may be three miles or more in circuit. However, it is not, for the bigneſs of it, ſo populous as Algiers, though they boaſt of more than three hundred thouſand inhabitants. Neither are the houſes, in general, which are computed to be twelve

* Λιμενα γαρ ϑ πλειον η μ'. ςαδιὸς αυτης (Καρχηδονος) διεχοντα ειναι φασιν, ὃν δη ΣΤΑΓΝΟΝ καλεσιν, αφυλακτον τε πανταπασιν ονται και προς τον απαντα ςολον ικανως πεφυκοτα. Procop. Bell. Vand. l. i. c. 15.

† Botarge fiunt ex ovis cephali (Latini *mugilem* dicunt) expolitis ſc. in duabus veſicis, cruore ejuſdem piſcis et ſale adhibito. Recentioribus corrupto verbo Botarcha vocantur, quaſi dicas, ωταριχα, i. e. ova ſalita. G. Panciroll. de nov. repert. tit. ult.

‡ In hoc lacu Tunes eſt inſula ad oblectionem et diſcutiendum animi mœrorem: verum quoad latus ejus, quod ad Tunes ſpectat, eo ſordes et immunditiæ coacervantur. Abulf. ut ſupra.

§ Vid. not. ‖ p. 563.

thouſand,

thouſand, ſo lofty and magnificent. Neither have the Tuniſeens the like number and variety of country-ſeats; a few villas at the Manoubah, on one ſide, and at El Merſa, on the other; being their chief places of diverſion and retirement. The vine is likewiſe leſs cultivated here than at Algiers; and lately the making of wine has been abſolutely prohibited, which has increaſed the revenue that ariſes from the duty upon foreign wines, to the ſum of fifty thouſand dollars, it being computed that the merchants import every year upwards of four thouſand hogſheads; a quantity very ſurpriſing indeed, were we not at the ſame time to conſider the great number of Turks and Moors who drink here to exceſs, beyond the practice perhaps of any other nation.

Upon a large pillar, brought from the neighbourhood of Carthage, and placed in one of their bagnios, is preſerved the following inſcription.

IMP. CAESAR
DIVI NERVAE NEPOS
DIVI TRAIANA PARTHICI F.
TRAIANVS HADRIANVS.
AVG. PONT. MAX. TRIB.
POT. VII. COS. III.
VIAM A CARTHAGINE
THEVESTEN STRAVIT
PER LEG. III. AVG.
P. METILIO SECVNDO
LEG. AVG. PR. PR.

Two leagues to the E. S. E. of Tunis, and at the like diſtance to the S.W. of the Guletta, is the town of Rhades, ſituated upon a riſing ground betwixt the lake of Tunis and the ſea. This is the ancient Ades, ſo much enquired after by Cellarius and others, where M. Regulus defeated the Carthaginians. Hard by it, on the right hand, are thoſe hills, where Hanno (as Polybius obſerves) very unſkilfully placed his elephants to oppoſe him. As the road from Clypea to Tunes lies through a narrow defile, at a little diſtance from Ades, the Carthaginian general (pardoning that one miſtake) could not have pitched upon a more convenient place for the ſecurity of this paſs; neither could the Romans have carried it without their uſual bravery.

Not far from Rhades is the river Miliana, the Catada of Ptolemy; and about a league farther is Hammam Leef, a noted hot-bath, very much reſorted to by the citizens of Tunis. Behind theſe baths, on the right hand, is Jibbel Reſaſs, i. e. *The mountain of lead*, whoſe mines are plentifully ſtored with that metal: and two leagues on the left, near the bottom of the gulf, is the ſmall town of Solyman, ſituated upon the ſkirts of a fine plain, with a river, at two miles diſtance on each ſide of it. This place is chiefly inhabited by Andaluſian Moors, who being more civilized than their brethren, are very courteous to Chriſtians, and ſtill retain the Spaniſh language.

Two leagues to the N.E. of Solyman is Moraiſah, the Maxula of Ptolemy and other authors. Here are ſeveral broken ciſterns, beſides a ſmall harbour, as Moraiſah (corruptly probably for Merſa) may denote. The ſea ſhore, which from the Guletta, all along by Rhades, Hammam Leef, and Solyman, is low and ſandy, begins here to be rugged and mountainous; in which ſituation, two leagues farther, we fall in the creek of Gurbos, or Hammam Gurbos, the ancient Carpis, where there is a hot bath, and ſome ruins. Theſe are the Calidæ Aquæ * of Livy, which he very

* Ipſe (Cn. Octavius) cum roſtratis, per adverſos fluctus ingenti remigum labore enixus, Apollinis promontorium tenuit; onerariæ pars maxima ad Aegimurum, — aliæ adverſus urbem ipſam ad Calidas Aquas delatæ ſunt. Liv. l. xxx. 24.

juſtly

juſtly places over againſt Carthage; and at the ſame time acquaints us, that ſeveral veſſels belonging to the fleet of Octavius, were there ſhip-wrecked. Three leagues to the N. of Gurbos, we paſs by a very high and rugged head-land, the Promontorium Herculis of the ancients; within it there is a ſmall bay, where the Wed el Abeyde diſcharges itſelf.

The ſanctuary of Seedy Doude, ſurrounded with the ruins of the ancient Niſua, or Miſua, is five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of Hercules. It is ſo called in honour of David, or *Doude*, as they pronounce it, a Mooriſh ſaint, whoſe ſepulchre, as they ſhew it, is five yards long. But this, in reality, is nothing more than a fragment of ſome Roman prætorium, as we may conjecture from three teſſalated or Moſaic pavements, the uſual attendants of ſuch places, which lie contiguous to it. The pavements are all wrought with the greateſt ſymmetry and exactneſs; for beſides the general contraſt and deſign, which is executed with all the artful wreathings and variety of colours imaginable, the many figures of horſes, birds, fiſhes, and trees, are therein ſo judiciouſly intermixed and curiouſly inlaid, that they even appear more gay and lively than ſo many tolerable good paintings. The horſe, the inſignia of the Carthaginians, is diſplayed in the ſame bold, free, and open poſture, as it is exhibited upon the African and Sicilian medals. The birds are the hawk and the partridge; the fiſhes are the gilt head * (called here Jeraffa) and the mullet; and the trees are the palm and the olive. The contriver perhaps intended by this choice to point out the ſtrength, the diverſions, the fiſhery, and the plenty of dates and oil, for which this country continues to be, as it was always, remarkable. Miſua appears, by the ruins, to have been of the ſame extent with Hippozarytes; where likewiſe there was a capacious harbour very convenient for ſuch veſſels to touch at, which could not, on account of contrary winds or diſtreſs of weather, reach the ports of Carthage or Utica.

Two leagues to the E. N. E. of Seedy Doude, and a little to the ſouthward of the promontory of Mercury, is Low-hareah, the Aquilaria of the ancients, where Curio † landed thoſe troops that were afterwards defeated ‡ by Sabura. The ſituation of this ancient city has been hitherto as much enquired after and wanted as that of Utica and Ades: where, in like manner, there are ſeveral fragments of antiquities, but none of them worthy of our notice. However, from the ſea ſhore to this village, which is at half a mile's diſtance, the interjacent mountain, from the level of the ſea to the height of twenty or thirty feet above it, is according to the diſpoſition of the ſtrata, very artfully hewn and carried away, where ſmall ſhafts or openings are carried up quite through the ſurface above for the admiſſion of freſh air; whilſt large pillars, (the μεσοκρινεις κιονες, as Pollux names them) with their reſpective arches, as the practice was §, are left ſtanding, at their proper diſtances below, to ſupport the roof. Theſe are the quarries taken notice of by Strabo ‖; from whence the buildings, not only of Carthage and Utica, but of other adjacent cities, received their materials. Moreover, as this mountain is ſhaded all over with trees; as the arches here deſcribed lie open to the ſea, having a large cliff on each ſide, with the Iſland Ægimurus placed over againſt

* This is the *aurata* of the ancients, which Leo miſtakes for the *laccia* or *leechy* of the Italians, a fiſh of the tunny or mackrel kind. "Poſt menſem Octobrem genus quoddam piſcis capitur, quod apud Afros Giarapha appellatur; eundem piſcem eſſe crediderim, que Romanis Laccia appellatur." J. Leo, p. 214.

† Cæs. de Bell. Civ. l. ii. 21.

‡ Milites an unum omnes interficiuntur. *Id.* 38.

§ Fornices crebro relinquebantur a metallariis montibus ſuſtinendis. Plin. xxxiii. 4.

‖ L. xvii. p. 1190.

them;

them; as there are likewiſe ſome fountains perpetually draining from the rocks, and ſeats very convenient for the weary labourer to reſt upon: from ſuch a concurrence of circumſtances, ſo exactly correſponding to the cave which Virgil places ſomewhere in this gulf, we have little room to doubt of the following deſcription being literally true, notwithſtanding ſome commentators * may have either thought it fictitious, or applicable to another place.

Eſt in ſeceſſu longo locus; Inſula portum
Efficit objectu laterum: quibus omnis ab alto
Frangitur, inque ſinus ſcindit ſeſe unde reductos.
Hinc atque hinc vaſtæ rupes, geminique minantur
In cœlum ſcopuli: quorum ſub vertice late
Æquora tuta ſilent: tum ſylvis ſcena coruſcis
Deſuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra
Fronte ſub adverſa ſcopulis pendentibus antrum:
Intus aquæ dulces; vivoque ſedilia ſaxo,
Nympharum domus, &c. *Virg. Æn.* i. 163.

Cape Bon, the Raſ-addar of the Moors, and the promontory of Mercury, or Hermes of the ancients, is ſituated about a league to the northward of Lowah-reah. I was informed by the neighbours, that, in very fair weather, they could from hence diſcover the mountains of Sicily, which are more than twenty leagues diſtant. The two iſlands Zembræ, or Zowa-moores, as the Tuniſeans call them, lie under this promontory; the ſmaller not far from the ſhore, the larger at four miles diſtance. The fruitful tract of land, that reaches from this cape to Nabal and Hamamel, is, from the faſhion of it, called Dackhul, i. e. *The Strip* or *Corner*. Five leagues from this cape, to the S. by E. thereof, is Clybea, the Clupia or Clypea of the Latins, and the ΑΣΠΙΣ of the Grecians. It is built upon a ſmall promontory, the Taphitis of Strabo †, which, being in the figure of a ſhield ‡ or hemiſphere, gave occaſion to the name. There is nothing ſtanding of this ancient city; for the caſtle is a modern ſtructure, and what they now call Clybea, is a miſerable knot of hovels, at a mile's diſtance from the old.

A little way from hence to the ſouthward, we croſs a large river, where Maſſiniſſa was ſuppoſed to have been drowned in his flight from Bocchar; who, as Livy tells us, was afraid to ford it, diſcouraged no doubt by the depth and rapidity of the ſtream. In the month of January, when no rain had fallen into it for ſeveral days, we found the channel very deep and of an uneven bottom, full of large ſtones, which we had much difficulty to paſs over with ſafety. On the other ſide lie thoſe open fields, where Bocchar is ſaid to have killed forty-ſix of the fifty perſons who attended Maſiniſſa §.

Gurba, the ancient Curobis, or Curubis, is ſeven leagues from Clybea. It was formerly a conſiderable place, though at preſent the ruins of a large aqueduct, with the ciſterns that received the water, are the only antiquities. A little brook runs by

* Eſt τοποθεσια, i. e. fictus ſecundum poeticam licentiam locus. Ne autem videretur penitus a veritate diſcedere, Hiſpanienſis Carthaginiinis portum deſcripſit. Cæterum hunc locum in Africa nunquam eſſe conſtat. *Serv. in loc.* Fictus hic locus eſt, et ſublatus ab Homero (Odyſſ. xiii. 95.) aliqua ex parte ad formam Ithacenſis portus. Pomp. Sab. *ibid.* Mr. Addiſon (p. 71. of his *Travels*) ſuppoſeth that Virgil might have taken the plan from the bay of Naples.

† Exc. p. 7. F. ‡ In Clypei ſpeciem curvatis turribus Aſpis. Sil. Ital. l. iii. 243.

§ Maſiniſſa cum quinquaginta haud amplius equitibus per anfractus montis ignotos ſequentibus ſe eripuit. Tenuit tamen veſtigia Bocchar; adeptuſque eum patentibus prope Clupeam urbem campis, ita circumvenit, ut, præter quatuor equites, omnes ad unum interfecerit —— amnis ingens fugientis accepit ——is finis Bocchari ſequendi fuit, nec ingredi flumen auſo, nec, &c. Liv. l. xxix. 32.

it to the W. where we have the remains of a ſtone bridge that was built over it; and at a neighbouring houſe there is an altar that might have belonged to it, with the following inſcription:

PONTI
C. HELVIO C. FARN. HONORA
TO AEDILI II VIR - - - -
- - - CVRAT. ALIMENT. DISTRIB.
OB INSIGNES LIBERALITATES
IN REMPVB. ET IN CIVES
AMOREM VIRO BONO
COL. FVLVIA CVRVBIS DD. PP.

Leaving Gurba we come to Nabal, a very thriving and induſtrious town, much celebrated for its potteries. It is built in a low ſituation, at a mile's diſtance from the ſea ſhore; and about a furlong to the weſtward is the ancient Neapolis, which appears to have been a large city, even excluſive of that part of it which is ſwallowed up by the ſea. Here are a great number of inſcriptions upon ſtones of ſix feet in length, and three in breadth; but they are either ſo unfortunately defaced, or filled up with rubbiſh and mortar, that it required more time than my guides would allow me to copy them. On the banks of the little brook that runs through the old city, we have a block of white marble, with a wolf in baſſo relievo curiouſly repreſented upon it.

Travelling for the ſpace of two leagues through a ruggid road, delightfully ſhaded with olive trees, we arrive at Hamam-et, which Leo informs us (p. 221.) was built about his time, though the flouriſhing condition of it is of no longer date than the latter end of the laſt century. The pillars, the blocks of marble, the following inſcriptions, and ſome few other tokens of antiquity that we meet with at Hamam-et, were brought from the neighbouring ruins of Caſſir Aſeite, the Civitas Siagitana of * the ancients. The name too (which, from ſome ſmall affinity in ſound, might induce Buno, the Sanſons, and others to take it for the ancient Adrumetum,) is derived from the Hamam, or *wild pigeons*, that copiouſly breed in the adjacent cliffs.

I.
VICTORIAE
ARMENIACAE PARTHICAE
MEDICAE AVGVSTORVM A.
SACRVM CIVITAS SIAGI
TANA DD. PP.

II.
IMP. CAES. DIVI SEPTIMI SEVERI
PARTH. ARABICI ADIABENICI
MAX. BRIT. MAX. FIL. DIVI
M. ANTONINI PII GERMANICI
SARMAT. NEPOT. DIVI ANTONINI
PRONEPOTI DIVI AELI HADRIANI
ABNEPOTI DIVI TRAIANI PAR. ET
DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOTI
M. AVRELIO ANTONINO PIO FEL.
PAR. MAX. BRIT. MAX. GERM.
MAX. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P. - -
- - CIVITAS SIAGITANORVM DD. PP.

Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. has preſerved another inſcription relating to this place.

* Et pro ſenatu populoque Siagitano Celer Imiloconis Guiliſſæ F. Suffes.

A little beyond Caſſir Aſeite, we come into a large plain, that reaches as far as Herkla, which is as remarkable for the many flocks of the Damoiſelle, or Otis, that frequent it, as the lake of Tunis is for thoſe of the Phœnicopterus. Within this plain, two leagues from Hamam-et, is the Me-narah, a large mauſoleum, near twenty yards in diameter, built in a cylindrical form, with a vault underneath it. Several ſmall altars (ſuppoſed by the Moors to have been formerly ſo many menara, i. e. *lamps*, for the direction of the mariner) are placed upon the cornice, and inſcribed with the names of,

L. AEMILIO AFRICANO AVVNCVLO.
C. SVELLIO PONTANO PATRVELI.
VITELLIO QVARTO PATRI.

Near the Menarah are the ruins of a ſmall port or creek, formerly belonging to Faradeeſe, an old Roman city, ſituated at a few miles diſtance upon the N. W. ſide of this plain. I was informed, that a century ago, the Faradeſians were the greateſt cruizers and the moſt experienced mariners of this country; but that the greater increaſe of trade, and the more conveniences for navigation at Hamam-et, had, of late years, drawn thither all the inhabitants. This may be the Veneria of Solinus; or rather, from an affinity in name, the ancient Aphrodiſium, placed by Ptolemy in the ſame latitude, but more to the W. than Adrumetum.

Near the middle of the plain, our proſpect is a little interrupted by an hemiſpherical hilloc, called Selloome, the ſeat formerly of ſome caſtle or village; probably one of thoſe mentioned by Hirtius *, which Cæſar paſſed by in ſailing towards Adrumetum. Two leagues further, near the ſhore, there is a large piece of marſhy ground, with an adjacent lake, which is perpetually draining through it into the ſea. A bridge, or ſometimes a cauſeway only, were formerly built over the whole length of this moraſs, to the no ſmall conveniency and ſafety likewiſe of thoſe who were to paſs over it, in their way to Herkla and Suſa. This moraſs, with the rivulet oozing from it, I take to be the boundary to the ſeaward betwixt the Zeugitania and Bizachium.

CHAP. III.—*Of the moſt remarkable inland Places of the Zeugitania, or Summer Circuit.*

IF we return then to the weſtward of the ſummer circuit, a little to the S.W. of the great lake of Biſerta, is Jibbel Iſkell, the Mons Cerna of the ancients. Matter, the Oppidum Materenſe, lies below it, a ſmall village ſituated in a fruitful plain. The rivulet that runs by it, empties itſelf into that part of the great lake which was the Siſera Palus, as the other part of it nearer Bizerta was the Hipponites of the old geography.

Not far from the frontiers of the Algerines, about ſeven leagues from Tabarca, and ten to the S. W. of Matter, is the city Beja or Bay-jah, as it is pronounced at preſent, which by the name and ſituation ſhould be the Vacca † of Salluſt, the Oppidum Vagenſe of Pliny, the ΒΑΓΑ ‡ of Plutarch, and the Vaccenſium Ordo Splendidiſſimus, as the title runs in the following imperfect inſcription. Cellarius § places it very juſtly

* Cæſar Clupiam claſſe prætervehitur; inde Neapolin, complura præterea caſtella et oppida non longe a mari relinquit. Hirt. Bell. Afr. § 2.

† Erat haud longe ab eo itinere quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vacca, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari conſueverunt Italici generis multi mortales. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 50.

‡ Φεύγων δὲ Βαγαν, πολιν μεγαλην, &c. Plut in Mario, p. 409

§ Vaga a Cirta in ortum æſtivum diſtat. Cell. l. iv. c. 5. p. 114.

towards

towards the N. E. of Cirta, but quotes no authority. However, as it may be preſumed, from Salluſt's * account, to lie on the right hand, (as Keff or Sicca Veneria did to the left, in travelling from Carthage or Utica, to Numidia, ſuch a ſituation will be highly agreeable to this deſcription of it. Moreover, after Vacca revolted, Metellus † is ſaid to have departed from his winter quarters in the evening, and to have arrived before it, about the third hour of the following day; which journey, conſidering the expedition wherewith it was performed, will very well agree with the diſtance of fifty miles, that lies betwixt Bayjah and Utica, where Metellus was then ſtationed. I am not acquainted with any other circumſtance in ancient hiſtory, that further informs us concerning the ſituation of Vacca; for Ptolemy's Vaga, as it lies among the Cirteſii, cannot be the place: and the reaſon perhaps why it is not taken notice of in the Itinerary, or in Peutinger's tables, may be accounted for from its lying quite out of the great road that was carried from Carthage either to Numidia or Bizacium.

Bayjah keeps up the character that Salluſt gives his Vacca, of being a town of great trade, the chief mart indeed of the whole kingdom, particularly for corn, from which all other commodities are eſtimated; and in the plains of Buſdera, which lie below it along the banks of the Mejerdah, there is kept every ſummer a public fair, frequented by the moſt diſtant Arabian tribes, who reſort hither with their flocks, their manufactories, and families. The preſent city is built upon the declivity of a hill, with the conveniency of being well watered; and upon the higheſt part of it is the citadel, which is of no great ſtrength. Upon the walls, which are raiſed out of the ancient materials, we have the following inſcription that has been referred to above:

M. IVLIO M. TILIRB - - - - - - - -
DECVRIONI - - - - - - - - - - - - -
FAC. ANN. XXII. PRAEFECTVS
VR. DEC. II VIR - - - QQ. - - - - -
V. CVM ORDO SPLENDIDISSIMVS
OB MERITA SVA STATVAM
P R. FIERI DECREVIT.

In the ſame parallel nearly with Baijah, upon the banks of the Mejerdah, is Tuburbo, a ſmall town inhabited at preſent by Andaluſian Moors. This ſhould be the Tuburbum Minus of the ancients; as the Majus (where, according to Peutinger's table, there was a remarkable temple or edifice) lies at too great a diſtance towards the S. to be taken for it. Mahamet, a late bey of this kingdom, planted a great number and variety of fruit-trees in the neighbourhood of it, which were ranged in ſo particular a method, that each ſpecies was confined to one grove, and thereby removed from the influence of another. Thus the orange-trees were all placed by themſelves, without the admiſſion of the lime or citron; and where the pear or apple was gathered, there was no encouragement to look for the peach or apricot. In the adjacent valley, where the Mejerdah conveys its ſtream, the ſame curious and generous prince erected, out of the ruins of a neighbouring amphitheatre, a large maſſy bridge or damm, with proper ſluices and flood-gates, to raiſe the river to a convenient height, for watering and refreſhing theſe plantations. But this, which was too laudable an invention to ſubſiſt long in Barbary, is now entirely broken down and deſtroyed.

* Sal. Bell. Jug. 60.

† Metellus, poſtquam de rebus Vaccæ actis comperit — legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurimos poteſt Numidas equites pariter cum occaſu ſolis expeditos educit; et poſtera die, circiter horam tertiam, pervenit in quandam planitiem — docet oppidum Vaccam non amplius mille paſſuum abeſſe. *Id.* 71.

Below Tuburbo, on the ſame ſide of the Mejerdah, is the little village Tuccaber, the ſame perhaps that is taken notice of by St. Cyprian (in Concil.) and St. Auſtin (ad Donat.) under the name of Tuccabori or Thuccabori. Simler* therefore muſt be miſtaken in taking it for the Tucca Terebinthina, which lay 60 miles only from Sufetula; whereas Tuccaber lies nearly at twice that diſtance.

On the other ſide of the Mejerdah, ten leagues to the S. of Tuccaber, is Tuberſoke, a ſmall city walled round, and ſituated upon the declivity of an eminence. In the centre of it, there is a very clear and plentiful fountain, with the ruins of a ſmall temple or dome that was formerly built over it. It lies nearly in the ſame parallel with Tubernoke, though at above 50 miles diſtance, and cannot therefore be one and the ſame city, as ſome authors quoted by Cellarius (l. xiv. c. 4.) have imagined. Upon the walls, which are made with the old materials, we have the two following inſcriptions; by the firſt of which, we find this city was called Thiburſicumbure, the ſame probably with the Tuburſicuburenſis of the Notitia. Now, as this was a ſee of the Provincia Proconſularis, we ſhall be at a loſs for the Thuburſicca of Ptolemy, which the ſame Notitia places in Numidia, a quite different province. The ſecond inſtructs us, that the title of Chriſtianiſſimus, which a few centuries ago was given by the Biſhop of Rome to the French kings, was a compliment paid, many ages before, to Juſtin and Soſia.

I.

VRBI ROMAE AETERNAE AVG.
RESP. MVNICIPI SEVERIANI ANTO
NINIANI LIBERI THIBVRSICENSIVM
BVRE.

II.

SALVIS DOMINIS NOSTRIS CHRISTIANISSIMIS ET
INVICTISSIMIS IMPERATORIBVS IVSTINO ET SOFIAE
AVGVSTIS HANC MVNITIONEM THOMAS † EXCELLENTISSIMVS
PRAEFECTVS FELICITER AEDIFICAVIT.

Lorbus, called ſometimes Lerba, the ancient Laribus Colonia, lies in the ſame parallel with Tuberſoke, at three leagues diſtance to the W. It has a fine ſituation upon an eminence, from whence Leo and Marmol very injudiciouſly deduce the river of Tabarca.

Below Lorbus and Tuberſoke, at near equal diſtances from them both, is Muſti ‡, called at preſent Seedy Abdel Abbus, where we have the remains of a beautiful triumphal arch; and upon a ſtone that might formerly belong to it, there is the following inſcription:

INVICTISSIMO FELICISSIMOQVE IMPERATOI
AVGVSTO CAESARI ORBIS PACATORI
- - - - - - - - MVSTICENSIVM DD.

Vibius Sequeſter ‡ has been miſinformed, in placing Muſti near the river Bagrada, which is, in the neareſt part of it, four leagues from it to the N. E. The author of the Itinerary makes this noted city to lie 34 Roman miles (Peutinger's tables only 32) from Sicca Veneria, 92 from Sufetula, 86 from Carthage, and 199 (by Tipaſa) to Cirta; all which diſtances, conſidering the roads are frequently indirect, and ſeveral interjacent places are to be frequently touched at, will very well correſpond with the ſituation of Seedy Abdelabbus.

* Annot. in Itener. Cellar. l. iv. c. 5. 116.
† Et Thomas Libycæ nutantis dextera terræ. Corrip. Afr. de laud. Juſt. Min. l. i.
‡ Bagrada Africæ juxta oppidum Muſti, &c.

Keſſ,

Keff, the Sicca or Sicca Veneria * of the ancients, lies about 15 miles from Lorbuſs, and 72 miles from Tunis. It is a frontier town, and the third for riches and ſtrength in the whole kingdom.

In the late civil wars, the greateſt part of the citadel was blown up, which has ſince been rebuilt with greater ſtrength and beauty. In levelling an adjacent mount, to find materials for this building, they found an entire ſtatue of Venus; which was no ſooner found than it was broken to pieces by theſe Iconoclaſtics. This ſtatue may not a little authoriſe and illuſtrate the appellation of Veneria that was attributed to Sicca. There was an equeſtrian ſtatue dug up at the ſame time, dedicated to MARCVS ANTONIVS RVFVS, which ſuffered the ſame fate. The ſituation of Keff, as the name itſelf imports, is upon the declivity of a hill, with a plentiful ſource of water near the centre of it. Beſides what has been already mentioned, the two following inſcriptions are the only ſurviving antiquities of this noted place:

I.
VICTORI
CENTVRIONI
LEGIONARIO
EX EQVITE
ROMANO
OB MVNIFI
CENTIAM ORDO
SICCENSIVM
- - - - CIVI
ET CONDECVRIONI
DD. PP.

II.
HERCVLI SACRVM
M. TITACIV[illegible] PROCVLVS * PROCV
RATOR AVGVSTI SVA
PECVNIA FECIT.

Tuber-noke, the Oppidum Tuburnicenſe of Pliny, is ſituated in the Dakhul, at about ſeven leagues to the S. of Tunis, and near the half way betwixt Solyman and Caſſir Aſeite. It is built in the form of a creſcent, between two ridges of a very verdant mountain (a part probably of the Mons Balbus of Livy †) which diverſifies itſelf, in this neighbourhood, in the like variety of windings and narrow defiles as are mentioned by that author. A large pair of ſtag's horns are well delineated in baſſo relievo, upon the gate of a large edifice, which is indeed the only ſurviving antiquity. Tuber-noke anſwers well enough in name to the Tubernicenſis of the Notitia; yet it will be difficult to account for the placing of it, no leſs than of Tubercine above mentioned, among the epiſcopal ſees of Numidia; the neareſt of which lies at ſo conſiderable a diſtance to the weſtward, that we may well ſuſpect there is ſome great miſtake in the Notitia ‡, with regard to both thoſe places.

Zow-an or Zag-wan, in the ſame meridian with, and at twelve leagues diſtance from Tunis, is a ſmall flouriſhing town, built upon the N. E. extremity of a conſpicuous

* Summi viri, Jo. Seldenus, De Diis Syris Syntagma ii. c. 7. et Ger. Jo. Voſſius, Theol. Gentil. l. ii. cap. 22. nomen Siccæ Veneriæ erudite deducunt ex Aſſyriorum numine vel religione Succot Benot, cujus 2 Reg. xvii. fit mentio, quaſi tabernacula filiarum ſive mulierum dicantur, ſeu cultus Veneris Aſſyriæ, quam Herodotus l. i. c. 99. et Strabo, l. xvi. deſcribunt. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. iv. c. 5. p. 117. Siccæ enim Fanum eſt Veneris, in quod ſe matronæ conferebant; atque inde procedentes ad quæſtum, dotes corporis injuria contrahebant, honeſta nimirum tam inhoneſto vinculo conjugia junctura. V. Max. l. ii. c. 6. § 15.

† Maſiniſſa cum paucis equitibus ex acie in montem (Balbum incolæ vocant) perfugit. Liv. l. xxix. § 31. Bocchar digreſſum jugis Maſiniſſam perſecutus in valle arcta, faucibus utrimque obſeſſis, incluſit. *Id.* § 32.

‡ Vid. Tertul. lib. 6. ad Scapulam. Baron. Annal. in ann. c. 195.

mountain of the ſame name, the Mons Ziguenſis probably of Victor *. It is in great repute for the dying of ſcarlet caps, and the bleaching of linen; great quantities of both being daily brought thither for that purpoſe from Tunis, Suſa, and other places. The ſtream which is employed at preſent for this uſe, was formerly, together with the river of Zungler, conveyed to Carthage; and over the fountains of it there was, in like manner as at Zungar, which has been already deſcribed, a temple erected, the ruins of which continue likewiſe to this day. Upon an ancient gate which regards the S. E. there is a ram's head, armed, in baſſo relievo, with AVXILIO, in large letters below it. This may perhaps inſtruct us, that Zowan, or whatever was its former name, was under the immediate influence and protection of Jupiter Ammon †.

If we could be aſſured, that the leaſt traces of Zeugis, mentioned above, or Zeugitana, were preſerved in the preſent name of this city or mountain, there would be no ſmall reaſon to imagine, that the name of this province was denominated from it. Solinus ſeems to advance ſomething in favour of this ſuppoſition; by acquainting us, that Africa (particularly ſo called, as we are perhaps to underſtand him) commenced, a pede ‡ Zeugitano, i. e. *from the foot* (as I would interpret it) *of the mountain Zowwan*, the Mons-Ziguenſis probably of Victor; or, in other words, that Africa was that ſpace of ground which lay to the northward of the parallel of this mountain. It is certain, that we have from this eminence a moſt delightful and extenſive proſpect; which might therefore be the very place from whence Agathocles § was entertained with the view both of the country of the Adrumetines and Carthaginians. The Zygantes of Herodotus, who were remarkable for their honey, ſeem to have had this ſituation.

The following inſcriptions relate to places of leſſer note in the old geography; at each of which there are ſeveral rudiments of old ciſterns, pillars, capitals, fragments of large walls, porticoes, &c. which it would have been too tedious to enumerate on every occaſion.

Upon a ruined Triumphal Arch at Bazilbab, on the Banks of the Migardah, 30 miles to the W. *of Tunis.*

SALVIS ET PROBITIIS DDD. NNN. GRATIA
NO VALENTINIANO THEODOSIO INVICTISSIMIS PRINCI
PIBVS DE PACE EX MORE CONDIT. DECRET

At Teſhure, ſix miles from Bazilbab.

I.

D. N. IMP. VALERIO LVCINIA
NO LICINIO AVG. MAX.
SARMATICO MAX. GERMA
NICO MAX. TRIBVNITIA POTES

* Creſconius Preſbyter Myzentinæ civitatis, in ſpelunca Ziguenſis montis repertus eſt, putreſcente jam ſolutus cadavere. Vict. Utic. de Perſecut. Vand. l. iii.

† The image of Jupiter Ammon is called Κριοπροσωπον by Herodotus, l. ii. § 42. From whence the poet,

Tortis cornibus Ammon..... *Lucan.* l. ix. p. 519.

In one of the coins of Gallienus, there is a ram with this legend, IOVI CONSERVATORI; in one of Saloninus, AMMONI CONSERVATORI.

‡ Ποδας μεν γαρ λεγεσθαι ὑπορειας, κορυφας δε τα ακρα των ορων. Strab. l. x. p. 326.

§ Αγαθοκλης προσηλθεν επι τινα τοπον ορεινον, ὁθεν ὁρασθαι δυνατον ην αυτον ὑπο της των Αδρυμητινων και των Χαρχηδονιων την Τυνητα πολιορκουντων χωρας. Diod Sic. lib. xx. p. 741.

TATE

TATE X. COS. V. IMP. X. PATRI PATRIAE
PROCONS. COL. BISICA LVCANA DEVOTA
NVMINIBVS MAIESTATIQVE EIVS.

II.

FORTISSIMO IMP.
ET PACATORI ORBIS
M. CLAVDIO
TACITO.
PIO FELICI AVG.

At Tugga, betwixt Teſture and Tuberſoke.

C. MEMMIO FELICI
FLAMINI AVG. PERP.
VTRIVSQVE PARTIS
CIVITATIS THIGNICEN
SIS. C. MEMMIVS
FORTVNATVS FLAM
AVG. PERP. VTRI
VSQVE PARTIS CIVI
TATIS THIGNICENCIS
PROPTER EXIMIAM
PIETATEM ET AFFECTI
ONEM FRATERNAM QVAM
- - - LIBER EXHIBIT.

At Al Aleah, half way betwixt Bizerta and Port Farina.

- - - - - - - REIPVBLICAE SPLENDI
DISSIMAE COTVZAE SACRAE
VALERIVS IANVARIVS - - - - - - -

At Slougeah, betwixt Teſtoure and Bazilbab, on the Banks of the Mejerdah.

IMP. CAES. DIVI M. - - - -
ANTONINI PII GE - - - -
NEP. DIVI HADRIANI
PRONEP. DIVI
TRAIANI PART. AB
- - - - DIVI NERVAE
- - - SEPTIMIO SEVERO
PERTINACI AVG. *ARAB.*
N. PP. PONT. MAX. *TRIB.*
POTEST. IMP. VII. *COS. II.*
- - - - - - HIDIBELENS.

At Dugga, near Tuberſoke.

I.

IMP. CAES. DIVI ANTONINI - - -
MARC. AVRELIO SEVERO ALEXANDRO
PONTIFICI MAX. TRIBVNITIA POT.
ET CASTR. ET SENATVS ET PA
- - VM LIBERVM* THVGGA.

* MVNICIPIVM LIBERVM THVGGA apud Sponii Miſcell. φρεριον τικκα, Procop. l. 6. c. 5. De Ædific.

II.

CLAVDIO CAESARI AVG - - - -
MAXIMO TRIBVNITIA POT. - -
R. CRASSVS AEDIL. ORNAM - -
TI VIR AVGVR II VIR QVINQVE
C. FAR. PERPETVVS SACERIVS
PAGI THVGGENSIS NOM - - - -
ET PERPETVI - - - - - -

III.

III.

IMP. CAES. DIVI
NERVAE NEPOTI
TRAIANI DACICI
PARTHICI FIL.
TRAIANO HADRIANO AVG.
PONT. MAX. TRIBVN.
POTEST. COS. II. PP.
CIVITAS THVGGA DD. PP.

IV.

TIRINVS FORTV
NATVS VIR. ARMIS
INGENIO ET ANIMO
MAXIMO QVI CVM
- - - - NIS ET GRAECIS
- - - TIMIS H. I. T. P.
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
VIXITQVE IAETOS DVOS
ZOZIMOS IOVIS P. V. XXXIV.

At Maſhera, near Dugga.

SATVRNO AVG. SACRVM
CIVITAS II TVGGENSIS
DEDICAVIT DECRETO
DECVRIONVM.

At Beiſſons, betwixt Tuberſoke and Dugga.

I.

MAGNIS ET INVICTIS DDDD. NNNN. DIOCLETIANO
ET MAXIMIANO PERPETVIS AUGG. ET
CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMIANO NOBB. CAESARIBVS
RESPVBLICA MVNICIPII AGBIENSIVM DEDICA - - - -
M. IVL. - - PROCOS - - MAIESTAQVE EORVM DIC. - -

II.

PRO SALVTE IMP. M. ANTONINI AVG. PII
LIBERORVMQVE EIVS
CINTIVS C. F. R. N. VICTORVM AD TVENDAM
REMPVBLICAM CONSENSV DECVRIO
NVM OMNIVM IAM PRIDEM PATRONVS
FACTVS ET TVTOR CVM - - RERVM VETVS
TATE CONSVM - - - - - - - - A SOLO
- -
MVNICIPI CIVILIS AGBIENSIVM ET
VNIVERSIS CVRIIS. DD. PP.

At Bouſha, 18 miles to the S. W. of Tunis.

CATIO ALCIMO FELICIANO PV. - - - - - - - - - -
VICE PRAEF. PRET. PRAEF. ANNO - - - - - - - - -
NAE VICE PRAEF. VIGILVM. MAG. - - - - - - - - -
SVMMAE PRIVATAE MAGIST. - - - - - - - - - - -
VM RATIONVM CVRATORI OPER - - - - - - - - - -
TRI. PROC. HEREDITATVM - - - - - - - - - - - -
SACRAE MONETAE PER - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
PROV. NARBONENS. PROC. PRIV. PER SALARIAM - -
TIBVRTINAM VALERIAM TVSCIAM PROC. PER - - -
FLAMINIAM VMBRIAM PICENVM ITEM VICE - - - - -
PROC. QVADRIG. GALLIARVM PROC. ALIMENT. PER -
TRANSPADVM HISTRIAM TITVRNIAM - - - - - - - -

FISCI

FISCI PROVINCIAR. XI OB EXIMIVM AMOREM IN PATRIAM SPENDIDISSIMVS ORDO TVRCET. PATRONO DD.

At Meſherga, nine miles to the E. of Bouſha.

I.

PII IMP. V. COS. I.
PROCOS. MVNICIPI
VM. GIVF DEVOTVM
NVMINI MAIESTATI
QVE EIVS DD. PP.

II.

LVCINIAE SATVR
NINAE AVRELI
DIONISI PATRO
NI CONIVGI
MVNICIPES
MVNICIPI AVRE
LI ALEXANDRIA
NI AVGVSTI
MAGNI GIVFITANI.

III.

AGENTI.

IV.

APOLLINI AVG. SACR.
DEVNDANIVS PAPRIMIANVS FVNDANI
FELICIS AEDELICI FIL. FVNDANI PRIMI FL. P. NEPOTIS
AEDILIS OB HONOREM AEDILITATESQVE MET. ORDO
SVVS SVFFRAGIO DECREVIT HANC STATVAM IMITA
TVS PATRIS EXEMPLVM H-S. VIII MILLIBVS N SVA LI
BERALITATE NVMERATA PRIVS A SE REIPVBLICAE
SVMMA HONORARIA POSVIT EANDEMQVE DEDICA
VIT ET OB DEDICATIONEM SIMVL CVM MANNIO MEMI
ANO COLLEGA SVO LVDOS SCAENICOS ET GIMNASI
VM POPVLO AEPVLAS DECVRIONIBVS DEDIT. DDD.

V.

D. M. S.
PALLONIVS FELIX PIVS
VIXIT AN. XLI. D. IIII.
AMORE DVCTVS
PELAGI MERCIB.
INSISTEBAM
SVCCIDIS AETER
NOQVE SILENTIO
MAVRIS SVM.

VI.

PESCENNIA QVOD VVLT DEVS
H. M. F. BONIS NATALIBVS
NATA MATRONALITER
NVPTA VXOR CASTA
MATER PIA GENVIT FILIOS
III. ET FILIAS II. VIXIT
ANNIS XXX. VICTORINA
VIXIT ANNIS VII.
SVNNIVS VIXIT ANNIS
III. MARCVS VIXIT
ANNIS II. MARCEL
LVS VIXIT ANNO I.

FORTVNATA VIXIT ANNIS
XIII. M. VIII. MARCELLVS
PROCOS - - CIV.
SED ET FILIIS ET
FILIABVS NOSTRIS ME VI
VO MEMORIAM FECI
OMNIBVS ESSE PEREMNEM.

At Manſonſe, near Youſeph.

D. M. S.
- - - VSVRVS PONICINNVS
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
VERECVNDIA INCOM
PARABILIS - - - - - - - - -
- - - ET INGENIO CLARVS
OMNI SIMPLICITATE
IVCVNDVS.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the moſt remarkable Places upon the Sea Coaſt of the ancient Bizacium or Winter Circuit.*

THE many parts which I have ſeen of the ancient Bizacium, or Winter Circuit, fall vaſtly ſhort in fertility of the character which has been attributed to them by the ancients. For ſuch as are adjacent to the ſea coaſt are generally of a dry ſandy nature, with no great depth of ſoil in the very beſt portion of them. This is called the ſahul, and is planted for the moſt part with olive trees, which flouriſh here in the greateſt perfection. Neither is the inland country in a much better condition. For, if we except the plains which are watered by the rivers Defailah, Derb, and Hat-taab, we have moutainous and woody tracts only, all along from Zun-ghar by Uſe-let, Truzza, Spaitla, Caſareen, and ſo forward, (in turning to the N.W. by the ſanctuary of Seedy Boogannin) as far as Hydrah, and the frontiers of the Algerines. The country round about Kairwan is low and marſhy, with lakes and ſhibkahs diſperſed all over it, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon. Near Gilma, Jemme, and ſo on to the river Accroude, there is an interchange indeed of hills and vallies, but which differ very little in the quality of their ſoil from that of the ſea-coaſt. Beyond the mountains of Caſareen, till we arrive at Ferre-anah and the ſkirts of the Sahara, we travel a great many miles over a barren plain, with a ridge of eminences at ſome diſtance on each ſide of us. The country continues in the ſame loneſome and barren condition from thence to Capſa, and ſo forward to the Jereed, our proſpect on each hand being all the way bounded with high mountains; the S. E. ridge whereof ſtretches towards Jibbel Hadeffa and the *lake of marks;* the other, which may be taken for the continuation of Mount Atlas, runs in a S.W. direction, by Sbekkah, as far as the eye can conduct us. Such is the general plan and map of this province.

Among the more remarkable places, where the ancient geography is principally concerned, we may begin with the deſcription of Herkla. Herkla, the Heraclea of the lower empire, the Juſtiniana of the middle, and the Adrumetum * of the earlier ages. It was built, as Clypea was, on an hemiſpherical promontory, two leagues to the S. E. of the Moraſs, the boundary, as I ſuppoſe, betwixt the Zeugitana and this province. It appears to have been little more than a mile in circuit; and, if we may judge of its former grandeur by the remaining ruins, we ſhould rather take it for a

* Ἀδρυμητον, *Appian.* Ἀδρυμητα, *Polyb.* Ἀδρυμιτλος, *Ptolem.*

place of importance, than to have been of any great beauty or extent. That part of the promontory, which ſtretched to the northward, and formed the port, ſeems to have been walled in quite down to the ſea ſhore; but the reſt of it, to the diſtance of a furlong from thence, does not diſcover the leaſt traces of ruins. Cæſar then might have all imaginable conveniency to obſerve the ſtrength and ſituation of this city *; eſpecially as the inhabitants declined all hoſtilities at that time.

The Cothon was to the W. and S.W. of this promontory; which, as Cæſar in his purſuit of Varus † was not able to double, he was obliged to lay at anchor before it; i. e. as I conjecture, to the eaſtward of it. Now, as it may be preſumed that Cæſar directed his courſe from Leptis, or Lempta, no other than a ſoutherly or weſterly wind could have brought him hither. It is certain that an eaſterly wind would, from the very ſituation of this port and promontory, have eaſily conducted him within them both. Hamam-et, therefore, as ſome pretend, could not have been the Adrumetum; becauſe, as that place lies nearly in the ſame direction with Lempta and Herkla, the ſame wind which brought Cæſar to the promontory of Hamam-et, would have conducted him within the port that was formed by it. Neither could Cæſar, from the ruggedneſs of the ſituation of Hamam-et on one ſide, and being waſhed by the ſea on the other, have made a tower round about it, as he did round about Adrumetum, as hath been already obſerved. Neither have we a view either from Hamam-et, or the bay before it, of the coaſt of Clybea, a circumſtance which agrees with the ſituation of Herkla ‡.

Beſides, Varus § is ſaid to have left Adrumetum in the ſecond watch of the night, and to have arrived at Leptis early in the morning. No conſiderable diſtance, therefore, could have been betwixt Leptis and Adrumetum. It appears likewiſe that Cæſar marched with his army from Adrumetum to Leptis in two days, and returned the third to Ruſpina ‖, where he had lodged the firſt night. Now, if Hamam-et was the Adrumetum, and Ruſpina the half way (as may be ſuppoſed) to Leptis, theſe marches muſt have been nearly 40 Roman miles a day; too much even for the hardieſt veterans of Cæſar's army to accompliſh, much more for ſuch unexperienced¶ troops as he had then with him, who were ſcarce recovered from their ſea ſickneſs, who had likewiſe a variety of ſkirmiſhes and difficulties to retard their marches**. Neither indeed was this a ſeaſon for long journies; the days, at this time, conſiſting only of about nine or ten hours. Nay, further, as Ruſpina lay within ſix miles of Leptis, the firſt day's march (upon a ſuppoſition that Hamam-et was the Adrumetum) muſt have been near 70

* Cæſar circum oppidum vectus, natura loci perſpecta, redit ad caſtra. Hirt. de Bell. Afric. § 3.

† Varus celeritate Cæſaris audaciaque motus, cum univerſa claſſe, converſis navibus, Adrumetum verſus fugere contendit. Quem Cæſar in millibus paſſuum IV confecutus — triremem hoſtium proximam — cepit: reliquæ naves hoſtium promontorium ſuperarunt, atque Adrumetum in Cothonem ſe univerſæ contulerunt. Cæſar eodem vento promontorium ſuperare non potuit; atque in ſalo in ancoris ea nocte commoratus, &c. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 56.

‡ A Clupea ſecundum oram maritimam cum equitatu Adrumeti, Cn. Piſo cum Maurorum circiter III millibus apparuit. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 3.

§ Varus, vigilia ſecunda Adrumeto ex Cothone egreſſus, primo mane Leptim univerſa claſſe vectus, &c. *Id.* § 55.

‖ Eo die caſtra poſuit ad oppidum Ruſpinam, kalendis Januar. (§ 5.) inde movit et pervenit ad oppidum Leptin. (§ 6.) ad NI non. Jan. caſtra movet; Leptique VI cohortium præſidio cum Saſerna relicto, ipſe rurſus, unde pridie venerat, Ruſpinam cum reliquis copiis convertit. (§ 8.)

¶ Ad oppidum oppugnandum non ſatis copiarum habebat, et eas tironum. § 5. *ibid.*

** Itaque caſtra quum movere vellet, ſubito ex oppido erupit multitudo —— et ejus agmen extremum inſequi cœperunt — quod cum ſæpius facerent; et modo inſequerentur, modo rurſus ab equitibus in oppidum repellerentur, &c. *Id. ibid.*

miles, which is altogether impoſſible. Nay, further, the Itinerary places Adrumetum 440 furlongs (i. e. 55 miles) from Neapolis, and 85 miles from Carthage. Provided then Hamam-et was the Adrumetum, Neapolis or Nabal would be ſituated 50 miles too near to it in the one caſe, as Carthage would be 30 miles too near it in the other.

Another argument why Herkla ſhould be the Adrumetum rather than Hamam-et, or any other place, may be drawn from the alteration that might have been made more than once in its name. For as it was uſual both with the Greeks and Romans, to change the old names of their cities in honour of their emperors; ſo it was no leſs common for one emperor, upon doing ſome ſignal good offices to a favourite city, to have his own name ſubſtituted in the place of his predeceſſor's. Thus Procopius, *de Edificiis*, cap. vi., tells us, that Adrumetum was called in his time Juſtiniana, in reſpect to the Emperor Juſtinian; as for the ſame reaſon it might afterwards have been changed into Heraclea, out of the like ſentiments of gratitude to his diſtant ſucceſſor Heraclius.

Adrumetum being thus reſtored to the ancient geography, let us now proceed to Suſa, the next remarkable place upon the coaſt, at about five leagues to the S. E. It is the chief mart of this kingdom for oil and linen, and may be reckoned one of the moſt conſiderable and wealthy cities of the Tuniſeens. Here are ſeveral vaults, granite pillars, and other tokens of its having been formerly a place of ſome repute; probably one of thoſe towns* which ſubmitted to Cæſar in his march to Ruſpina. For Suſa is built upon the northern extremity of a long range of eminences, which, as Hirtius † has well deſcribed them, reach as far as Surſeff, the ancient Sarſura. Behind it, all along to Sahaleel, we have a view of that extenſive plain, which is taken notice of likewiſe by the ſame author. But as there are no traces of a port either at this place, or for ſeveral miles on each ſide of it; as it is ſituated likewiſe too near the ſea ‡, and at too great a diſtance from Leptis, Suſa does not ſeem to agree with the ancient Ruſpina, to which Hirtius has aſcribed all or moſt of thoſe circumſtances.

A league and a half from Suſa, we paſs over a valley, with a briſk tranſparent rivulet running through it, and emptying itſelf afterwards into the ſea. Half a league further, under the ſame chain of eminences with Suſa, is Sahaleel, where we have likewiſe ſome remains of antiquities. This village is ſituated at a good mile's diſtance from the ſea, and therefore bids fairer to be the ancient Ruſpina than Suſa; eſpecially as the ſea before it not only forms itſelf into a bay, but has alſo a communication with a ſmall lake, which was probably the port mentioned by Hirtius. Sahaleel, having no other water than what is drawn from wells, may very well account for the neceſſity that Cæſar lay under of being ſupplied from another place; which, from the many difficulties he met with in the way to it §, occaſioned by Scipio's army being poſſeſſed of all this country to the northward, ſeems to have been from the rivulet juſt now deſcribed.

* In itinere (ex Adrumeto) ex oppidis et caſtellis legationes venere: polliceri frumentum; paratoſque eſſe, quæ imperaſſet, facere. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 5.

† Hic campus (pone Ruſpinam) mirabili planitie patet millia paſſuum xv; quem jugum ingens a mari ortum, neque ita præaltum, veluti theatri efficit ſpeciem. In hoc jugo colles ſunt excelſi pauci, &c. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 34. Scipio interim, cognito Cæſaris diſceſſu, (a caſtris prope Ruſpinam) cum univerſis copiis per jugum Cæſarem ſubſequi cœpit. § 58. Scipio confeſtim Cæſarem per ſuperiora loca conſecutus, millia paſſuum VIII a Thapſo binis caſtris conſedit. § 68. Labienus per jugum ſummum collis, dextrorſus procul milites ſubſequi non deſiſtit. § 63.

‡ Portus (Ruſpinæ) abeſt ab oppido millia paſſuum II. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 9.

§ Cæſar vallum ab oppido Ruſpina uſque ad mare deducere et a caſtris alterum eodem — Equitatus eorum (Scipionis, &c.) circum Cæſaris munitiones vagari; atque eos, qui pabulandi aut aquandi gratia extra vallum progreſſi eſſent, excipere. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 19. et 22.

Five

Five miles over againſt Sahaleel, upon the extremity of a ſmall cape, is Monaſteer, a neat thriving city, walled round like Suſa. Large pieces of marble, and other the like ancient materials, are not commonly met with at this place. However, from its ſituation, and the command it would have thereby of the two bays of Sahaleel and Leptis, we may ſuſpect it to have been of Carthaginian or Roman extraction, though the preſent name is off too modern a date to lay claim to either.

Two leagues to the ſouthward of Monaſteer is Lempta *, which denotes a port or ſtation for veſſels. This was the Leptis, or Leptis Parva of the ancients; the other Leptis being in the kingdom of Tripoli, ſeveral leagues to the ſouthward. Lempta has been a mile or more in circuit; but at preſent nothing of it remains beſides the ruins of a caſtle, with a low ſhelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the ancient Cothon. Buno acquaints us, that leptis is what we now call Aracca; perhaps he meant Herkla, as there is no other village of the like ſound upon the ſea coaſt.

A few miles to the weſtward of Lempta are the ruins of Agar, another of Cæſar's ſtations; which Hirtius tells us was 16 miles from Thapſus. The rocky ſituation, with the quantity likewiſe of ſtones and ruins that are ſeen at this place, might induce the Arabs, according to their facility of invention, to alter a little the old name, and call it, as they do at preſent, Boo Hadjar, or *The father of a ſtone*; i. e. *The ſtony city*.

Between Boo Hadjar and Demaſs, within four miles of the latter, there is a large lake of ſalt water, which reaches within half a league of Tobulba. This is the lake taken notice of by Hirtius †, as Tobulba, a ſmall maritime village, may lie near the place where Cæſar erected a fort to prevent Scipio's ſending in ſuccours by this narrow paſſage to Thapſus.

Demaſs, the ancient Thapſus, is ſituated upon a low neck of land, three miles to the eaſtward of To-bulba. By the great extent of its ruins, it appears to have been the moſt conſiderable city on this ſide Carthage; though, by the taxation ‡ in Cæſar's time, it ſhould have been much ſmaller than Adrumetum. The walls, caſtles, and houſes of better faſhion, at Suſa and Monaſteer, have received large contributions from theſe ruins and thoſe of Herkla.

There is ſtill remaining, in defiance of time and the ſea, a great part of the Cothon, which was built in frames, in the ſame manner as I have deſcribed the walls of Tlemſan. The compoſition likewiſe is made up of ſmall pebbles and mortar, ſo well cemented and knit together, that a ſolid rock cannot be more hard and durable. It is very probable that, in ſubmarine works of this nature, the Romans might mix and temper this mortar with the earth of Puteoli, which has a ſurprizing property of hardening under water.

The capes of Demaſs and Monaſteer form the bay of Lempta, which muſt have afforded a variety of ports and ſtations for veſſels in former times; for an iſland, from Demaſs almoſt as far as To-bulba, runs parallel with the ſouthern ſhore. There is

* Viz. a לבח quod punice ſtationem ſignificat. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24. See Lucan Bell. Civ. l. ix. 951.

Proxima Leptis erat, cujus ſtatione quieta
Exegere hiemem.

† Erat ſtagnum ſalinarum, inter quod et mare anguſtiæ quædam non amplius mille et quingentos paſſus intererant; quas Scipio intrare, et Thapſitanis auxilium ferre, conabatur. § 62.

‡ Thapſitanis HS xx millia, conventui eorum xxx millia; Adrumetanis HS xxx, conventui eorum HS l millia, mulctæ nomine, imponit. § 15. Exc. p. 8. B.

likewiſe

likewiſe another, which reaches from Monaſteer, the half way nearly to Lempta; whilſt the Jowries, the Tarichiæ as they ſeem to be of Strabo, lie over againſt Lempta and To-bulba. Cæſar was ſo well apprized of the importance of the Tarichiæ, (and there are no other iſlands to the northward) that he thought fit to appoint ſeveral ſtationary veſſels * to ſecure them.

El Medea, called likewiſe Africa by the moderns, is ſituated upon a peninſula five miles to the S. of Demaſs, and appears to have been formerly a place of great ſtrength and importance. The port, which was an area nearly of a hundred yards ſquare, lies within the very walls of the city, with its mouth opening towards Cap-oudia; but is not capable at preſent to receive the ſmalleſt veſſel. Leo † ſays that it was founded (it might have been poſſibly rebuilt) by Mahdi, the firſt patriarch of Kair-wan, and therefore aſſumed his name; but there is ſomething too polite and regular in ſeveral of the remaining capitals, entablatures, and other pieces of the ancient maſonry, even defaced as they are at this time, to ſuſpect the founder of them to have been an Arabian. Thuanus ‡ has given us a juſt deſcription of this place, at the ſame time he has miſtaken it for the ancient Aphrodiſium; which was more probably at Faradeeſe, a ſmall village and port in the plains of Hamam-et.

Five miles to the ſouthward of El Medea is Salecto, the Sullecti or Sublecte of the middle age, where we meet with the ruins of a very large caſtle, little inferior in extent to the Tower of London. It ſeems to have been erected for the ſecurity of a ſmall creek, or port, that lies below it to the S.W. This place, or El Medea § ſhould be the tower, or Rus Urbanum, as Juſtin calls it, of Hannibal; from whence he is ſaid to have embarked after his flight from Carthage.

Elalia, a large extent of ruins, is ſituated upon the borders of a fertile plain, which reaches from Salecto to within a few miles of Sbe-ah. Beſides ſuch ruins as it has in common with other places, we have here ſeveral ciſterns with large paved areas built over them, in order to receive the rain water that, in the rainy ſeaſon, was to fill and repleniſh them. Several conveniences of the like nature are diſperſed all over this dry country, which, according to tradition, were made by Sultan Ben Eglib, a prince who, for his public ſpirit and warlike exploits, is very juſtly had in the greateſt veneration and remembrance. Elalia ſeems to be the Acola or Acilla of the ancients, which Ptolemy has accordingly fixed in this ſituation; *i. e.* betwixt Thapſus and Ruſpæ. In Peutinger's *Tables* likewiſe we ſee Anolla, corruptly no doubt for Achola, placed to the S. of Sullecti, and ſix miles to the N. of Ruſpæ. As Sbe-ah, therefore, from the name and ſituation of it, appears to be the ancient Ruſpæ, Achola, by lying at ſix miles diſtance to the N. of it, may, with the greateſt exactneſs, be fixed at this place.

* Claſſe, circum inſulas protuſque diſpoſuit; quo tutius commeatus ſupportari poſſet. § 20.

† El Mahdia oppidum noſtris fere temporibus a Mahdi primo Cairaon pontifice conditum; ad mare Mediterraneum exſtructum: muris, turribus, atque portis munitiſſimis, ornatum; portum habet frequentiſſimum. J. Leo, p. 222.

‡ Ea urbs (Aphrodiſium) in humili ac plano ſaxo fundata majorem partem mari alluitur, eoque plerumque vadoſo, ut triremes ad eam commode accedere non poſſent, qua parte terram attingit ccxxx tantum paſſuum ſpatio; valido muro crebris per intervalla turribus et propugnaculis diſtincto: vallata urbi collis imminet acclivi a ſeptentrione deſcenſu, ſed a turgo undique præruptus, qui a præſidariis Turcis tenebatur. Thuan. Hiſt. l. vii.

§ Quum equi, quo in loco juſſi erant, præſto fuiſſent, nocte via cita regionem quandam agri Vocani tranſgreſſus (Hannibal) poſtero die mane inter Acillam et Thapſum ad ſuam turrim pervenit; ibi eum parata inſtructaque remigio excepit navis. Eo die in Circinam inſulam trajecit. Liv. l. xxxiii. § 34. Vide Juſtin. Hiſt. l. xxxi.

A little

A little way from Sbe-ah is Ca-poudia, the Caput Vada of Procopius, the Ammonis Promontorium of Strabo, and the Promontorium Brachodes of Ptolemy, a low narrow ſtrip of land, which ſtretches itſelf a great way into the ſea. Upon the very point of it we have the ruins of the city that was built there by Juſtinian *, where there is likewiſe a high round watch tower. We meet with two more of the like kind betwixt this place and Sfax; all of them proper and neceſſary guides to mariners, who cannot be too cautious in approaching this low and dangerous coaſt.

The two flat and contiguous iſlands of the Querkineſs are ſituated to the S. E. of Ca-poudia, at the diſtance of five leagues. Theſe are the Cercina and Circinitis of the old geography, though inaccurately placed by Agathemer †, over againſt Thena; from whence they lie at nearly ten leagues diſtance, towards the N. E.

Agathemer, Strabo, and other ancient geographers, fix the beginning of the Leſſer Syrtis at theſe iſlands; though, from the following circumſtances, it ſhould rather commence at Ca-poudia. For from this cape to the iſland Jerba, we have a ſucceſſion of ſmall flat iſlands, banks of ſand, oozy bottoms, and ſmall depths of water, which redound to the no ſmall advantage of the neighbouring inhabitants, who, by wading a mile or two into the ſea, and fixing ſeveral hurdles of reeds in various windings and directions all the way as they go along, they thereby encloſe a number of fiſhes. Something like this has been taken notice of by Strabo ‡.

The eaſterly winds were too violent whilſt I travelled along the coaſt of the Leſſer Syrtis, to obſerve the flux and reflux of it §, from whence ſome authors have derived the name ‖. However, I was informed, agreeably to the account which Agathemer ¶ has left us, that, at Jerba particularly, the ſea riſes twice in twenty-four hours a fathom or more above its uſual height. The like has been obſerved in the Gulf of Venice, which ranges along with it in the ſame meridian, and therefore is equally ſubject to the like preſſure or attraction.

Sfax, Asfax, or El Sfakuſs, is a neat thriving city, about 20 miles to the S. W. of the Querkineſs. It is walled round like Suſa and Monaſteer; where, likewiſe, by the ſame extraordinary indulgence of their Kaide, the inhabitants enjoy the fruits of their induſtry, carry on a good trade in oil and linen, and know little of that oppreſſion which is ſeverely practiſed in many other places of Barbary. Bûno ** makes Sfax to be the Taphræ of Cluver; but it is more probably of modern extraction, taking its name from the quantity of ſakouſe or cucumbers that grow in the neighbourhood.

Thainee, the Thena, Θηνη, Θενα, or Thenæ of the ancients, is ten miles to the S. W. of Sfax. It has been built upon a low and rocky piece of ground near two miles in circuit; but as the ancient materials have been all of them employed in the building of Sfax, there is ſcarce one picece of marble or hewn ſtone to be met with. This maritime city, ſo famous in the old geography, is not only badly ſituated, but ſeems never to have had either port or Cothon ††. The adjacent country likewiſe is dry and barren, with neither fountain nor rivulet to refreſh it nearer than at five miles diſtance to the S. W. Here we croſs a pretty large brook, called Wel Thainee, or *the River of Thainee*; which, indeed, provided Marius in his expedition againſt Capſa, con-

* Vid. Procop. de Ædificiis Dn. Juſtiniani, c. vi.
† Agath. Geogr. l. i. c. 5.
‡ Strab. l. xiii. p. 1188.
§ Plin. l. v. c. 4.
‖ Solin. c. vi. Dion. Perieg. l. 198.
¶ Viz. a συρω, *trabo*, quod in acceſſu et receſſu arenam et cœnum ad ſe trahit et congerit. Vid. Euſtath. Comm.
** Μεγαλαι δ' εισιν περι αυτην (S. Meninx. S. Jerba.) παλιμβολαι. Geogr. l. i. c. 5.
†† Cluv. Geogr. cum notis Bun. &c. p. 394.

tinued

tinued his marches not through the inland country, but along the ſea coaſt of Bizacium, this, or the Tarff, a few leagues further to the S. ſhould be the Tanais, where, as Salluſt * informs us, the Romans took in their proviſion of water.

Maha-reſs, with the ruins of an old caſtle, is four leagues to the S. W. of Thainea. This was probably the ancient Macodama, or Macomadibus, as it is called in the Itinerary; and a little way from it is the river Tarff, which has its fountains near the ruins of Tarfowah, probably the ancient Taphrura or Taparura, four leagues to the weſtward. The caſtle of Ungha, ſurrounded with moraſſes, and without any anchoring ground before it, is two leagues from Mahareſs. It does not appear for what intent the founder, Sultan Ben Eglib, made choice of this ſituation, unleſs it was to ſecure ſome wells of good water that are dug near it. At Ellamaite, four leagues further, we meet with a number of ſepulchres, without either beauty or inſcriptions; and then paſſing by Seedy Meddub, a Mooriſh ſanctuary, and croſſing the dry channel of Auronde, we come to Woodriff, and other date villages of leſſer note; each of them watered by rivulets.

Gabs lies three leagues from Wood-riff, and twelve from Ellamaite. This was the Epichus of Scylax †, and the Tacape of other ancient geographers ‡, where we have a heap of ruins, with ſome beautiful granate pillars ſtill ſtanding. Theſe are all of them ſquare, and about twelve feet long, and ſuch as I have not met with in any other part of Africa. The old city, where we ſee theſe ruins, was built upon a riſing ground at half a mile's diſtance from the new, having been formerly waſhed by the ſea, which formed itſelf here into a bay of near half a mile in diameter. But at preſent the greateſt part of this bay is filled up, and gained from the ſea; which, from the great ſhallowneſs of it, and the daily reception of mud and roots from the river, will eaſily ſubmit to ſuch alterations and encroachments.

At Gabs, there are ſeveral large plantations of palm trees, though the dates are much inferior, both in ſize and taſte, to thoſe of the Jireed. But the chief branch of trade, for which this emporium, as Strabo § calls it, is famous at preſent, ariſes from the Al-hennah, which is plentifully cultivated in all their gardens. This beautiful odoriferous plant, if it is not annually cut, and kept low, as it is uſually in other places, grows ten or twelve feet high, putting out its little flowers in cluſters, which yield a moſt grateful ſmell, like camphor; and may therefore be alluded to, Cant. i. 14. where it is ſaid, "My beloved is to me as a cluſter (חכפר) of Cypres (*or Al-hennah*) in the vineyards (*or gardens*) of Engedi." The leaves of this plant, after they are dried and powdered, are diſpoſed of to good advantage in all the markets of this kingdom. For with this, all the African ladies that can purchaſe it, tinge their lips, hair, hands, and feet, rendering them thereby of a tawny ſaffron colour, which, with them, is reckoned a great beauty. The alhennah, no leſs than the palm, requires to be frequently watered; for which purpoſe, the river that runs through theſe plantations is cantoned out, as it ſeems to have been in the time of Pliny ‖, into a number of channels.

* Cum ad flumen [Tanam al. Tanaim] ventum eſt, maxima vis utrium effecta. Ibi—jubet, omnibus ſarcinis abjectis, aqua modo ſeque et jumenta onerare. Dein—noctem totam itinere facto, conſedit; idem proxuma facit. Dein tertia, multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumuloſum, ab Capſa non amplius duum millium intervallo. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 96.

† Scyl. Perip. p. 46. ‡ Ptol. l. iv. c. 3. Plin. l. v. c. 4.

§ Strab. l. xvii. p. 1188.

‖ Tacape, felici ſuper omne miraculum riguo ſolo: ternis fere mill. paſs. in omnem partem fons abundat, largus quidem, ſed certis horarum ſpatiis diſpenſatur inter incolas. Plin. lib. xviii. cap. 22. Tacape a טחב, locus humidus et irriguus. Boch. Chan. lib. i. cap. 25.

This river, the Triton of the ancients, falls into the ſea to the northward of the old city, and forms the ground upon which it was ſituated into a peninſula. Its ſources lie no farther than three or four leagues to the ſouthward of Gabs, though it becomes at once like many other rivers of theſe ſouthern and hotter climates, a conſiderable ſtream. And may not the refreſhing abundance of water in theſe rivers, which are more conſtantly as well as more commonly ſo, than in the northern climates, account in ſome meaſure for Pſalm cxxvi. 4. where the return of the captives from Babylon, is deſired to be as copious and numerous as their rivers were copious and redundant? Two long chains of mountains, called the Jibbelleah, which reach from El Hammah to Maggs, and are continued from thence to the ſea coaſt over againſt the iſland Jerba, will neither admit of the length, nor of that ſucceſſion of lakes which have been attributed to this river by ancient as well as modern geographers. It is impoſſible likewiſe, that it ſhould have its origin in the mountain of Vaſaletus, according to Ptolemy. For if this be the ſame, as the name ſeems to inſinuate, with the preſent Uſe-let, it will lie at far too great a diſtance. And, indeed, if we except that ſmall piece of ground which is refreſhed by the ſprings of El Hammah, all the reſt of the country, in this direction, is parched up for want of water. If then the river of Gabs is the river Triton, as cannot, I preſume, be diſputed, geographers have hitherto been greatly miſtaken in their deſcriptions of it.

The little village To-bulba is three miles from Gabs; and ten leagues further, is the iſland Gerba, or Jerba, as the Tuniſeens pronounce it, the moſt ſouthern territory of this kingdom. Jerba appears to be the Brachion of Scylax, and the Meninx * of Strabo and others; though Ptolemy makes Mininx to be a city only of Lotophagitis, as he calls this iſland. The fruit of the Lotus, which will be hereafter deſcribed, grows plentifully all along this coaſt.

CHAP V.—*Of the moſt remarkable Places and Inhabitants in the inland Country of the ancient Bizacium, or Winter Circuit; together with the correſponding Part of the Sahara.*

BEFORE I give a particular deſcription of the more remarkable places of this province, it may be obſerved in general, that, for want of a ſufficient number of geographical circumſtances, it will be difficult to fix the ancient names of Zowareen, Youſeph, Nabhana, Kiſſer, Sbeebah, Jelloulah, Tuſſanah, and many others of leſſer note, at all which places there are conſiderable heaps of ruins. However, among theſe, Kiſſer, from its ſituation with regard to Keff, the Sicca Veneria, and to Seedy Abdel Abbus, or Mufti, *viz.* 20 miles from the former, according to Ptolemy, and 30 from the latter, according to the Itinerary; from theſe circumſtances, I ſay, it appears probable, that Kiſſer might have been the ancient Aſſurus, or Aſſuras †. Sbeebah likewiſe, from its ſituation with reſpect to Kiſſer, may have been the Tucca Terebinthina; as Jeloulah from lying below the mountains of Uſe-let, the Mons Vaſaletus of Ptolemy, may lay in the like claim to be the Oppidum Uſalitanum of Pliny.

To begin then with Kair-wan, which is a walled city, and the next in rank after Tunis for trade and the number of its inhabitants. It is ſituated in a barren ſandy plain, eight leagues to the weſtward of Suſa, and about the ſame diſtance to the S. W. of Herkla. At half a furlong from the city, there is a capacious pond and ciſtern,

* Fallor an *meninx Punice* ſcribebatur מי נקץ *me-niks*, quaſi dixeris aquas defectus, i. e. deficientes, vel מי נכץ *me-nicz*, quaſi dixeris aquas receſſus, i. e. recedentes. Boch. Chan. lib. i. cap. 25.

† Cell. Geogr. Antiq. lib. iv. c. 4. p. 106. et c. v. p. 118.

built for the reception of rain-water; but the pond, (which is the chief proviſion for their cattle and ordinary uſes, as the other, the Elmawahel of Abulfeda *, is for their own drinking,) being either dried up, or elſe beginning to putrify about the middle of the ſummer ſeaſon, it frequently occaſions agues, fevers, and various other diſtempers.

We have at Kairwan ſeveral fragments of ancient architecture; and the great moſque, which is accounted to be the moſt magnificent as well as the moſt ſacred in Barbary, is ſupported by an almoſt incredible number of granite pillars. The inhabitants told me, (for a Chriſtian is not permitted in Barbary to enter the moſques of the Mahometans,) that there were no fewer than five hundred. Yet among the great variety of columns, and other ancient materials that were employed in this large and beautiful ſtructure, I could not be informed of one ſingle inſcription. The inſcriptions likewiſe which I found in other places, were either ſo much filled up with cement, or otherwiſe defaced, that the ancient name was not to be found upon any of the ſurviving antiquities. However, as Kairwan is ſituated betwixt Tiſdrus and Adrumetum, though nearer the latter, by the due diſtance of it likewiſe from the river Mergaleel, the Aquis Regiis (as we may ſuppoſe them to be) of the ancients, it was probably the Vico Auguſti of the Itinerary. As for the preſent name, it ſeems to be the ſame with Caravan †; and might therefore originally ſignify the place where the Arabs had their principal ſtation ‡ in conquering this part of Africa.

To the weſtward of Kairwan, are the high and extenſive mountains of Uſelett, the Mons Uſalitanus of the ancients, celebrated for the number of its warlike inhabitants. Below them, to the ſouthward, are thoſe of Truzza, watered by the Mergaleel and Defilah. Coming near the ſea coaſt, and paſſing by ſix miles diſtance from Sahaleel, Menzil, and Menzil Hyre, (this the Vacca, the other the Zeta of Hirtius §), we arrive at Jimmel, the Tegæa likewiſe, as it probably was, of the ſame author ‖. All theſe villages lie in an open champaign country, diverſified, as they have been already deſcribed, by large plantations of olive trees.

Below them, ſix miles from Medea, is Surſeff, the Sarſura of Hirtius. It is ſituated below a ridge of hills, which reach, with few intermiſſions, from Jimmel to Salecto; and ſeem to be the ſame that are taken notice of by Hirtius ¶, particularly when

* Incolæ Urbis Kairwan bibunt aquam pluvialem quæ hiemali tempore colligitur in piſcina magna, dicta *Elmawahel, i. e.* Ciſterna. Abulf. ut ſupra.

† Calipha Africæ Caruani ſivi Curubi, urbe ab Occuba Nafici F. ante cc annos in Cyrenaica condita, poſt unam et alteram de Chriſtianis reportatam ab Arabibus Victoriam id enim nomen ſonat, ſedem habuit: cumque urbs confluentis ad habitandum multitudinis capax non eſſet, juxta eam et altera civitas extructa eſt, Raqueda dicta. Thuan. l. vii. Curubis quæ et Carvenna. *Ibid.*

‡ Cairaoan conditorem habuit Hucba, qui univerſi exercitus dux ex Arabia deſerta ab Hutmeno Pontifice tertio miſſus fuerat; neque aliam ob cauſam conditum fuiſſe dicunt, quam ut in eo exercitus cum omni præde Barbaris atque Numidis adempta, ſecure ſe continere poſſent. Eo tempore quo Elagleb regno potitus eſt, anno Hejiare 184. A. D. 800. tam incolis quam ædificiis auctum. J. Leo, p. 233. Marmol. Hiſt. Afr. c. xxiv.

§ Uzita (Zeta Sall.) quam deſcribit Ptolemæus ſub Adrumeto et parva Lepti nomen habit a זית *Zaith, i. e.* oliva vel oliveto. Hirtius enim prope Uzitam oliveti meminit. Prius, inquit, neceſſe vallem olivetumque tranſgredi. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

‖ Cæſar interim, * caſtris incenſis, * pervenit ad oppidum Agar *. Scipio interim, cognito Cæſaris diſceſſu, cum univerſis copiis per jugum Cæſarem ſubſequi cœpit; atque ab ejus caſtris millia paſſuum VI longe, trinis caſtris diſpartitis copiis, conſedit. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 58.

Oppidum erat Zeta; quod aberat a Scipione millia paſſuum XI ad ejus regionem et partem caſtrorum collocatum; a Cæſare autem diverſum ac remotum, quod erat ab eo longe millia paſſuum XVIII. *Id.* § 59. Oppidum Vacca, quod finitimum fuit Zetæ. *Id.* § 62.

Erat oppidum infra caſtra Scipionis, nomine Tegæa. *Id.* § 67.

¶ Cæſar ad oppidum Sarſuram ire contendit—Labienus per jugum ſummum collis dextrorſus procul milites ſubſequi non deſiſtit. Hirt. ut ſupra, § 63.

he

he deſcribes the oppoſition that Cæſar met with from Labienus in the taking of Sarſura.

From Sarſura, Cæſar * continued his marches the next day to Tiſdra, Tiſdrus, or Thyſdrus, or Thyſdrum, or Tiſdro, as it was differently called. It is now known by the name of Jemme, and lies about ſix leagues to the S.S.W. of Surſeff, and five to the E. by S. of Elalia, in the very ſituation that Ptolemy has laid down betwixt Thyſdrus and Achola. The Itinerary has likewiſe placed Tiſdro 33 miles from Leptiminus or Lempta; which may be a further confirmation of this geographical fact, *viz.* that Jemme and Tiſdro were the ſame. Here we have ſeveral antiquities; as altars with defaced inſcriptions, a variety of columns, a great many trunks and arms of marble ſtatues; one of which is of the Coloſs kind, in armour; another is of a naked Venus, in the poſture and dimenſions of the Medicean; both of them by good maſters, but the heads are wanting.

But Jemme is the moſt remarkably diſtinguiſhed by the beautiful remains of a ſpacious amphitheatre, which conſiſted originally of ſixty-four arches, and four orders of columns placed one above another. The upper order, which was perhaps an Attic building, is moſt of it tumbled down. Mahomet Bey likewiſe, in a late revolt of the Arabs, who uſed it as a fortreſs, blew up four of its arches from top to bottom; otherwiſe, as to the outſide at leaſt, nothing can be more entire and magnificent. In the inſide likewiſe, the platform of the ſeats, with the galleries and Vomitoria leading up to them, are ſtill remaining. The Arena is nearly circular; and in the centre of it, there is a deep pit or well of hewn ſtone, where the pillar that might ſupport the Velum was probably fixed. By comparing this with other ſtructures at Spaitla, Caſſereen, and Hydrah, it ſeems to have been built near the time of the Antonines, agreeing exactly in proportion and workmanſhip with the buildings of that age. And as the elder Gordian was proclaimed Emperor at this city, it is not improbable, that, in gratitude to the place where he received the purple, he might have been the founder of it. Upon one of the medals of the younger Gordian, we have an amphitheatre, not hitherto accounted for by the medaliſts; but it may be too peremptory perhaps to fix it here at Tiſdra.

As Kairwan and Jemme are the moſt remarkable places on the eaſtern ſide of this province, Hydrah, a little below Gellah at Snaan, near the frontiers of the Algerines, is the moſt conſiderable to the weſtward. It is ſituated in a narrow valley, with a rivulet running by it, and appears to be one of the moſt conſiderable places of this country for extent of ruins. For we have here the walls of ſeveral houſes, the pavement of a whole ſtreet entire, with a variety likewiſe of altars and Mauſolea. A great number of the latter are very well preſerved; ſome of which lie open to the air, and are built in a round hexagonal or octogonal figure, ſupported by four, ſix, or eight columns; whilſt others are ſquare, compact, and covered buildings, with niches in one or other of the faſcades, or elſe with wide open places, like ſo many balconies upon their tops. But the inſcriptions which belonged as well to theſe as to a number of other antiquities, are either defaced by time or the malice of the Arabs. Upon a triumphal arch, more remarkable for its largeneſs than beauty, we have the following inſcription; wherein not the leaſt notice is taken, as it was uſual in other places of the city, or of the people that erected it.

IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIO SEVERO PERTINACI AVG.
P. M. TRIB. POT. III. IMP. V. COS. II. PP. PARTHICO ARABICO.
ET PARTHICO ADIABENICO† DD. PP.

* Cæſar ad oppidum Sarſuram venit— poſtero die ad oppidum Tiſdram pervenit. § 64.
† In my journal I had copied it AZIABENICO, though I know not how juſtly.

Provided the leaſt tradition of the former name was preſerved in the preſent, we might ſuſpect it to be the Tynidrum or Thunudronum of the ancients, which, as it is placed by Ptolemy more than 2° to the weſtward of Sicca, will not be far diſtant from this ſituation.

Leaving the lofty mountains of Elboulejiah on the left hand, with the ſanctuary of Seedy Boogannim, the Wad al Ha-taab, or *River of Wood*, together with the fine plains of Fuſanah on the right, we come to Spaitla, the ancient Sufetula. This city lies about twelve leagues to the ſouth of Keff, and is one of the moſt remarkable places in Barbary for the extent and magnificence of its ruins. For there is firſt of all a ſumptuous triumphal arch of the Corinthian order, conſiſting of one large arch, with a leſſer one on each ſide of it, with theſe few words of the dedication remaining upon the architrave.

IMP CAESAR AVG. - - - -
- - - - ONIN - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - SVFFETVLENTIVM - -
- - HANC EDIFICAVERVNT
ET DD. PP.

From this arch, all along to the city, there is a pavement like that at Hydrah, of large black ſtones, with a parapet wall, raiſed breaſt high on each ſide of it, intended perhaps to hinder the populace from incommoding the Emperor in his triumphant entrance into the city. Near the end of this pavement, we paſs through a beautiful portico, built in the ſame ſtyle and manner with the triumphal arch, which conducts us afterwards into a ſpacious court. Here we have the ruins of three contiguous temples, whoſe ſeveral roofs, porticos, and facades, indeed are broken down, but the reſt of the fabric, with its reſpective columns, pediments, and entablatures, remain perfect and entire. There is in each of theſe temples a nich, fronting the portico; and behind that of the middlemoſt, we have a ſmall chamber, which might have ſerved for the veſtry.

Spaitla is pleaſantly ſituated upon a riſing ground, ſhaded all over with juniper trees. A little brook glides along the N.E. ſide of it, which afterwards, in directing its courſe towards Gilma, loſes itſelf in the ſand. This circumſtance, which is very common to ſeveral other rivers which I have ſeen, and on which occaſion they are ſaid to be Raſhig, i. e. *to run no more*, ſeems to be alluded to, Jer. xv. 18. "Wilt thou be altogether unto me as a liar, and as waters that fail?" Job vi. 15. "My brethren have dealt deceitfully as brooks, and as the ſtream of brooks they paſs away."

Gilma is the ancient Cilma, or Oppidum Chilmanenſe. It lies ſix leagues to the E. of Sufetula, and appears to have been a large city, with the area of a temple ſtill remaining.

Caſſareen, the Colonia Scillitana, memorable for the martyrdom of its citizens, is ſituated upon an eminence, ſix leagues to the W. S. W. of Spaitla. The river Derb runs winding below it; and upon a precipice that hangs immediately over this river, there is a triumphal arch, more remarkable for the quantity and goodneſs of the materials, than for the beauty and elegance of the deſign. It conſiſts of one large arch, with an attic ſtructure above it, having likewiſe ſome rude Corinthian-like ornaments beſtowed upon the entablature; though the pilaſters themſelves are entire Gothic. Yet, notwithſtanding the rudeneſs of the workmanſhip, and the oddneſs and peculiarity of the ſituation, we find the founder of it very gratefully commemorated in the following inſcription:

COLONIAE

COLONIAE *SCILL*ITANAE
Q. MANLIVS FELIX C. FILIVS PAPIRIA RECEP
TVS POST ALIA ARCVM QVOQVE CVM INSIGNIBVS
COLONIAE SOLITA IN PATRIAM LIBERALITATE
EREXIT OB CVIVS DEDICATIONEM
DECVRIONIBVS SPORTVLAS CVRIIS EPVLAS - - -

Below this inſcription, juſt above the key-ſtone of the arch, there is another in leſſer characters; but the only words I could trace out were,

INSIGNIA CVRANTE M. CELIO AN. CV.

If this part of Africa then was made a Roman province upon the younger Scipio's deſtroying Carthage, *viz.* A. U. C. 608, *ante Chriſtum* 146, then the æra here mentioned, *viz.* 105. will be 41 years before Chriſt, or in the ſecond year of the reign of Auguſtus.

In the plains below Caſſareen we are entertained with the like variety of Mauſolea that have been deſcribed at Hydrah, where we have likewiſe the following inſcriptions.

Upon the Facade of a tower-like Mauſoleum, with a Balcony on the top of it.

M. FLAVIVS SE
CVNDVS FILIVS
FECIT.
I. FLAVIO SECVN
DO PATRITIO
VIXIT ANN. CXII. H. S. E.
FLAVIAE VRBANAE
MATRI PIAE. VIX.
ANN. CV. H. S. E.

Upon the lower part of the ſame Mauſoleum, we have an elegy in ſmaller characters, which begins with hexameter verſe, and concludes alternately with them and pentameters.

A few lines of it will be a ſufficient ſpecimen of the poetical genius of the Scillitanians at that time.

SINT LICET EXIGVAE FVGIENTIA TEMPORA VITAE
PARVAQVE RAPTORVM CITO TRANSEAT HORA DIERVM
MERGAT ET ELISIIS MORTALIA CORPORA TERRIS
ASSIDVE RAPTO LACHESIS MALE CONSCIA PENSO, &c.

Upon the Facade of a ſquare Mauſoleum, with Corinthian Pilaſters.

- -
MILITAVIT L. ANNIS IV. IN LEG. II. - - - -
LIB. - - - TESSER. OPTIO. SIGNIFER. - - - -
FACTVS EX SVFFRAGIO LEG. E. - - - - - -
7. LEG. I. M. 7 LEG. X. GEM. - - - - - - - -
7. LEG. III. AVG. - - - 7. LEG. XXX. VIP.
7 LEG. VI. VIC. 7. LEG. III. CYR. 7. LEG. XV. APOL.
7. LEG. II. PAR. 7. LEG. I. ADIVTRICIS.
CONSECVTVS OB VIRTVTEM IN EXPEDITIONEM
PARTHICAM CORONAM MVRALEM VALLAREM
TORQVES ET PHALARES EGIT IN
DIEM OPERIS PERFECTI ANNOS LXXX.
SIBI ET
CLAVDIAE MARCIAE CAPITOLINAE
KONIVGI KARISSIMAE QVAE EGIT
IN DIEM OPERIS PERFECTI
ANNOS LXV ET

M. PETRONIO

M. PETRONIO FORTVNATO FILIO - - - - -
MILITAVIT ANNIS VI. 7. LEG. XVIII. PRIMIG.
LEG. II. AVG. - - - - VIXIT ANN. XXXV. - - - -
CVI FORTVNATVS ET MARCIA PARENTES
CARISSIMO MEMORIAM FECERVNT.

Caſſareen ſeems to have received its preſent name from the Mauſolea; which, at a diſtance, appear like ſo many caſſareen, i. e. *towers* or *fortreſſes*.

Seven leagues from Caſſareen to the S. S. W. is Ferre-anah, which appears to have been the largeſt city of Bizacium, notwithſtanding the remains of its ancient grandeur, conſiſt in a few granate and other pillars, which, by ſome extraordinary chance or benevolence of the Arabs, are left ſtanding upon their pedeſtals. It has been exceedingly well watered; for, beſides a plentiful brook that runs under the walls, there have been ſeveral wells within the city, each of them ſurrounded with a corridore, or gallery, and vaulted over with cupolas. Yet this, and a good air, are the only benefits and conveniences that Ferre-anah can urge in favour of its ſituation. For, if we except a ſmall ſpot of ground towards the S. which the inhabitants cultivate, by refreſhing it at proper times with the rivulet, all the reſt of the circumjacent country is dry, barren, and inhoſpitable, for want of water. The proſpect likewiſe (which is the only one it enjoys) to the weſtward, terminates, for the moſt part, upon ſome naked precipices; or elſe, where the eye has liberty to wander over ſome broken cliff, or through ſome narrow rugged valley, we are entertained with no other view than of a deſert, ſcorched up with perpetual drought, and glowing with the ſun-beams.

This loneſome ſituation, and the great ſcarcity of water in the adjacent country, may induce us to take Ferre-anah for the ancient Thala. For Salluſt * informs us, that Thala was of great extent, ſituated like Capſa in the midſt of mountains and deſerts; and that there were ſome fountains without the city; all which circumſtances agree exactly with the ſituation of Ferre-anah. It is recorded likewiſe, that Jugurtha †, after he was defeated by Metellus, fled to the deſert, and from thence directed his flight to Thala. Thala then muſt have *lain* ſomewhere to the eaſtward of the place from whence he fled; for, had it belonged to the weſtern parts of the deſerts of Numidia, Jugurtha ‡, as it is related in another place, would not have had that exceedingly long journey, through a ſucceſſion of deſerts, to the Gætuli, in as much as their country lay immediately behind the Mauritanæ. Salluſt acquaints us further, that the neareſt river to Thala was at fifty miles diſtance §; and that Metellus, in his purſuit of Jugurtha, took in there a proviſion of water for his journey over the interjacent deſert. Now, whether Metellus, according as the late defeat happened near Cirta or Vacca, *i. e.* Bayjau (for it is uncertain at which place), directed this his purſuit after Jugurtha to Thala by Tipaſa, if the battle was near Cirta, or by Sufetula if it was at Vacca, becauſe ſeveral narrow defiles and rugged mountains will not permit an army to paſs conveniently by Caſſareen, where there is likewiſe a river, we have either the river Hataab,

* Erat inter ingentes ſolitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capſa: cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur, ** Metellus Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud diſſimiliter ſitum, munitumque: niſi quod apud Thalam non longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 94.

† Ea fuga Jugurtha impenſius modo rebus ſuis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in ſolitudines, dein Thalam pervenit. *Id.* § 78.

‡ Jugurtha poſtquam, amiſſa Thala, nihil ſatis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas ſolitudines, cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos. *Id.* § 82.

§ Inter Thalam flumenque proxumum, in ſpatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vaſta eſſe cognoverat (Metellus). Igitur omnia jumenta ſarcinis levari jubet, niſi frumento dierum decem: ceterum utres modo et alia aquæ idonea portari, &c. *Id.* § 78.

or elſe the river of Sufetula, that will very well anſwer to this geographical circumſtance. Whereas, had Thala been ſituated in the Sahara, to the weſtward or ſouthward of Numidia, there would have been no neceſſity for making this proviſion of water; in as much as, in thoſe parts of Gætulia and Numidia, there is no ſcarcity at all both of rivulets and fountains. Neither indeed can we ſuppoſe Thala to have been a city of the Beni Mezzab, or of the country of Wadreag, the only remaining diſtricts that can lay claim to it; becauſe the neareſt river to any of theſe places is at much more than fifty miles diſtance, not to mention the want there will ſtill be of other geographical circumſtances, which correſpond exactly with Ferre-anah. Ferre-anah, therefore, for theſe reaſons, may be well taken for the ancient Thala, that has been ſo much inquired after by the modern geographers.

Ferre-anah differs very little in ſound from Feraditana, of which name there were two epiſcopal ſees in the middle age.

What is related alſo concerning the ſituation of Telepte, agrees likewiſe with this place; and as Thala perhaps is not mentioned in hiſtory by any author later than Tacitus *, (for Florus † ſeems to ſpeak of it as in the time of Metellus), or Telepte by any other earlier than St. Cyprian ‡, there may be ſome room to conjecture that Thala and Telepte were the ſame. Procopius moreover deſcribes Telepte, as a frontier town § of this province; ſuch as we find Ferre-anah to have been. The author likewiſe of the Itinerary, according to the annotations of Cellarius ‖, places Tacape and Telepte in the ſame direction with Capſe, and at equal diſtances, or 70 Roman miles from it. Now the firſt of theſe circumſtances agrees well enough with Ferre-anah, in as much as it lies in a N. W. and S. E. direction nearly with Tacape and Capſe, *i. e.* Gabs and Gafsa, according to their preſent names. But the other circumſtance indeed, of their being equi-diſtant from Capſe, can be admitted only with ſome reſtriction; becauſe Gafsa lies 90 miles from Gabs, and 45 only from Ferre-anah. However, the whole diſtance betwixt Gabs, by the way of Gafsa to Ferre-anah, is actually 135 miles, which are not much ſhort of the 141 miles that are laid down betwixt Telepte, Capſe, and Tacape, by the Itinerary.

Twelve leagues to the S. E. by E. of Ferre-anah, is Gafsa, the ancient Capſa or Capſe, another of the ſtrong cities of Jugurtha. It is built upon a riſing ground in the like melancholy ſituation with Ferre-anah; with this difference only, that here the landſcape is ſomewhat more gay and verdant, by the proſpect we have from it of the palm, the olive, the piſtachio, and other fruit trees. But this agreeable ſcene is of ſmall extent, and ſerves merely to refreſh the eye in the view it is to have afterwards of an interchange only of barren hills ¶ and vallies. The water which refreſhes theſe plantations ariſes from two fountains; the one within the citadel, the other in the centre of the city. The latter, which was probably the Jugis Aqua of Salluſt **, as it might be likewiſe the Tarmid †† of Edriſi, was formerly covered with a cupola. It is

* Præſidium, cui Thala nomen. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 31.

† Thalam, gravem armis, Theſauroque regis, deripuit (Metellus). L. Flor. l. iii. cap. 1.

‡ Donatianus Teleptenſis primæ ſedis epiſcopus Prov. Byzacenae. Donatianus Teleptenſis primus Concil. Carthag.

§ Εν ισχατια της χωρας. De Ædif. c. 6.

‖ Ex mediis ** ſola Capſe nota eſt ex Ptolemæo, per quam ſi a Tacapis ducas lineam et ſimul milliaria attendas quæ inter Capſen ſunt et Telepten, in plagam et locum ubi Telepte fuit, linea perducet. Cell. Geogr. Antiq. l. iv. c. 4.

¶ Ebræi enim קפצ eſt conſtringere. Hinc merito קפצה Capſa dicitur, quam undique premebant et in arctum cogebant vaſtæ ſolitudines, ut et montes. Boch. Chan. l. iv. c. 24.

** Capſenſes una modo, atque ea intra oppidum Jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 94.

†† Urbs Cafsa pulchra eſt: habet mœnia, et fluvium excurrentem, cujus aqua præſtantior eſt aqua Caſtiliæ: habet etiam intra ſe fontem, qui vocatur Al Tarmid. Geogr. Nub. p. 86.

ſtill

ſtill walled round, and diſcharges itſelf into a large baſon, deſigned originally to bathe in. This fountain and the other unite before they leave the city, and form a pretty large brook, which from the quantity of the water, and the rapidity of the ſtream, might continue its courſe to a great diſtance, were it not conſtantly employed and drunk up in the uſes above mentioned.

In the walls of ſome private houſes, and particularly of the citadel, a weak modern building that faces the Jereed, there is a great confuſion of altars, granite pillars, entablatures, &c. which when entire, and in their proper ſituations, muſt have been great ornaments to the city. But the following imperfect inſcriptions are all that fell in my way; in the firſt of which is preſerved the ancient name, as it may be preſumed, of this city. And from this circumſtance, together with the Jugis Aqua, ſo particularly deſcribed by Salluſt, and appropriated to Capſa, we may receive ſufficient proof that the Capſa of Salluſt and Ptolemy were the ſame; notwithſtanding what Bochart * and Cellarius † have ſuppoſed to the contrary.

Upon a ſquare Stone.

- - - - ORTVM NOSTRORVM - - - -
- - - - MAGISTRVM MILIT - - - -
- - - - - - TINIANE CAPSE - - - - -

Upon a Pillar.

IMPERATOR M. AVRELIVS ANTONINVS PIVS
AVGVSTVS PART. MAX. BRIT. MAX. TRIB. POT.
COS. - - - - - - - FEST.

Gorbata lies four leagues to the S.S.W. of Gafsa, with a brook of brackiſh water running by it; which notwithſtanding, by digging pits and letting it percolate into them through the interjacent banks of ſand, becomes thereby tolerably palatable. It is built upon one of thoſe hemiſpherical hillocs that lie in great variety round about it; affording a proſpect particular and delightful enough at a diſtance. Gorbata ſhould be the ancient Orbita, which, together with Capſa, are placed by Ptolemy among the eaſtern cities of Adrumetum; the ſhape and faſhion perhaps of theſe little eminences might have given occaſion to the name.

After Gorbata, we enter upon that part of the Sahara which is called, Al Jeridde, or El Jereed, i. e. *The dry Country*, being of the very ſame nature and quality with thoſe parts of Gætulia which have been already deſcribed. Here the villages are built in the ſame manner, with mud walls, and rafters of palm trees; ſo that very little more will be required in the deſcription of this, than to give an account of the Lake of Marks, and to enumerate the principal villages, formerly the ſeats of the Cinethia, Machlyes, Auſes, and Maxyes of the old geography.

We are to obſerve, therefore, that there are few or no antiquities, nor indeed any thing worthy of our notice at Shekkah, the Cerbica of Ptolemy, eighteen leagues to the S. W. by W. of Gafsa; at Te-gewſe, the Tichaſa, twelve leagues to the S. W. by S.; at Ebba, the Thabba, in the neighbourhood of Te-gewſe; at Tozer, the Tiſurus, four leagues to the S. W. of Te-gewſe; at Nefta, the Negeta, five leagues to the S. W. of Tozer. In croſſing the Lake of Marks into the diſtrict of Nifzowah, the like remark may be made at Telemeen, the Almæna, ten leagues to the E.S.E. of Te-gewſe; at Ebillee, the Vepillium, two

* Chan. l. i. c. 24. † Antiq. l. iv. c. 4. p. 91.

leagues to the S. E. of Telemeen; and at the many other villages of the Jereed; though, by ſeveral pieces of granite and other marble, by the almoſt ſurpriſing preſervation of their old names, by a word or two likewiſe of ſome ancient inſcription, the Romans may be traced out through moſt of theſe villages. The trade and intereſt of them all lie altogether in dates; which they exchange for wheat, barley, linen, and other commodities that are brought hither from all parts of this and of the neighbouring kingdoms. At Tozer particularly, whoſe dates are the moſt eſteemed, and which is become thereby the principal mart, there is a great traffic carried on by ſeveral merchants, who travel once a year as far as the Niger, and bring with them from thence a number of black ſlaves, whom they uſually exchange for dates, at the rate of one black for two or three quintals of that fruit.

The Shibkah El Low-deah, or *Lake of Marks*, divides the villages in the neighbourhood of Tozer from thoſe in the province of Nif-zowah. It is ſo called from a number of trunks of palm trees that are placed at proper diſtances to direct the caravans in their marches over it. Without ſuch aſſiſtances, travelling here would be both dangerous and difficult, as well from the variety of pits and quick-ſands, that could not otherwiſe be avoided, as becauſe the oppoſite ſhore (as we may properly call it), either in paſſing from Te-gewſe to the province of Nifzowah, or from hence to Te-gewſe, has no other tokens to be known by beſides their date trees. And as theſe are rarely ſeen at above five hours diſtance, or ſixteen miles at the moſt, great miſtakes, without ſuch convenient marks and directions, might be committed in paſſing over a plain of this extent, where the horizon is as proper for aſtronomical obſervations as the ſea itſelf.

This lake reaches near twenty leagues from E. to W., and the breadth, where I paſſed it, was about ſix. Yet it is not all of it a collection of water; there being ſeveral dry places interſperſed all over it that look like ſo many iſlands, to which they have been very properly compared by the ancients. To the eaſtward eſpecially, in the ſame meridian with Telemeen, there is one of theſe iſlands, which, though uninhabited yet is very large, and well ſtocked with date trees. The Arabs tell us, that the Egyptians, in one of their invaſions of this country, halted here for ſome time; and that this plantation originally ſprung from the ſtones of thoſe dates which they brought along with them for their proviſions. And, probably, from this account and tradition, the adjacent portion of the circumambient lake might have been called Bahyre Pharaoune, i. e. *The Plains of Pharaoh*.

The ſituation of this lake, with regard to the ſea, the Syrtes, and the river Triton, ſhould induce us to take it for the Palus Tritonis of the ancients; and that the iſland I have mentioned is the Cherſoneſus of the Sicilian hiſtorian *, and the Phla of Herodotus. Pallas † likewiſe, who, with the Libyan women, attended Seſoſtris in his Aſiatic expedition, and was ſuppoſed to owe her origin to this lake, might have made this iſland the chief place of her reſidence. Mela places the Palus Tritonis near, or upon the ſea coaſt; and Callimachus, as he is quoted by Pliny ‡, on this, (*i. e.* on the Cyrenaic) ſide of the leſſer Syrtis; both which circumſtances agree with the preſent topography of this lake. But we ſhall ſtill be at a loſs to account for the river Triton, which, according to Ptolemy and other ancient geographers, is made to paſs through

* Τας δ' εν Αμαζονας ** κτισαι ?.ολιν μεγαλην εντος της Τριτωνιδος λιμνης, ην απο τε σχηματος ονομασαι Χερρονησον. Diod. Sic. Hiſt. l. iii. p. 130.

† Την Αθηναν μικρον προ τετων των χρονων γεγενημενην [γεγενεμενην] Φανεισαν επι τε Τριτωνος ποταμε δι ὁν και Τριτωνιδα προσηγορευσθαι. *Id. ibid.* l. iii. p. 142.

‡ Plin. l. v. c. 4.

this lake, in its courſe to the ſea. For the river, (and there is no other at a very great diſtance) which falls into the ſea at Gabs, the ancient Tacape, muſt undoubtedly be the Triton; yet, as I have already obſerved, it has not the leaſt communication with this lake. And beſides, the water both of this river and of the brook of El Hammah, which lies nearer to the lake, is very ſweet and wholeſome: whereas that of the lake, (and indeed of moſt others that I have taſted in Africa) has a ſaltneſs not inferior to ſea water; a circumſtance which alone may be a ſufficient proof, notwithſtanding the concurrent accounts of the old geography, too much followed by the modern, that there could be no communication betwixt them. This circumſtance, however, may be a proof that the Lake of Marks, or the Palus Tritonis, was likewiſe the Lacus Salinarum of Æthicus and Iſidore.

Leaving Ebillee and Mags, we travel near 30 miles through a loneſome uncomfortable deſert, the reſort of cut-throats and robbers, where we ſaw the recent blood of a Turkiſh gentleman, who, with three of his ſervants, had been murdered two days before by theſe aſſaſſins. Here we were likewiſe ready to be attacked by five of theſe Harammees, who were mounted upon black horſes, and clothed, to be the leſs diſcerned, with burnooſes (i. e. *cloaks*) of the like colour. But finding us prepared to receive them, they came up peaceably to us, and gave us the *aſlemmah*. Through all this dreary ſpace we meet with neither herbage nor water till we arrive within a few miles of El Hammah.

El Hammah lies four leagues to the weſtward of Gabs, being one of the frontier towns of the Tunifeens, where they have a ſmall caſtle and garriſon. The old city is at a little diſtance, ſtill preſerving ſome tokens of antiquity, though nothing conſiderable. The inſcriptions, particularly, which are mentioned by Dapper* and Leo, no longer ſubſiſt; having undergone the like fate with the other ancient monuments and ſtructures of this place.

El Hammah, to diſtinguiſh it from other cities of the like name, is generally called El Hammah of Gabs, i. e. *The Baths of Gabs* or *Tacape;* the ſame with the Aquas Tacapitanas, which might be its ancient name. For the 17 or 18 miles in the Itinerary, which is the diſtance betwixt Tacape and the Aquas Tacapitanas, is the very ſame that lies betwixt Gabs and El Hammah. Theſe baths are ſheltered from the weather by low thatched hovels; and their baſons, which, like thoſe at Mereega, are about twelve feet ſquare, and four in depth, have, a little below the ſurface of the water, ſome benches of ſtone for the bathers to ſit upon. One of theſe baths is called The Bath of the Lepers; and below it the water ſtagnates and forms a pool, the ſame perhaps with the Lake of Lepers mentioned by Leo. A ſmall rivulet is formed by the water which flows from theſe baths; which, after it has been conducted in a number and variety of ſubdiviſions through the adjacent gardens, is again united; and in directing its courſe towards the Lake of Marks, becomes *raſhig*, and loſes itſelf in the ſand. And probably this circumſtance, together with the vicinity of the ſources of the Triton to this rivulet, (though they have not the leaſt communication with each other) might give occaſion to the above-mentioned error in the ancient geographers, of deducing the Triton from the Palus Tritonis, or *Lake of Marks*. And this may be the more plauſible, as few or no curious perſons have hitherto had the hardineſs to traverſe over theſe deſerts, the abode and reſort, as I have obſerved, of cut-throats and aſſaſſins, and conſequently where there could have been no opportunity to rectify the miſtake.

* Atl. Geogr. vol. vi. p. 164. J. Leo, p. 225.

The

The principle Arabs of this Winter Circuit are the various ſubdiviſions of the Faraſheeſe and Welled Seide, the moſt conſiderable and numerous tribes of this kingdom. The latter extend themſelves chiefly along thoſe diſtricts that have been deſcribed under the names of Sahul and Dackul; but the Faraſheeſe, who poſſeſs the midland country, are more frequently met with near Spaitla and Fuſſanah. The Nememſhah, another very powerful clan, rarely pay any homage to the Tuniſeens, and rove uncontroulably to the weſtward of the Faraſheeſe and of the Welled Seedy Boogannim, as far as Gellah and Tipaſa, even to the very *douwars* of the Henneiſhah. Welled Seedy Boogannim, with their ſanctuary, lie to the northward of the plains of Fuſſanah, as far as the mountains of Ellouleejah and Hydrah; and to the eaſtward of them, near Sbeebah and Kiſſer, are the encampments of the Welled Omran. The Welled Matthie cultivate the rich country near Youſef and Zowareen; neither do the Welled Ya-goube enjoy a leſs fertile ſituation near the walls of Keff. The Bedoweens upon the frontiers are the Welled Booguff, who frequently diſpute the paſſage of the Serratt, with the Woorgah, a formidable clan under the juriſdiction of the Algerines.

PART III.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BARBARY: PARTICULARLY OF THE KINGDOMS OF ALGIERS AND TUNIS.

CHAP. I. — *Of their Huſbandry, &c.*

§ 1. — *Of the Air, Winds, Weather, Seaſons, &c.*

THE Tell, or cultivated parts of theſe kingdoms, lying betwixt 34° and 37° N. lat. enjoy a very wholeſome and temperate air, neither too hot and ſultry in ſummer, nor too ſharp and cold in winter. During the ſpace of twelve years that I attended the factory of Algiers, I found the thermometer twice only contracted to the freezing point, and then the whole country, which was very unuſual, was covered with ſnow; nor ever knew it riſe to ſultry weather, unleſs the winds blew from the Sahara. The ſeaſons of the year inſenſibly fall into one another; and the great equability in the temperature of this climate appears further from this circumſtance, that the barometer ſhews us all the revolutions of the weather in the ſpace of one inch and $\frac{1}{10}$, or from 29 inches and $\frac{1}{10}$ to 30 inches $\frac{4}{10}$.

The winds are generally from the ſea; *i. e.* from the W. by the N. to the E. Thoſe from the eaſt are common at Algiers from May to September; and then the weſterly winds take place and become the moſt frequent. Sometimes alſo, particularly about the equinoxes, we very ſenſibly experience that force and impetuoſity which the ancients have aſcribed to the Africus*, or S. W. wind, called La-betch by theſe mariners.

* Africus furibundus ac ruens ab occidente hiberno. Senec. Nat. Quæſt. 5.

Una Euruſque Notuſque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus. *Virg. Æn.* i. 89.

Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
Mercator metuens. *Hor. Carm.* l. i. od. 1.

The ſoutherly winds, or thoſe from the Sahara, which are uſually hot and violent, are not frequent. However, they blow ſometimes for five or ſix days together in July and Auguſt, and are ſo exceſſively ſuffocating, that, during their continuance, the inhabitants, in order to generate freſh air, are obliged frequently to ſprinkle the floors of their houſes with water or vinegar, which is the moſt refreſhing. In the latter end of January 1730-31, a violent hot ſoutherly wind immediately followed the thawing of the ſnow; which, for the ſpace of two months, had covered the adjacent country. But both theſe phenomena were looked upon as very ſurpriſing and unuſual.

The winds from the W. the N. W. and the N. are attended with fair weather in ſummer, and with rain in winter. But the eaſterly winds, no leſs than the ſoutherly, are for the moſt part dry, though accompanied with a thick and cloudy atmoſphere in moſt ſeaſons. It is particular enough, that the mountains of Barbary and thoſe of Italy and Spain ſhould be differently affected with the ſame wind. For the former are conſtantly clear in eaſterly winds, but capped and clouded with thoſe from the weſt, particularly a little before and during the time of rain; the contrary to which, I am informed, falls out in Spain and Italy.

The barometer riſes to 30 inches $\frac{2}{10}$ or $\frac{3}{10}$ with a northerly wind, though it be attended with the greateſt rains and tempeſts. But there is nothing conſtant and regular in eaſterly or weſterly winds; though for three or four months together, in the ſummer, whether the winds are from one or the other quarter, the quickſilver ſtands at about thirty inches, without the leaſt variation. With the hot ſoutherly winds, I have rarely found it higher than 29 inches and $\frac{2}{10}$, which is alſo the ordinary height in ſtormy wet weather from the weſt.

A Table, ſhewing the Quantity of Rain that fell at Algiers.

From Autumn 1730, *to Spring* 1731.

	Inches,
Several drizzling ſhowers in Sept. and Oct.	0 .73
Oct. 29, 30	1 .80
31	0 .35
Nov. 2	0 .20
11	0 .45
28	1 .00
29	0 .45
30	1 .53
Dec. 1	2 .15
17	1 .60
24	0 .63
27	1 .15
30	0 .65
Jan. 2	1 .10
4	0 .26
5	0 .90
6	1 .00
7	1 .43
9	0 .70
11	1 .10
12	0 .80
13	1 .20
18	1 .16
21	0 .35
30	0 .35

From Autumn 1732, *to Spring* 1733.

	Inches.
Oct. 7	1 .35
11	0 .33
15	4 .25
20	0 .25
26	1 .35
28	1 .00
Nov. 1	1 .75
6	2 .60
11	3 .30
15	0 .20
18	2 .00
29	0 .35
Dec. 2	0 .53
6	0 .90
7	1 .43
8	0 .10
11	0 .45
20	0 .50
24	1 .33
26	0 .55
28	1 .00
30	0 .10
Jan. 13	0 .15
16	1 .30
19	0 .30
Feb. 7	0 .20
10	0 .90

From

From Autumn 1730, *to Spring* 1731.

	Inches.
Feb. 1	0 .85
17	0 .80
19	0 .25
22	0 .33
25	0 .60
26	0 .80
28	0 .20
March 1	0 .20
29	0 .25
April 1	0 .80
10	0 .25
13	0 .15
15	2 .03
24	0 .13
	30 .68

From Autumn 1732, *to Spring* 1733.

	Inches.
11	1 .10
13	0 .90
19	0 .40
March 5	2 .30
6	0 .95
7	1 .00
8	0 .30
12	0 .90
13	0 .90
14	1 .85
15	0 .65
19	0 .30
April 1	0 .80
4	0 .55
9	0 .75
16	1 .00
17	0 .35
30	0 .30
May 2	0 .50
	44 .27

The ordinary quantity of rain which falls yearly at Algiers is, at a medium, twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight inches. In the years 1723-4, and 1724-5, which were looked upon as dry years, there only fell about twenty-four inches; whereas, in 1730-1, which may be placed among the wet years, the quantity was upwards of thirty. The rains were ſtill more copious *an.* 1732-3, amounting to more than forty inches; but this was ſo extraordinary, that the like had rarely happened. The ſhowers, particularly Oct. 15. and Nov. 11. were ſo remarkably heavy and frequent, that the pipes contrived to convey the rain water from their terraces, as they call the tops of their flat roofed houſes, were not wide enough to receive it. Whilſt I was at Tunis in February and March 1727-8, it rained forty days ſucceſſively; but I have not known the like at Algiers, where it ſeldom rains above two or three days together, after which, there is uſually a week, a fortnight, or more, of fair and good weather.

Little or no rain falls in this climate during the ſummer ſeaſon; and in moſt parts of the Sahara, particularly in the Jereede, they have ſeldom any rain at all. It was likewiſe the ſame in the Holy Land, Prov. xxvi. 1. where rain is accounted an unuſual thing in harveſt. 2 Sam. xxi. 10. where it is alſo mentioned, "from harveſt, till rain dropped on them;" i. e. their rainy ſeaſon fell out, as in Barbary, in the autumnal and winter months; the latter end of the ninth month, which anſwers to our January, being deſcribed particularly (Ezra x. 9. 13.) to be a time of much rain. Babylon is alſo deſcribed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 506. to have been in the like condition with Tozer, and the villages of the Jereede: Κεραμω δ' ε χρωνται· ἐδε γαρ κατομβρεινται, ſays that curious author.

When I was at Tozer in December, A.D. 1727, we had a ſmall drizzling ſhower that continued for the ſpace of two hours; and ſo little proviſion was made againſt accidents of this kind, that ſeveral of the houſes, which are built only as uſual (p. 42. 138.) with palm branches, mud, and tiles baked in the ſun, correſponding perhaps to, and explanatory of, the untempered mortar, Ezek. xiii. 11. fell down by imbibing the moiſture of the ſhower. Nay, provided the drops had been either larger, or the ſhower of a longer continuance, or *overflowing*, in the prophet's expreſſion, the whole

city

city would have undoubtedly diſſolved and dropt to pieces. The like alſo, to compare great things with ſmall, might have happened, upon the ſame occaſion, even to ſuch of the Egyptian pyramids as are made of brick; the compoſition whereof, being only a mixture of clay, mud, and (Exod. v. 7.) ſtraw *, ſlightly blended and kneaded together, and afterwards baked in the ſun, would have made as little reſiſtance. The ſtraw which keeps theſe bricks together, and ſtill preſerves its original colour, ſeems to be a proof that theſe bricks were never burnt, or made in kilns.

§ 2. — *Of their Huſbandry and Products.*

THE firſt rains fall here ſome years in September, in others a month later; after which, the Arabs break up their ground, in order to ſow wheat and plant beans. This commonly falls out about the middle of October; but the ſowing of barley, and the planting of lentils and garvancos, as they call the cicer or chich pea, is a fortnight or three weeks later, or not till the end of November. If the latter rains fall as uſual in the middle of April, (in the Holy Land we find they were a month ſooner, Joel ii. 23.) the crop is reckoned ſecure; the harveſt coming on in the latter end of May, or in the beginning of June, according to the heat and quality of the preceding ſeaſons.

Two buſhels and an half of wheat or barley are ſufficient to ſow as much ground as a pair of beeves will plow in one day; which is, a little more or leſs, equal to one of our acres. I could never learn that Barbary afforded yearly more than one crop; one buſhel yielding ordinarily from eight to twelve, though ſome diſtricts may perhaps afford a much greater increaſe, for it is common to ſee one grain produce ten or fifteen ſtalks. Even ſome grains of the Murwaany wheat, which I brought with me to Oxford, and ſowed in the phyſic garden, threw out each of them fifty. But Muzeratty, one of the late kaleefas, or viceroys of the province of Tlemſan, brought once with him to Algiers a root that yielded fourſcore; telling us, that, in conſequence of a diſpute concerning the reſpective fruitfulneſs of Egypt and Barbary, the Emeer Hadge, or prince of the weſtern pilgrims, ſent once to the baſhaw of Cairo, one that yielded ſixſcore. Pliny † mentions ſome that bore three or four hundred. It likewiſe happens, that one of theſe ſtalks will ſometimes bear two ears, whilſt each of theſe ears will as often ſhoot out into a number of leſſer ones, thereby affording a moſt plentiful increaſe. And may not theſe large prolific ears, when ſeven are ſaid to come up upon one ſtalk, Gen. xli. 5. explain what is further mentioned, ver. 47. of the ſeven fruitful years in Egypt, viz. that "the earth brought *them* forth by HANDFULLS?"

But there is one kind only of wheat and barley which is generally cultivated; and theſe are each of them produced in ſuch plenty, that whilſt Oran was in the poſſeſſion of the Algerines, our Engliſh merchants uſually ſhipped off from thence every year ſeven or eight thouſand ton, even of what could well be ſpared by the inhabitants. However, they both of them differ in quality, according to the ground whereon they are ſown. For what grows upon the plains of Buſdeerah is accounted the beſt in the kingdom of Tunis; whilſt at Algiers, the corn of Teſſailah and Zeidoure, and eſpe-

* Paleis cohærent lateres. Phil. Jud. in vita Moſis.

† Tritico nihil eſt fertilius: hoc ei natura tribuit, quoniam ea maxime aliat hominem: utpote cum e modio, ſi ſit aptum ſolum, quale in Byzacio Africæ campo, centeni quinquageni (centum ſolum alibi memorantur) modii reddantur. Miſit ex eo loco Divo Auguſto procurator ejus ex uno grano (vix credibile dictu) quadringenta paucis minus germina, extantque de ea re epiſtolæ. Miſit et Neroni ſimiliter CCCXL ſtipulas ex uno grano. Plin. l. xviii. c. 10.

cially

cially the Murwaany, as they call a larger ſort of wheat at Medea, keep up the greateſt reputation.

Near the Sikke and Habrah, in the Mattijiah, upon the banks of the Hamah below Conſtantina, and all along the Mejardah, in all which places they have a great command of water during the whole ſummer, the inhabitants cultivate rice, Indian corn, and particularly a white ſort of millet, called Drah *, which they prefer to barley, in fattening their cattle. The ſparrows, which in the open country build upon trees only, the linnets, goldfinches, and other little birds, are ſo fond of this grain, that, when it grows ripe, they are obliged to watch it, and hinder them from ſettling upon it, by making all the day long a perpetual ſcreaming and noiſe. The extemporary booths which they make with branches of trees, reeds, and bulruſhes, to ſhelter themſelves, at theſe times, from the violent heat of the ſun, and are entirely neglected and forſaken in the other ſeaſons, may be the ſame, and for the like purpoſe, *with the cottage in a vineyard*, and *with the lodge in a garden of cucumbers*, mentioned, Iſa. i. 8. as emblems of the diſconſolate ſtate of Jeruſalem.

Oats are not cultivated at all by the Arabs, the horſes of this country (ιππος ακοσητας, Hom. Il. z. 506.) feeding altogether upon barley and ſtraw, the latter of which, as their graſs is never made into hay, is the uſual fodder in the Holy Land. This we learn from 1 Kings iv. 24. where it is ſaid, *they brought barley and ſtraw for the horſes and dromedaries.—Like an ox that eateth hay*, Pſal. cvi. ſhould be, *like a beeve that eateth graſs*.

Theſe nations continue to tread out their corn after the primitive cuſtom of the Eaſt. Inſtead of beeves, they frequently make uſe of mules and horſes, by tying in like manner by the neck three or four of them together, and whipping them afterwards round about the Nedders †, as they call the treading floors, (the *Libycæ areæ*, Hor.) where the ſheaves lie open and expanded, in the ſame manner as they are placed and prepared with us for threſhing. This indeed is a much quicker way than ours, though leſs cleanly. For as it is performed in the open air, Hoſ. xiii. 3. upon any round level plat of ground, daubed over with cow's dung, to prevent, as much as poſſible, the earth, ſand, or gravel from riſing; a great quantity of them all, notwithſtanding this precaution, muſt unavoidably be taken up with the grain. At the ſame time, the ſtraw, which has been taken notice of as their chief and only fodder, is hereby ſhattered to pieces; a circumſtance very pertinently alluded to, 2 Kings xiii. 7. where the King of Syria is ſaid *to have made the Iſraelites like the duſt by threſhing*.

After the grain is trodden out, they winnow it by throwing it up againſt the wind with a ſhovel; the το πτυον, Matt. iii. 12. Luke iii. 17. there rendered *a fan*, too cumberſome a machine to be thought of. Whereas, the text ſhould rather run, *whoſe ſhovel*, or *fork*, the οργανον οδοντικον, as my learned friend, Mr. Merrick, rather takes it to be, which is a portable inſtrument, *is in his hand*, agreeable to the practice that is recorded, Iſa. xxx. 24. where both the ſhovel and the fan are mentioned, as *the chaff* that is thereby *carried away before the wind*, is often alluded to, Job xxi. 18. Pſal. i. 4. Iſa. xxix. 5. and xxxv. 5. Hoſ. xiii. 3. The broken pieces of Nebuchadnezzar's image particularly are very beautifully compared, Dan. ii. 25. to *the chaff of the ſummer threſhing floor carried away by the wind*.

* The Draba Arabum of the botaniſts, though a quite different plant, unqueſtionably comes from this, the former being a ſpecies of Thlaſpi, with which millet has no manner of affinity.

† This figure and uſe of the Nedder ſeems to be implied, 1. In the Hebrew name גרן *goran*, from whence perhaps the Greek γυρος, and the Latin *gyrus*: 2. In the Greek appellation αλων: and, 3. In the Ethiopic, *awdy*; viz. from whipping the cattle that tread out the corn round about or in a circle.

After

After the grain is winnowed, they lodge it in *maïtamores*, or ſubterraneous magazines, as the cuſtom was formerly of other nations *, two or three hundred of which are ſometimes together, the ſmalleſt holding four hundred buſhels. Hirtius † acquaints us, that the Africans made uſe of theſe pits for the greater ſecurity of their proviſions from an enemy. It is more probable, that they were contrived in thoſe earlier ages, as they continue to be to this day, for the greater eaſe and convenience of the inhabitants. For it cannot be ſuppoſed that either the ancient Nomades, or the preſent Arabs, would be at the expence of erecting ſtore-houſes of ſtone, when they could, at a much cheaper rate, and at every ſtation where they encamped to gather in their harveſt, be ſerved with theſe.

Beans, lentils, kidney beans, and garvancos are the chiefeſt of their pulſe kind. Peaſe, which till of late were known in the gardens only of the ſeveral Chriſtian merchants, are ſown with the firſt rains, and bloſſom in the latter end of February, or in the beginning of March. Beans are uſually full podded at that time, and continue during the whole ſpring; which, after they are boiled and ſtewed with oil and garlic, are the principal food of perſons of all diſtinctions. After them, lentils, kidney beans, and garvancos begin to be gathered; the firſt of which are dreſſed in the ſame manner, with beans, diſſolving eaſily into a maſs, and making a pottage of a chocolate colour. This we find was the red pottage which Eſau from thence called Edom, exchanged for his birth-right ‡. But garvancos are prepared in a different manner, neither do they grow ſoft, like other pulſe, by boiling; and therefore never conſtitute a diſh by themſelves, but are ſtrawed ſingly as a garniſh over cuſcaſowe, pillowe, and other diſhes. They are beſides in the greateſt repute, after they are parched in pans and ovens; then aſſuming the name of leblebby. This ſeems to be of the greateſt antiquity, for Plautus § ſpeaks of it as a thing very common in his time; the like obſervation we meet with in Ariſtophanes ‖: neither is there, as far as I have been informed, any other pulſe prepared in this manner. The leblebby therefore of theſe times may probably be the (קָלִי *kali*) parched pulſe ¶ of the Holy Scriptures, as Caſſianus ſuppoſes them to be the τρωγαλια of the Greek authors**. They have likewiſe been taken †† for the pigeons' dung mentioned at the ſiege of Samaria. And, indeed, as the cicer is pointed at one end, and acquires an aſh colour in parching, the firſt of which circumſtances anſwers to the figure, the other to the uſual colour of pigeons' dung, the ſuppoſition is by no means to be diſregarded.

After their corn and pulſe, we are to take notice of the roots, pot-herbs, and fruit, of which there is not only great plenty and variety, but a continuance or ſucceſſion, at leaſt of one kind or other, throughout the whole year. To give therefore a ſpecimen of the kitchen and fruit gardens of Barbary, we are to obſerve, that turnips, carrots, and cabbages, are equally good and common in moſt ſeaſons. The liſt el haſhoure, a ſmall parſnip-like turnip, with fibrous roots, has a taſte ſo agreeably pungent, that it is held in the higheſt eſteem, and ſold by weight. A turnip like this is ſometimes brought from Hamburgh, lettuce, or choſs, according to the generical

* Utiliſſime ſervantur (frumenta) in ſcrobibus, quos Siros, (Σιρους, Var. l. i. c. 57.) vocant, ut in Cappadocia et in Thracia. In Hiſpania et Africa, ante omnia, ut ſicco ſolo fiant, curant: mox ut palea ſubſternatur. Præterea cum ſpica ſua conduntur, [non ita hodie mos Africæ eſt]. Ita frumenta ſi nullus ſpiritus penetret, certum eſt nihil maleficum naſci. Plin. l. xviii. c. 30.

† Hirt, Bell. Afric. § 57.

‡ Gen. xxv. 30. and 34.

§ Tam frictum ego illum reddam, quam frictum eſt cicer. Plaut. in Bacch. iv. v. ver. 7.

‖ Ανθρακιτων τριβειν δω. Ariſtoph. in Pace.

¶ 2 Sam. xvii. 28. Vid Hieronym. Vers.

** Superintulit caniſtrum habens cicer frictum, quod illi Τρωγαλια (i. e. Bullaria) vocant. Caſſian. Collat. viii.

†† Vid. Boch. Hieroz. par. poſt. l. i. c. 7.

name. Endive, creſs, chervil, ſpinage, all ſorts of beets, with the young ſhoots of the wild and garden artichoke, are in ſeaſon from October to June; and then follow, during the reſt of the ſummer, calabaſhas, mellow-keahs*, bedinjanns, and tomatas; each of them in its turn gives a reliſh to their ſoups and ragouts. Neither ſhould cazbar or coriander be omitted, as it has always a principal ſhare in the Mooriſh cookery. Sellery and colliflowers arrive here to great perfection. They are ſown in July, and fit for gathering the February or March following. I have ſeen ſeveral colliflowers very white, ſolid, and compact, that meaſured a yard or more in circumference. They begin to gather muſk, and water melons, about the latter end of June; the firſt of which are little ſuperior in taſte to our own, but the latter, for want of a proper heat, have rarely or never been raiſed to perfection in the northern climates. Doubtleſs the water melon, or angura, or piſtacha, or dillah, as they call it here, is providentially calculated for the ſouthern countries, as it affords a cool refreſhing juice, aſſuages thirſt, mitigates feveriſh diſorders, and compenſates thereby, in no ſmall degree, for the exceſſive heats not ſo much of theſe as of the more ſouthern diſtricts.

In ſpeaking of the fruit garden, we are to begin with the palm tree, of which there are ſeveral large plantations in the maritime as well as in the inland parts of this country; though ſuch only as grow in the Sahara, viz. in Gætulia and the Jereeda, bring their fruit to perfection. They are propagated chiefly from young ſhoots, taken from the roots of full grown trees, which, if well tranſplanted and taken care of, will yield their fruit in their ſixth or ſeventh year; whereas, thoſe that are raiſed immediately from the kernels, will not bear till about their ſixteenth. This method of raiſing the φοινιξ, or *palm*, and (what may be further obſerved) that, when the old trunk dies, there is never wanting one or other of theſe offſprings to ſucceed it, may have given occaſion to the fable of the bird † of that name dying, and another ariſing from it.

It is well known that theſe trees are male and female, and that the fruit will be dry and inſipid without a previous communication with the male. In the month of March or April therefore, when the ſheaths that reſpectively incloſe the young cluſters of the male flowers and the female fruit, begin to open, at which time the latter are formed and the firſt are mealy, they take a ſprig or two of the male cluſter, and inſert it into the ſheath of the female; or elſe they take a whole cluſter of the male tree, and ſprinkle the meal or farina of it over ſeveral cluſters of the female ‡. The latter practice is common in Egypt, where they have a number of males; but the trees of Barbary are impregnated by the former method, one male being ſufficient to impregnate four or five hundred females §.

The Africans call this operation Dthuckar, which we may render the *fœcundating*, or *admiſſion of the male*. The ſame word is likewiſe uſed, inſtead of the ancient caprificatio ‖,

* Mellon-keah, or mulookiah, מלוכיא, as in the Arabic, is the ſame with the melochia, or corchorus J. B. II. 982. J. R. H. 259. being a podded ſpecies of mallows whoſe pods are rough, of a glutinous ſubſtance, and uſed in moſt of their diſhes. Mellow-keah appears to be little different in name from מלוח, Job xxx. 4. which we render mallows; though ſome other plant of a more ſaltiſh taſte, and leſs nouriſhing quality (as it is joined with the roots of juniper trees) may be rather intended.

† Vid. Plin. lib. xiii. c. 4. Bochart Hieroz. l. vi. c. 5. parr. poſt. p. 2.

‡ Plin. l. xiii. c. 4. expreſſed this by, Pulvere tantum inſperſo fœminis.

§ Vid. Phytogr. No. 204.

‖ Vid. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. xv. c. 19. Menſe Junio, circa ſolſtitium caprificandæ ſunt arbores fici, id eſt, ſuſpendendi groſſi ex caprifico, lino, velut ferra, pertuſi. Pallad. De re ruſt. l. iv. Caprificari (inquit Sipontinus) eſt adhibita caprifico, ne fructus propinquæ ficus ante maturitatem decidant providere. Vid. Steph. Theſ. in voce.

for the fuſpending a few figs of the male, or wild fig tree, upon the female, to hinder the fruit from dropping off, or degenerating.

I was informed, that the palm tree arrives to its greateſt vigour about thirty years after tranſplantation, and continues ſo ſeventy years afterwards, bearing yearly fifteen or twenty cluſters of dates, each of them weighing fifteen or twenty pounds. After this period, it begins gradually to decline, and uſually falls about the latter end of its ſecond century. 'Cui placet curas agere fæculorum,' ſays Palladius, Oct. 12. 'de palmis cogitet conſerendis.'

This φιλοδρον φυτον requires no other culture and attendance, than to be well watered once in four or five days, and to have a few of the lower boughs lopt off, whenever they begin to droop or wither. Theſe, whoſe ſtumps or pollices, in being thus gradually left upon the trunk, ſerve, like ſo many rounds of a ladder, to climb up the tree, either to fecundate it, to lop it, or to gather the fruit, are quickly ſupplied with others, which gradually hang down from the top or crown, contributing not only to the regular and uniform growth of this tall, knotleſs, beautiful tree, but likewiſe to its perpetual and moſt delightful verdure. *To be exalted*, Eccles. xxiv. 14. or, *to flouriſh like the palm tree*, are as juſt and proper expreſſions, ſuitable to the nature of this plant, as *to ſpread abroad like a cedar*, Pſal. xcii. 11.

It is uſual with perſons of better faſhion, upon a marriage, at the birth or circumciſion of a child, or upon any other feaſt or good day, to entertain their gueſts with the honey, or *dipſe*, as they call it, of the palm tree. This they procure, by cutting off the head or crown (the επικοπη of Theophraſtus, to which the Hazazon Tamar is ſuppoſed to relate) of one of the more vigorous plants, and ſcouping the top of the trunk into the ſhape of a baſon, where the ſap in aſcending lodges itſelf, at the rate of three or four quarts a day, during the firſt week or fortnight; after which, the quantity daily diminiſhes, and at the end of ſix weeks, or two months, the juices are entirely conſumed, the tree becomes dry, and ſerves only for timber or firewood. This liquor, which has a more luſcious ſweetneſs than honey, is of the conſiſtence of a thin ſyrop, but quickly grows tart and ropy, acquiring an intoxicating quality, and giving by diſtillation an agreeable ſpirit or *arâky*, according to the general name of theſe people for all hot liquors extracted by the *alembick*.

After the palm, we are to deſcribe the Lotus *, whoſe fruit is frequently mentioned in hiſtory. The Lotophagi alſo, a conſiderable people of theſe and the adjacent deſerts, received their name from eating of it. Herodotus † informs us, that the fruit was ſweet like the date; Pliny ‡, that it was of the bigneſs of a bean, and of a ſaffron colour; and Theophraſtus §, that it grew thick, like the fruit of the myrtle tree. From which circumſtances, the lotus arbor of the ancients appears to be the ſame plant with the Seedra of the Arabs. This ſhrub, which is very common in the Jereede, and other parts of Barbary, has the leaves, prickles, flower, and fruit of the ziziphus, or jujeb; only with this difference, that the fruit is here round, ſmaller, and more luſcious, at the ſame time the branches, like thoſe of the paliurus, are

* Phyt. No. 265.

† Herod. p. 278. Scyl. Perip. p. 49. Strab. Geogr. l. xvii. p. 1188. Ptol. Geogr. l. iv. c. 3.

‡ Africa inſignem arborem Loton gignit ** magnitudo quæ pyro, quanquam Nepos Cornelius brevem tradat. ** Magnitudo huic fabæ, color croci, ſed ante maturitatem alius atque alius, ſicut in uvis. Naſcitur denſus in ramis myrti modo, non ut in Italia cerafi: tam dulci ibi cibo, ut nomen etiam genti terræque dederit, nimis hoſpitali advenarum oblivione patriæ, &c. Plin. l. xiii. c. 17.

§ Ο δε καρπος ηλικος κυαμος· πεπαινεται δε ωσπερ οι βοτρυες, μεταβαλλων τας χροιας. Φυεται δε καθαπερ τα μυρτα παραλληλα, πυκνος επι των βλαστων· εσθιομενος δε εν τοις Λωτοφαγοις καλεμενοις· γλυκυς· ηδυς· και ασινης. Theoph. Hiſt. Plant. lib. iv. c. 4.

neither

neither ſo much jointed nor crooked. This fruit is ſtill in great repute, taſtes ſomething like gingerbread, and is ſold in the markets all over the ſouthern diſtricts of theſe kingdoms. The Arabs call it Aneb enta el Seedra, or *the jujeb of the Seedra*, which Olavus Celſius had ſo great an opinion of, that he has deſcribed it as the Dudaim of the S..S.

Moſt of the other fruit trees of this country are common in Europe; of which the almond, the moſt early bearer, flowers in January, and gives its fruit in the beginning of April. Apricots are fit to gather in May; but the faſhee, or maſculine apricot, is ſomewhat later, though much preferable, as the eating of it is never attended with ſurfeits. Whereas the common apricot occaſions a variety of fevers and dyſenteries, and is therefore known in the Frank language by the name of Matza Franca, or the *killer of Chriſtians*. Apricot is a corruption of præcoqua, (in the modern Greek περιικοκκα), on account of its forwardneſs.

In June, there are two or three ſorts of plums and cherries, which are neither plentiful nor delicious. However, the cherry was formerly in ſo much eſteem, that it was called, as it is at preſent, Hab el melleck, i. e. *The berry of the King*. About this time likewiſe, is the ſeaſon for tout or mulberries; but apples and pears are not ripe before July or Auguſt, when both of them are in plenty and variety enough; though if the ſultan, i. e. the king pear, is excepted, all the reſt are greatly inferior to the more ordinary kinds of our climate; neither will any of them keep till the autumn.

The black and white boccore, or early fig *, (the ſame we have in England, and which in Spain is called breba, quaſi breve, as continuing only a ſhort time), is produced in June, though the kermez, or kermouſe, the fig properly ſo called, which they preſerve, and make up into cakes †, is rarely ripe before Auguſt. I have alſo ſeen a long dark-coloured kermouſe, that ſometimes hangs upon the trees all the winter. For the kermouſe, in general, continue a long time upon the tree before they fall off; whereas, the boccores drop as ſoon as they are ripe, and, according to the beautiful alluſion of the prophet Nahum, (iii. 12.) *fall into the mouth of the eater upon being ſhaken*. We may obſerve further, that theſe trees do not properly bloſſom, or ſend out flowers, as we render, הפרת, Hab. iii. 17. They may rather be ſaid *to ſhoot out their fruit*, which they do like ſo many little buttons, with their flowers, ſmall and imperfect as they are, incloſed within them. But further notice will be taken of the fig-tree, when we ſpeak of the Holy Land.

Nectarines and peaches are ripe towards the middle of July, the former being much larger than ours, and of a better taſte; and the latter, beſides their excellent flavour, will commonly weigh ten ounces. Auguſt produces the firſt pomegranates; ſome of which are three or four inches in diameter, and of a pound weight. The pomegranates, or malum Punicum, as originally brought from Phœnicia, was formerly one of the moſt delicate fruits of the eaſt, Numb. xiii. 23. and xx. 5. Deut. viii. 8. Cant. iv. 13. the orange, the apricot, the peach, or the nectarine, not having made their progreſs ſo early to the weſtward. Neither ought we to omit the prickly pear, or the fruit, as it

* *Bakarib*, Heb. בכירה, Primus fructus et præcox. Gol. ſignificat ficum præcocem, prodromum, ſive prothericam. Schind. Lex. Jer. xxiv. 2. Hoſ. ix. 10.

† 1 Sam. xxv. 18. When they are juſt formed, or not come to maturity, they are the פגים *phagim*, *i. e.* the ολυνθοι συκα, ωρια, Cant. ii. 13. Apoc. vi. 13. and the groſſi, Plin. l. xiii. c. 7. which terms may relate alſo to the immature fruit both of the ſummer and winter crops. Dried figs were the caricæ or ισχαδες, and נרזנרזות, as *cakes of figs* were called παλαθη and רבלים. Figs are likewiſe taken for the קיץ, or *ſummer fruit*, ſo often named in ſcripture. *Kermez* or *kermouſe*, the Barbary name for figs, may have relation to *coreus*, the green or ſcarlet berry, or *kermez*, which gives the crimſon dye, theſe figs being often of a red or violet colour; the *ficus violaceæ*, as the botaniſts call them.

is commonly thought to be, of the opuntia; called, perhaps from being firſt brought to them from Spain, kermez naſſarah, or *the fig of the Chriſtians*. Several families live upon it during the months of Auguſt and September, though it is never known to tinge the urine of a bloody colour, as it does in America, from whence this fruit, or the tena (for that is its proper Indian name, not unlike Heb. תאן or תאנה *ficus*) originally came.

The wall-nut, and the olive, which only bears copiouſly every other year, are propagated all over Barbary. In ſome places alſo they have the piſtachio tree; as alſo the cheſnut, which is ſmaller, though of as good a reliſh as thoſe from France or Spain. But the hazel-nut *, the filbert, the ſtrawberry, the gooſeberry alſo, and currant †, are not, as far as I know, the productions of this climate.

The grape ripens towards the latter end of July, and is ready for the vintage in September. The wine of Algiers, before the locuſts deſtroyed the vineyards in the years 1723 and 1724, was not inferior to the beſt hermitage, either in briſkneſs of taſte or flavour. But ſince that time, it is much degenerated, having not hitherto (1732) recovered its uſual qualities; though even with this diſadvantage, it may ſtill diſpute the preference with the common wines of Spain or Portugal. The lemon and ſometimes the Sevil orange tree, is always in a ſucceſſion of fruit and bloſſoms; but the China, as it is commoly called, having been tranſplanted from the country of that name much later, is ſtill conſidered as a foreigner, and bears only towards the latter end of autumn. I need not mention the quince, the medlar, the jubeb, and ſervice tree, becauſe their fruit is no where in great repute; at the ſame time, the trees themſelves are the leaſt ornaments of the fruit garden. Thoſe plants which more immediately relate to the flower or the phyſic garden, are ranged together alphabetically in the *Phytographia*.

But we ſhould not leave theſe gardens, without obſerving, that there is nothing laid out in them with method, beauty, or deſign; the whole being a medley only, or confuſion of fruit trees, with beds or plantations of cabbages, turnips, beans, garvancos, &c.; nay, ſometimes of wheat and barley interſperſed. Fine walks, parterres, and flower-plats, would be to theſe people the loſs of ſo much profitable ſoil; as planting in order and regularity, the ſtudy of ſoil and compoſts, or the aiming at any new improvements, would be ſo many deviations from the practice of their anceſtors, whoſe footſteps they follow with the utmoſt devotion and reverence.

§ 3.—*Of the Soil, Salts, Mineral Waters, Hot Springs, &c.*

THE ſoil, which ſupports all trees and vegetables, is, for the moſt part, of ſuch a looſe and yielding contexture, that, as I have already obſerved, an ordinary pair of beeves is ſufficient in one day to plow a whole acre of it.

* לוז Heb. [*Luz*] is interpreted, (Gen. xxx. 57.) the *hazel tree*, inſtead of the *almond-tree*, according to the true ſignification. What is rendered *nuts* likewiſe, Cant. vi. 11. ſhould have been ſpecified, and called *wall-nuts*; the Heb. אגוז *ajouze*, and the Arabic *jeuz*, being the ſame. בטנים alſo, which we render ſimply *nuts*, Gen. xliii. 11. ſhould be the *piſtachio-nuts*.

† Theſe have attained among the botaniſts the name *ribes* or *ribeſium*, very probably from the *rhibes* of the Arabian phyſicians, though of a different kind; the latter being with a parſnip-like root, with rough leaves, like buglos or echium, but larger and broader, the root and leaves whereof being pounded and ſqueezed, yield a tart refreſhing juice, which is uſed by the Turks in their ſherbets and cooling liquors. As this therefore has a great affinity in taſte with the juice of the gooſeberry and currant; theſe, in want or deficiency of the former, might have been ſubſtituted in their place, and have aſſumed the ſame name. The dock above mentioned is thus deſcribed, *viz.* Lapathum acetoſum orientale maximum et montanum; Syris, *rebaſs*. Beith, apud Golium.

In the ſalt-petre works of Tlemſan, they contract about ſix ounces of nitre from every quintal of this ſoil, which is there of a dark colour; and at Douſan, in Gætulia, Kairwan, and ſome other places, they have the like quantity from a loamy earth, of a colour betwixt red and yellow. In the ſummer ſeaſon, the banks of ſeveral rivers, to the depth of two or three fathoms, are ſtudded all over with nitrous and ſaline knobs and exudations, which, beſides the depth of the ſoil, ſhew us likewiſe how well it is ſaturated with theſe minerals.

For to this grand and inexhauſtible fund of ſalts, we may in a great meaſure attribute the great fertility for which this country has always been remarkable *, and ſtill continues to be ſo, without any other manuring, than burning in ſome few places the weeds and ſtubble. However, it is ſomewhat extraordinary, and for which we cannot account, that the province of Bizacium, formerly in ſo much repute for its fertility, ſhould at preſent be the moſt barren and unprofitable part of theſe kingdoms.

That ſalt is here the chief and prevailing mineral, appears as well from the ſeveral ſalt ſprings and mountains of ſalt, as from the great number of ſalinæ and ſhibkas, that we meet with almoſt in every diſtrict. The Wed el Mailah, near the weſtern frontiers of the kingdom of Algiers, and the Serratt upon the eaſtern; the Hammam Mellwan, nine leagues to the S.S.E. of Algiers; the Salt River of the Beni Abbeſs, which runs through the Beeban; that of the Urbyah, near the Tittery Doſh; that from Jibbel Wooſgar, in the neighbourhood of Conſtantina; the Mailah, that falls into the Shott over againſt Meſſeelah; the Bareekah, as it paſſes by Nickowſe; and the river of Gorbata, upon the confines of the Jereed: theſe, I ſay, beſides ſeveral rills and fountains of leſſer note, are all of them either very ſalt or brackiſh. The water of the river Gorbata, is made very palatable, by letting it percolate through ſome contiguous banks of ſand, into little pits which are occaſionally dug for that purpoſe; but the other rivers, having deeper channels, and running through a richer mould, are not capable of the like filtration.

The ſalt-pits near Arzew lie ſurrounded with mountains, and take up an area of about ſix miles in compaſs. They appear like a large lake in winter, but are dry in ſummer, the water being then exhaled, and the ſalts that are left behind become chriſtalized. In digging for this ſalt, they paſs through different layers of it, whereof ſome are an inch, others more in thickneſs, in proportion to the quantity of the ſaline particles wherewith the waters were impregnated before their reſpective concretions. In the like manner we find the Salinæ betwixt Carthage and the Guletta; thoſe of the Shott, and of other places, either bordering upon, or lying within the Sahara.

Jibbel Had-deffa is an entire mountain of ſalt, ſituated near the eaſtern extremity of the Lake of Marks. The ſalt of it is of a quite different quality and appearance from that of the ſalinæ, being as hard and ſolid as ſtone, and of a reddiſh or purple colour. Yet what is waſhed down from theſe precipices by theſe dews, attains another colour, becomes as white as ſnow, and loſes that ſhare of bitterneſs which is in the parent rock ſalt. It may very properly be ſaid to have loſt, if not all, yet a great deal at leaſt of its original ſavour. The ſalt of the mountains near Lwotaiah and Jibbel Miniſs, is of a grey or blueiſh colour; and, without ſubmitting to the like accidental purification, as at Had-deffa, is very agreeable to the palate; the firſt eſpecially being ſold at Algiers

* Non quicquid Libycis terit
Fervens area meſſibus. *Senec. in Thyeſt.*
Frumenti quantum metit Africa. *Hor. Sat.* l. ii. *Sat.* 3. 87.
Poſſideat Libycas meſſes. *Mart. Epig.* l. vi. 86.

for

for a penny an ounce, which is a great ſum, conſidering the ſmall value of common ſalt all over this kingdom.

Of the like quantity and flavour is the ſalt of the Lake of Marks, and of the other leſſer plains of the ſame nature. Theſe are uſually called ſibkah or ſhibkah, i. e. *ſaltiſh plats of ground;* and lie commonly under water in winter, when they appear like ſo many extenſive lakes; but are dry in ſummer, when they may be taken for ſo many bowling greens prepared for the turf. Such of the ſhibkas as have a hard and ſolid bottom, without any mixture of gritty mould, retain the ſalt that lies cryſtalized upon them after rain; but others, which are of a more oozy abſorbent nature, ſeldom preſerve any ſaline incruſtations upon their ſurfaces. The chief ſubſtratum of the Lake of Marks, is like a teſſelated pavement, made up of various little cubes of common ſalt; but in thoſe ſhibkahs that are of a ſoft and oozy compoſition, as near Warran and Kairwan, I could never obſerve any ſalt that was concreted; though the earth of them all is very pungent to the tongue, and by a proper ſolution and management, would undoubtedly yield a copious portion of it.

I have ſeen ſome large pieces of ſal gem brought from the country of the Beni Mezzab; but ſalt petre, called mellah haee, or *live ſalt*, by the Arabs, is never, that I know, found in ſubſtance or concreted, being always extracted by art. For which purpoſe, ſeveral troughs of brick or ſtone are erected, with wooden grates for their bottoms; and after having lined them within with mats made of dwarf palm or ſpartum, they fill them with ſalt-petre earth, ſprinkling it with water every ſix or eight hours, for five or ſix days together. The water by ſoaking through the earth, engages all the nitrous particles that are lodged in its way; and, draining afterwards through the mats, falls into ſmall cavities, made on purpoſe to receive it. When they have thus obtained a ſufficient quantity of brine, they pour it into caldrons, boil it up and refine it. There are ſeveral works of this kind at Tlemſan, Biſcara, and Kairwan, beſides others that are carried on privately among the Kabyles and Arabs.

The principal uſe of their ſalt-petre, is in the compoſition of ba-route, or gun-powder; whereof the ſulphur comes moſtly from Europe, whilſt the aſhes of the burwak, or king's ſpear, or aſphodelus, are rather choſen than thoſe of charcoal. Theſe people are well enough inſtructed in the art of graining the gun-powder; though ſomething is ſtill wanting, either in the ingredients themſelves, or in the proportions of them, one ounce from our powder mills being equivalent to more than a quarter of a pound of that which is made in theſe countries.

Beſides the ſeveral ſprings and rivulets of ſalt-water, which I have here enumerated, theſe countries abound likewiſe with others that partake of ſulphur and other minerals. In which claſs, beſides the Ain Kidran, or *Fountain of Tar*, and the Hamdh, a rich ſpaw water or acidula near the river Biſhbeſh, we may place the ſeveral Hammams *, or Thermæ. The Ain el Houte, which falls into the Tafna, together with the greateſt number of the ſprings of the Jereed, are ſomewhat more than lukewarm; whilſt thoſe of Seedy Ebly, Warran, below Tlemſan, thoſe of Mellwan, El Hammah of Gabs, and the lower bath at Mereega, are of a more intenſe heat, and very proper to bathe in. But the Hammam Meſkouteen, and the upper bath at Mereega, are much too hot for that intention; the former boiling, as I made the experiment, a breaſt of mutton very tender in a quarter of an hour.

* From whence our Humums.

The

The Ain El Houte, and the ſprings of Gafsa and Tozer nouriſh a number of ſmall fiſhes, of the mullet and perch kind, both of them of an eaſy digeſtion. Of the like quality are the other waters of the Jereed; all of them, after they become cold, being greedily drunk by the inhabitants. That particularly of El Hammah is perfectly clear and tranſparent, and as ſoft to the palate as rain water. Unleſs therefore the ſulphureous or other effluvia that it is ſuppoſed to be charged with, quickly fly off, all the great virtues aſcribed to the bathing in it, conſiſt only in their genial warmth, and in promoting thereby a copious perſpiration.

Beſides the ſtrong ſulphureous ſteams which iſſue from the Hammam Meſkouteen, the water is moreover of ſo intenſe a heat, that the rocky ground which it runs over, to the diſtance ſometimes of a hundred feet, is calcined by it. When the ſubſtance of theſe rocks is ſoft, and of an uniform ſubſtance and contexture, then the water, by making equal impreſſions upon them on all ſides, leaves them in the ſhape of cones or hemiſpheres, which being uſually ſix feet in height and breadth, the Arabs imagine them to be ſo many tents of their predeceſſors, turned into ſtone. But when theſe rocks, beſides their uſual ſoft chalky ſubſtance, contain likewiſe ſome layers of harder matter, not ſo eaſily diſſolved or calcined, then according to the figures of theſe layers, and in proportion to the reſiſtance which the water thereby meets with, we are entertained with a confuſion of traces and channels, imagined to be ſheep, camels, horſes, nay, ſometimes men, women, and children, whom they ſuppoſe to have undergone the like fate with their tents, of being converted into ſtone. Theſe fountains, I obſerved, had been frequently ſtopped up, or rather, ceaſing to run at one place, broke out in others; which circumſtance ſeems not only to account for the number of cones, but for that variety likewiſe of traces that are continued from one or other of them, quite down to the river Zenati, whoſe channel is at about the diſtance of a quarter of a mile.

This place, thus diſtinguiſhed by theſe fountains, gives back, in riding over it, the like hollow fallacious ſound with the Salfatara, near Naples, and made us not a little afraid of ſinking every moment through it. And as, from theſe circumſtances, the ground below was probably hollow, may not the air within theſe caverns, by eſcaping through theſe fountains, afford that mixture of ſhrill, murmuring, or deep ſounds, one or other of which are perpetually iſſuing out with the water? The Arabs (to quote their ſtrength of imagination once more) affirm theſe ſounds to be the muſic of the Jenoune, or *fairies*, who are ſuppoſed, in a particular manner, to make their abodes at this place, and to be the grand agents in all theſe extraordinary ſounds and appearances.

There are likewiſe here other natural curioſities, worthy of our notice. For the chalky ſtone, being calcined or diſſolved by the ſcalding water, into a fine impalpable powder, and carried down afterwards with the ſtream, lodges itſelf upon the lips of the channels; or elſe by embracing ſome intervening twigs, ſtraws, or other bodies, immediately hardens; and ſhooting into a bright fibrous ſubſtance like the aſbeſtos, forms itſelf into a variety of glittering figures and beautiful cryſtallizations.

The river of El Hammah, and others in the Jereed, which are often very large and copious, have their ſources, which are ſometimes one or two at moſt, in large extenſive plains, far removed from any chain of mountains; and as little or no rain falls into theſe diſtricts, this circumſtance alone ſeems to be no ſmall teſtimony in favour of that ſyſtem, which deduces the origin of fountains from the great abyſs. The wells, which I have taken notice of in Wadr eag, ſeem further to confirm it.

The

The weight of the water of the Hammam Mereega is to that of rain water, as 836 to 830; that of Warran, as 837; that of Meſkouteen, as 850; and that of Mellwan, as 910. I had no convenience or opportunity of weighing the reſt.

§ 4.—*Of the Earthquakes.*

BESIDES the hot mineral effluvia that are continually diſcharged by theſe thermæ, or Hammam, there ſtill remain below the ſurface, ſome vaſt and inexhauſtible funds of ſulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies, of which, the frequency and violence of earthquakes may be a ſufficient proof. The earthquakes, *ann.* 1723 and 1724, ſhook down a number of houſes, and ſtopt the courſe of ſeveral fountains; but by one of thoſe violent concuſſions, *ann.* 1716, a large piece of ground at Wamre, lying in an eaſy deſcent, with a well, a few trees, and a farm houſe upon it, glided down, all together, for the ſpace of a furlong, till they were one or other of them ſtopped by the channel of the river Harbeene, that empties itſelf there into the Shelliff. Several of the breaches, together with ſome pieces of the houſe turned upſide down, lie at a diſtance from each other, and are to this day a ſtanding monument of this cataſtrophe. I was informed, that the like accident happened, at the ſame time, in ſome of the mountainous diſtricts of Boujeiah and El Khadarah; literally anſwering, in ſome degree at leaſt, to the expreſſion of the Pſalmiſt, that *the mountains ſkipped like rams, and the little hills like young ſheep;* or that *the earth ſhall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and ſhall be removed like a cottage*, Iſa. xxiv. 20. The greateſt ſhock which we perceived at Algiers, (1724) reached from Miliana to Bona, the air being then clear and temperate, and the quickſilver ſtanding at the greateſt height; whilſt other concuſſions were found, upon inquiry, to be of ſmall extent. At theſe times, the barometer was not affected with any ſudden alterations, neither was there any occaſional change in the air, which was, as at other times, of its uſual temperature, without being more calm or windy, hazy or ſerene.

Earthquakes alſo have ſometimes been felt at ſea. In the ſame year, when I was aboard the Gazella, an Algerine cruiſer of fifty guns, bound to Bona to relieve the garriſon, we felt three prodigious ſhocks one after another, as if a weight, at each time of twenty or thirty ton, had fallen from a great height upon the ballaſt. This happened when we were five leagues to the ſouthward of the Seven Capes, and could not reach ground with a line of two hundred fathom. The captain, Haſſan Rice, told me, that a few years before, when he was upon a cruiſe, he felt a much greater, at the diſtance of forty leagues, as they computed, to the weſtward of the rock of Liſbon.

The earthquakes, during my ſtay at Algiers, fell out generally at the end of the ſummer, or in the autumn, a day or two after great rains *. The cauſe perhaps may ariſe from the extraordinary conſtipation or cloſeneſs of the earth's ſurface at ſuch times, whereby the ſubterraneous ſtreams will be either ſent back or confined; whereas, in ſummer, the whole country being full of deep chinks and chaſms, the inflammable particles have an eaſier eſcape.

* The inhabitants of Jamaica expect an earthquake every year, and ſome of them think they follow their great rains. Sir Han's Sloane's Introd. to the Hiſt. of Jamaica, p. 44. Phil. Tranſ. No. 209. p. 77. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. ii. cap. 80. takes notice of the ſame thing.

§ 5.—*Of*

§ 5. — *Of their Quarries, Wells, Foſſils, Minerals, &c.*

WE cannot trace any of the preceding phenomena, or ſcarce any other branch of the natural hiſtory, much lower than the ſurface. Thoſe quarries of marble *, which are taken notice of by the ancients, are not known at preſent; and indeed the ſmall quantity of marble that appears to have been uſed in the moſt ſumptuous buildings of this country, would induce us to believe, that either there never were ſuch quarries, or that the marble was ſent away to other places.

The materials that were uſed in all the ancient edifices of this country, as Jol Cæſarea, Sitifi, Cirta, Carthage, &c. are not ſo much different, either in their colour or texture, from the ſoft and harder kinds of the Heddington ſtone near Oxford; whereas, the marble of Numidia, as it is deſcribed by ancient authors, was of the fineſt contexture, and uſed upon the moſt ſumptuous occaſions. Solinus calls it eximium marmor, cap. xxvi. and Suetonius (in J. Cæſare) mentions a column of it that was erected to Julius Cæſar, with this inſcription, PATRI PATRIAE. The colour was yellow, with red or purple ſpots or ſtreaks.

Sola nitet flavis Nomadum deciſa metallis
Purpura.

Pap. Statius. de Baln. Etr. 369.

Errors, in accounts of this kind, might well be made, from *lapis* and *marmor* being indifferently uſed for each other.

The wells, except in Wadreag and ſome other parts of the Sahara, are rarely of any great depth; and, in digging them, I often obſerved, that after the ſoil was removed, they paſſed through ſome layers of gravel, and ſometimes, though rarely, of clay, till they arrived at a ſoft ſleaky ſtone, the ſure indication of water. In ſeveral places near Algiers and Bona, this ſort of ſtone lies immediately upon the ſurface, and is frequently very beautifully gilded all over with gold-like micæ, or ſpangles; as the ſparry matter, which fills up the fiſſures, glitters with thoſe that imitate ſilver. I never ſaw, neither could learn, that agates, or ſtones of the like beauty, were natives of this country. Even the common flint ſtone, which moſt other nations have in plenty, is ſo rarely found, in ſome parts of Barbary at leaſt, that our merchant veſſels that took in a quantity of them in the Downs for ballaſt, diſpoſed of them at Algiers for ſeven ſhillings the quintal.

Foſſils, or ſuch figured ſtones as are owing to the deluge, will be taken notice of in a catalogue by themſelves †. If we begin then with the deſcription of the ſelenites, we may obſerve, that it will ſometimes ſpread itſelf over whole acres of the woody and mountainous diſtrict. A tranſparent, ſtriated, yellow, and ſometimes fleſh coloured talk or gypſum, lies often expanded, in thin cakes, over ſome rocky parts of the Sahara. A few cryſtal-like irides are found in the mountains of Boujeiah; as a plenty of dark coloured double coned cryſtals diſcover themſelves upon thoſe of Ellou-leejah. Theſe, with a variety of cawk and figured ſpars, are the neareſt approaches which the mineral juices of this climate make towards the topaz and the diamond.

Beſides the common mould or ſoil that has been already treated of, there are two or three ſorts of pipe and potter's clay; the former of which generally burns red. Cimolia likewiſe, or fullers earth, is dug in great abundance, as is alſo the ſteatites, or ſoap earth, which is in great eſteem and ſervice in their bagnios, for waſhing and

* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. v. c. 3. Solinus Polyhiſt. c. 26. † See this catalogue in the *Collectanea.* (Or. ed.)

 ſoftening

ſoftening the ſkin. Steinomarga, or lac lunæ, which the Arabs ſometimes uſe as a ſyptic, lies uſually in the Sahara, in the ſutures of the rocks; whilſt a coarſe ſort, both of umbre and ochre, with a hard ſpecies of almagra or Spaniſh bole, more frequently occurs in the Tell.

The minerals that I have diſcovered, are ſtill fewer in number than the earths, among which we may reckon a few ſpecies of talk, and the gold and ſilver-like micæ above mentioned. Some of the latter are found in great quantities; and when they occur without any mixture or alloy of talky or ſelenitical ſubſtance, they are uſed, by the hojiahs or writers of this country, inſtead of ſand, for the abſorbing of ink upon paper. In pounding alabaſter or gypſum, we often meet with ſmall gold-like nodules, not unlike the regular mathematical bodies; but the gold and ſilver-like marcaſites or pyrites of Ellou-leejah, Medea, and ſome other places, are in no regular form, being ſometimes globular, ſometimes in the ſhape of the meſentery, kidney, and ſuch like figures as they uſually aſſume in other places. I have a good ſpecimen of the nigricia fabrilis, or black lead, which was taken up under the walls of Gibraltar, and ſuppoſed to have been brought thither by the current, from the coaſt of Barbary.

Lead and iron are the only metals that have been hitherto diſcovered. The latter is white and good, though in no great quantity, being chiefly dug and forged by the Kabyles of the mountainous diſtricts of Bou-jeiah; and from thence is brought, in ſhort bars, to the markets of that place and Algiers. They have a great plenty of the ore upon the mountains called Dwee and Zikkar, near Miliana; the latter of which is rich and ponderous, with a mixture ſometimes of cinnabar, though no works have been carried on, as far as I could learn, at either of thoſe places. The lead mines at Jibbel Riſ-ſaſs, at Wannaſhreeſe, and among the Beni Bootaleb, near the Caſſir Atture, are all of them very rich; and, provided they were under a better regulation, would produce an infinitely greater quantity of ore, as well as metal. The method of refining is, by putting layers of wood and ore alternately upon each other, and then ſetting fire to the pile. They frequently extract eighty pounds weight of pure metal from one quintal of the ore.

The ſilver and copper mines of the Tingitanians are looked upon with an envious eye by the Algerines; though poſſibly their own mountains, by further ſearches and experiments, would afford the ſame. About thirty years ago, the deys of Algiers were encouraged, by ſome Spaniſh renegadoes, to ſearch for ſilver ore in the mountains of Fernan, near Medea. They would probably have ſucceeded better in trying for copper; as they have here, as well as Tmolga, not far to the weſtward, ſeveral large ſtrata of ponderous ſtones diverſified with green efflorescences. One of the ſpecimens that I brought with me from thence, ſeems alſo to ſhoot into a variety of tin grains. But as none of theſe ores, if they be really ſuch, have been put to the teſt, a ſmall ſhare only of ſuch riches as may be called ſubterraneous can be claimed by theſe regencies. For the ſtory which they are pleaſed to tell of Mahomet Bey's plough-ſhares, is applicable enough to this branch of the natural hiſtory that I am now explaining. This prince, whom I have had occaſion to mention in *the kingdom of Tunis*, had the misfortune to be dethroned by his ſubjects; but having the reputation of being acquainted with the kymia, as they call the philoſopher's ſtone, Ibrahim Hojiah, then dey of Algiers, engaged to reſtore him to his former dignity, upon promiſe of being let into the ſecret. The conditions were accordingly accepted, and Mahomet was reſtored; who, to fulfil his part of the covenant, forthwith ſent the dey of Algiers, with no ſmall pomp and ceremony, a number of mattocs and plough-ſhares; thereby emblematically inſtructing him, that the wealth of his kingdom was to ariſe from a diligent attendance upon agri-

culture and huſbandry, and that the ſecret of the philoſopher's ſtone, which he had promiſed to make him acquainted with, was nothing more than THE ART OF CONVERTING A GOOD CROP OF CORN INTO GOLD.

§ 6. — *Of Ras Sem, or the Petrified Village in the Cyrenaica.*

I SHALL conclude this branch of the natural hiſtory of Barbary, with ſome remarks upon the pretended petrified city at Ras Sem, in the province of Darha, in the kingdom of Tripoly. This place then, which lies ſix days journey to the S. of Bingaze, the ancient Berenice, in the greater Syrtis, has been occaſionally taken notice of in the firſt edition, at p. 383. note 2. where it was obſerved, "that nothing was to be ſeen there, beſides ſome petrifications, as might well be accounted for from the deluge; which likewiſe had been already diſcovered in other parts of the world." In treating likewiſe of the violent heat which attends the deſerts of Libya and Arabia, I took notice, (p. 379. note 1.) that, at Saibah, a few days journey beyond Ras Sem, towards Egypt, "there is a whole caravan conſiſting of men, aſſes, and camels, which, from time immemorial, has been preſerved at that place. The greateſt part of theſe bodies ſtill continue perfect and entire, from the heat of the ſun and dryneſs of the climate; and the tradition is, that they were all of them originally ſurpriſed, ſuffocated, and dried up, by the hot ſcorching winds that ſometimes frequent theſe deſerts."

The Arabs, who are as little converſant in geography and natural hiſtory, as they are artful and ingenious enough in fable and romance, had here a very favourable and lucky opportunity, by jumbling and connecting together the petrifications of Ras Sem, with theſe preſerved bodies at Saibah, to project and invent the plan of the petrified city in all the wild and extravagant dreſs, wherein it is commonly deſcribed. This, I believe, is the true matter of fact, and all that may be depended upon in this ſtory.

It was however a ſubject much inquired into whilſt Caſſem Aga, the Tripoly ambaſſador, reſided lately at London. He reported * from a thouſand perſons, as he ſaid, and particularly from a friend of his of great veracity, who had been upon the ſpot, that "this ſcence of petrifications conſiſted of a large town, in a circular figure †, which had ſeveral ſtreets, ſhops, and a magnificent caſtle belonging to it.—That this friend of his ſaw there different ſorts of trees, but moſtly the olive and the palm; all of them turned into a blueiſh or cinder-coloured ſtone.—That there were men alſo to be ſeen in different poſtures and attitudes; ſome of them exerciſing their trades and occupations, others holding ſtuffs, others bread, &c. in their hands.—The women likewiſe were ſome of them giving ſuck to their children, others were ſitting at their kneading troughs, &c.—That in entering the caſtle, there was a man lying upon a magnificent bed of ſtone, with the guards ſtanding at the doors, armed with pikes and ſpears.—That he ſaw different ſorts of animals, ſuch as camels, oxen, aſſes, horſes, ſheep, and birds, (nay, the very dogs, cats, and mice, are enumerated in other accounts), all

* This account, with a great many more relating to the ſame ſubject, which will be afterwards taken notice of and examined, were collected and communicated to me by our very worthy preſident of the Royal Society, Martin Folkes, Eſq. LL. D.

† The very learned antiquarian, Dr. Stukely, in an ingenious letter which he wrote to me (174.) upon this ſubject, ſuppoſes Ras Sem to be a patriarchal prophylactis, or ſerpentine temple, like Stone Henge, and other the like ſtructures of the Druids. But we have no credible account, nor indeed any account at all, that there is any ſuch like circular buildings at Ras Sem. Neither can Sir Chriſtopher Wren's, or Sir Iſaac Newton's opinion, *viz.* that Ras Sem came from Africa, be better ſupported. It is much, if there were any models of this kind, that I ſhould not have met with, or at leaſt heard of one or other of them, in thoſe many places and diſtricts of Africa which I have been acquainted with.

of them converted into ſtone, and of the above mentioned colour. In one of theſe hiſtories, ſome of theſe bodies are ſaid to want their heads, others a leg or an arm: and ſo far agree with the caravan of preſerved (not petrified bodies) above recited. It is further related, "that ſeveral pieces of petrified money * had been brought from thence; ſome of which were of the bigneſs of an Engliſh ſhilling, charged with a horſe's head on one ſide, and with ſome unknown characters on the other." This is the ſubſtance of that variety of reports which have been given and related of this place, at different times, and by different perſons †.

Several ſtories and relations of the like transformation of living creatures into ſtone, are collected by Aldrovandus, in his *Muſeum Metallicum*, p. 823. where, amongſt others, he gives us the hiſtory, and at the ſame time a groupe of figures, conſiſting of men, ſheep and camels, converted into ſtone. As Tartary is reported to be the ſcene of this transformation, it is very probable that this is the ſame ſtory which is recorded by Anthony Jenkinſon ‡, in his map of Tartary, preſerved by Ortelius. Kircher § alſo acquaints us, that he had learned, from ſome geographers, of a whole horde of men and cattle being turned into ſtone; where, by uſing the word *horde*, we may ſuſpect the people to have been Tartars, and that the geographers therefore were no other than A. Jenkinſon, and Ortelius. This then appears to be one and the ſame ſtory.

Another ſtrange account, of a pretended number of men, women, and children being converted into ſtone, is related by De la Vega, in his Hiſtory of the Yncas of Peru ‖. But both this and the former are of a modern date, and mere trifles too, in compariſon with what is related of the wonderful effects that were occaſioned by the Gorgon's head or Meduſa. Neither are the petrifications themſelves, either in Ras Sem, Tartary, or Peru, ſo copious and extenſive, as what were occaſioned by her influence. For here they were viſible over a whole country:

> Paſſimque per agros
> Perque vias vidiſſe hominum ſimulachra, ferarumque,
> In ſilicem ex ipſa viſa converſa Meduſa. *Ovid. Met.* lib. iii. v. 718.

So much then, concerning the more remarkable ſtories that are recorded by modern and ancient authors, of whole groupes of animals being converted into ſtone. Inſtances of ſingle perſons being thus metamorphoſed are more numerous. Thus we read of Lot's wife becoming a pillar of ſalt in the ſacred hiſtory; and of Niobe, and

* Though coins, by lying in ſand, earth, &c. where ſalt is concreted, may acquire ſuch an appearance by ſome of the ſandy and other particles ſticking and adhering to them, yet the coins here mentioned, notwithſtanding ſuch an alteration in their ſuperficies, could be no other than what have been deſcribed at p. 59, 60. of my *Excerpta*. In Mr. Fitton's letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, preſerved in the Mercurius Politicus, No. 331. the petrified pieces of money are ſaid to be Venetian zecchines.

† Vid. Merc. Politicus, ut ſupra. S. Clarke's Geographical Deſcription of all the known Kingdoms of the World, 3d edit. p. 193. The Adventures of T. S. an Engliſh Merchant, taken priſoner at Algiers, Lon. 1670. p. 140. Capt. Uring's Travels, vol. i. p. 280. Conſul Baker's Relation, publiſhed amongſt Dr. Hook's papers by Mr. Derham, p 386. Mr. Boyle, in his General Heads for the Natural Hiſtory of a country, qu. 24. Turkiſh Spy, vol. v. p. 158. Martini a Baumgarten peregrinatio, &c. Norib. 1594. And in Churchill's Collection of Travels, vol. i. p. 406. Ath. Kircheri Mundus Subterraneus, vol. ii. p. 53.

‡ In one of the compartments of this map are the following words: "Hæc ſaxa hominum, jumentorum, camelorum, pecorumque, cæterarumque rerum formas referentia, horda populi greges paſcentis armentaque fuit; quæ ſtupenda quadam metamorphoſi repente in ſaxa riguit, priore forma nulla in parte imminuta. Evenit hoc prodigium annis circiter ccc retro elapſis."

§ Mund. Subter. ut ſupra.

‖ Commentaire Royal, ou Hiſtoire des Yncas du Perou, par Garcilaſſo de la Vega, l. iii. c. i. p. 287.

others, being turned into ſtone in the profane. Ariſtotle, as he is quoted by Laſſels *, ſpeaks of ſome men who were found petrified in a cave, near Pergamus; and Kircher † tells us, that the whole ſkeleton of a man, converted into ſtone, was preſerved in the Ludoviſian palace, at Rome. This is probably the ſame that ſtill continues to be ſhewn among the curioſities of that city, and which I myſelf have ſeen.

Among the multiplicity of bones that have been found in the caves of Gibraltar, (which are ſuppoſed to have been of ſuch perſons as hid themſelves upon the invaſion of the Moors, and afterwards periſhed with hunger), I have ſeen ſeveral that had received an additional weight and ſubſtance, by being pervaded, as we may imagine, by ſome lapideſcent vapour that is conſtantly circulating in thoſe caves, which are no leſs cold and chill, than they are remarkably damp and moiſt. Others were not only become heavier, but incruſtrated over, in ſome parts, with a ſtalagmatical or ſparry ſubſtance, that is perpetually dropping from the tops of thoſe caves.

The latter is the caſe of the ſkeleton at Rome, the bones of which are not properly petrified, but covered (*cortice lapideo*, in Kircher's phraſe) with a coat of ſtone. It is probable alſo, from the like ſituation, and the concurrence of the like circumſtances, that the petrified bodies in the cave near Pergamus, were not properly petrified, but incloſed only in ſuch like ſparry or ſtalagmatical incruſtations. And I am apt to ſuſpect, that the like pretended petrification of boats, maſts, oars, &c. in the Bahar bel oma, or *Sea without water* ‡, betwixt Egypt and Ras Sem, is nothing more than a nitrous incruſtation, for theſe deſerts are full of that ſalt. In the ſame manner, we ſee ſtones and potſherds cruſted over and cryſtallized, by arreſting and condenſing the ſaline vapour that ariſes from the Sulfatara, near Naples. There is nothing extraordinary therefore in theſe phenomena; in as much as it may be eaſily accounted for, why theſe animal, or indeed any other bodies, that lie under, or are more immediately expoſed to the influence of a lapideſcent vapour or fluid, or, in the latter caſe, of a ſaline one, ſhould be ſubject to, and ſuſceptible of theſe changes and alterations.

The difficulty will be, to account for ſuch bodies as are pretended to lie expoſed, or to ſtand upright in the open air, without having been ever lodged in any proper beds, or ſheltered and influenced by caves and grottos. Here, as it cannot well be imagined that any lapideſcent vapour or fluid ſhould have power to exert itſelf, or indeed be capable of being any way admitted and received into the pores of theſe, whether animal or other bodies, ſo neither could the bodies themſelves acquire thereby, in their reſpective textures and compoſitions, any additional augmentation, or permanent alteration whatſoever. Such a ſituation, except in the hot ſandy deſerts, where the ſun uſually dries up theſe bodies, would rather occaſion them immediately to diſſolve, or putrify, than to be converted into ſtone.

Let us examine then the hiſtories of thoſe bodies that are pretended to lie in this manner, in a variety of poſtures and attitudes, open and expoſed; ſuch as are related of Lot's wife; of the horde in Tartary; of the groupes in Peru, and at Ras Sem; of Niobe, and the extraordinary petrifications occaſioned by the Gorgon's head. Now, the two laſt of theſe accounts have always been looked upon as fabulous § and allegorical; and, as ſuch, will make nothing at all in proof of the real exiſtence of ſuch

* Vid. Laſſel's Voyage into Italy, Par. 1670. 12*mo*, p. 179. in villa Ludoviſiana.
† Ut ſupra.
‡ Vid. Memoires des Miſſions de la compagnie de Jeſus dans le Levant, tom. ii. p. 73.
§ Vid. Nat. Com. l. vi. c. 13. et l. vii. c. 11, 12.

tranſ-

tranſmutation. Nay, provided the firſt * is to be underſtood according to the literal ſenſe, for a real tranſmutation, yet it will, by no means, ſupport the credibility of the other alleged inſtances, at Tartary, Peru, and Ras Sem, unleſs their hiſtories were well atteſted, and we had the like infallible proof and teſtimony of their being miraculous.

With regard then to the Tartarian groupe, (the ſole invention, as it appears to have been, of Anthony Jenkinſon,) a number of independent rocks, in different heights, and of various colours and figures; or elſe the conſtituent ſtones of ſome ancient, civil or religious incloſure, by being viewed at a diſtance, without a nearer and ſtricter examination; theſe, I preſume, might give occaſion for ſuch a report at firſt, which few perſons afterwards could have, or would take an opportunity either to examine or contradict. We find much nearer home, the like romantic interpretation to have been put upon the rocks in Marlborough Downs; which, from ſome ſmall reſemblance they bear to a flock of ſheep, are called to this day, the *Marlborough Weathers*. In like manner, the Rollrich ſtones in Oxfordſhire †, the Weddings in Somerſetſhire, and the Hurlers in Cornwall, were once imagined to be ſo many men converted into ſtone. A tradition of the ſame kind ſeems to have attended other remarkable ſtones of the ſame nature ‡, near Salkeld, in Cumberland. The petrified camp, which I have deſcribed, at Hamam Meſkouteen, in Numidia, is another inſtance of the fallacy and erroneous reports of common fame. Here the Arabs, (who, like the Cretans, are always liars, or, to uſe a more favourable expreſſion, great maſters of invention) have frequently aſſured me, with the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, that they had ſeen, not only a number of tents, but cattle alſo of different kinds converted into ſtone. This encouraged me, whilſt I was chaplain at Algiers, to undertake a very tedious and dangerous journey; but when I arrived at the place, I found theſe reports were all of them idle and fictitious, without the leaſt foundation, unleſs in the wild and extravagant brains of the Arabs. For, with theſe and ſuch like credulous perſons, the ſmalleſt ſimilitude or reſemblance will ſometimes occaſion, in their fertile imaginations, ſuch indulgence and liberty of invention, as to give immediate birth to ſome ſtrange report and marvellous narration.

Little need be ſaid of the Peruvian groupe, neither doth it require any critical examination. For, as all the figures concerned therein are of the human ſpecies, we may very reaſonably conclude them to have been artificial, and therefore intended, like the more numerous ones at Elora, in Perſia §, for ſo many pagods. The many ſtructures that are deſcribed to be near them, were no doubt the temples, or ſome way or other deſigned for the worſhip or ſhelter of theſe pagods.

Neither will the reports concerning the petrified bodies at Ras Sem, deſerve any greater regard or credibility, as will appear from the following relation. About forty

* Vatablus, Bodinus, &c. take this in a metaphorical ſenſe; *viz.* for a perpetual ſilence in her mourning; and that ſhe become, not *a pillar of ſalt*, but *as a pillar of ſalt*. In the ſame manner, it is obſerved of Nabal, that after Abigail had made him ſenſible of the fault he had committed, 1 Sam. xxv. 37. *his heart died within him, and he became as a ſtone.* Thus again the particle *as* is to be ſupplied, where Dan is ſaid to be *a lion's whelp*, Deut. xxxiii. 22. Iſſachar to be *a ſtrong aſs*, Gen. xlix. 14. Iſhmael *ſhall be a wild aſs's man*, Gen. xvi 12. and in a variety of other inſtances.

† Vaſtos lapides in orbem diſpoſitos, quos Rollrich ſtones vulgus appellitat, homineſque olim fuiſſe, qui in ſaxa ſtupenda metamorphoſi riguerunt, ſomniat. Cambd. Britan. in Oxfordſhire.

‡ Theſe are placed in a circle, ſeventy-ſeven in number, ten feet high; with a ſingle one before them fifteen feet high. This the common people call *Long Meg*, and the reſt *her daughters*. Magn. Britan. vol. i. p. 381.

§ Vid. Thevenot's Travels, l. iii. c. 44.

years

years ago, when Mr. Le Maire was the French conſul at Tripoly, he made great enquiries, by order of the French court, into the truth of this report; and amongſt other very curious accounts relating to the ſame place, he told me a remarkable circumſtance, to the great diſcredit, and even confutation of all that had been ſo poſitively advanced, with regard to the petrified bodies of men, children, and other animals.

Some of the janizaries, who, in collecting the tribute, travel over every year one part or other of this diſtrict of Ras Sem, promiſed him, that, as an adult perſon would be too heavy and cumberſome, they would undertake, for a certain number of dollars, to bring him from thence the body of a little child. After a great many pretended difficulties, delays, and diſappointments, they produced at length a little Cupid, which they had found, as he learned afterwards, among the ruins of Leptis; and, to conceal the deceit, they broke off the quiver, and ſome other of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of that deity. However he paid them for it, according to promiſe, 1000 dollars, which is about 150 pounds ſterling of our money, as a reward for their faithful ſervice, and hazardous undertaking; having run the riſque, as they pretended, of being ſtrangled if they ſhould have been diſcovered, in thus delivering up to an infidel one of thoſe unfortunate Mahometans, as they take them originally to have been.

But notwithſtanding this cheat and impoſition had made the conſul deſiſt from ſearching after the petrified bodies of men and other animals, yet there was one matter of fact, as he told me, which ſtill very ſtrangely embarraſſed him, and even ſtrongly engaged him in favour of the current report and tradition. This was ſome little loaves of bread, as he called them, which had been brought to him from that place. His reaſoning indeed thereupon, provided the pretended matter of fact had been clear and evident, was juſt and ſatisfactory; for where we find loaves of bread, there (as he urged) ſome perſons muſt have been employed in making them, as well as others for whom they were prepared. One of theſe loaves he had, among other petrifications*, very fortunately brought with him to Cairo; where I ſaw it, and found it to be an echinites of the diſcoid kind, of the ſame faſhion with one I had lately found and brought with me from the deſerts of Marah, the figure of which I likewiſe ſhewed him in the *Lithophylacium*† *Britannicum*. We may therefore reaſonably conclude, that there is nothing to be found at Ras Sem, in as much as nothing elſe has been brought from thence, unleſs it be the trunks of trees, echinites, and ſuch petrifications as have been diſcovered at other places. Becauſe cats, and mice, and birds, had there been really any ſuch things, were as portable, and might have been as eaſily conveyed and brought away, as branches of the palm trees, or echinites.

M. Lemaire's inquiries, which we find were ſupported by the promiſe and performance of great rewards, have brought nothing further to light. He could never learn, after ſending a number of perſons expreſsly, and at a great expence, to make diſcoveries, and bring along with them what curioſities ſoever they met with, that any traces of walls, or buildings, or animals, or utenſils, were ever to be ſeen within the verge of theſe pretended petrifications. The like account I had from a Sicilian renegado, who was the janizary that attended me whilſt I was in Egypt; and as, in his

* The fragment of a petrified palm tree, was given me by this gentleman. It was broken off from a great lump, and agrees exactly with the wood of the living palm tree, in the order and quality of the fibres, which do not run ſtraight and parallel as in other trees, but are for the moſt part oblique, or diverging from one another in an angle of about ten degrees. It ſtrikes fire like a flint; and ſo does a fragment of the petrified wood, which I found upon the iſthmus betwixt Cairo and Suez.

† This is called, "Echinites clypeatus ſive diſcum referens, pentaphylloides,' Lith. Brit. claſs. vi. tab. 13. No. 971.

earlier

earlier years, he had been a ſoldier of Tripoly, he aſſured me that he had been ſeveral times at Ras Sem. This I had confirmed again, in my return from the Levant, by the interpreter* of the Britiſh factory at Tunis, who was likewiſe a Sicilian renegado, and being the libertus, or freedman of the baſhaw of Tripoly, was preferred by him to be the bey or viceroy of the province of Darna †, where Ras Sem was immediately under his juriſdiction. His account was likewiſe the ſame; neither had he ever ſeen, in his frequent journies over this diſtrict, though he had been formerly told to the contrary, any other petrifications than what are above mentioned. So that the petrified city, with its walls, caſtles, ſtreets, ſhops, cattle, inhabitants, and their utenſils, which have, at one time or other, ſo much taken up the attention of the curious, were all of them, at firſt, the mere fables and inventions of the Arabs; and afterwards propagated by ſuch perſons, who, like the Tripoly ambaſſador, and his friend, above mentioned, were credulous enough to believe them.

However, there is one remarkable circumſtance relating to Ras Sem, that deſerves well to be recorded. When the winds have blown away the billows of ſand which frequently cover and conceal theſe petrifications, (for they are not always viſible upon that account), they diſcover, in ſome of the lower and more depreſſed places of this diſtrict, ſeveral little pools of water, which is uſually of ſo heavy and ponderous a nature, that, upon drinking it, it paſſes through the body like quickſilver. This, perhaps, may be that petrifying fluid, which has all along contributed to the converſion of the palm-trees, and the echini, above mentioned, into ſtone. For the formation not only of theſe, but of petrifications of all kinds, may be entirely owing to their having firſt of all lodged in a bed of loam, clay, ſand, or ſome other proper nidus or matrix, and afterwards gradually acted upon and pervaded by ſuch a petrifying fluid as we may ſuppoſe this to be.

Some curious perſons have imagined, that, as the Gorgon's head, with the venomous ſnakes hanging from it, bears a near reſemblance to Ras Sem, (or *the head of poiſon*, as it is interpreted), we are therefore to look for the Gorgoniæ Domus at this place. But, beſides the allegorical conſtruction that has, from the earlieſt antiquity, been put upon the Gorgon's head, and a much later and more ingenious conjecture ‡, that we are to underſtand by it, the wheel or the roller only, which, by preſſing the olives, converts them into, or leaves nothing behind it but their ſtones; I ſay, beſides theſe, there are two other objections, that Ras Sem, and the Gorgoniæ Domus, cannot be the ſame.

1. The firſt is, that both the name and the deſcription of Ras Sem are of no antiquity; neither do we find the leaſt tradition concerning it, before the laſt or the preceding century §. The claſſic authors, whether poets, geographers, or hiſtorians, have

* The account mentioned above, (in the firſt edition of this work, p. 379. note 1.) of a whole caravan being ſurpriſed and ſuffocated by a hot wind, was given me by this perſon; who, upon his diſgrace with the baſhaw, fled into Egypt, and taking an uncommon road, by Saibah, for fear of being purſued, fell in there with the ſcene of preſerved bodies.

† Δαρις, or Δαρν. Vid. Vales. not. in Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16.

‡ Mr. Pluche, in his Hiſtoire du Ciel, vol. i. p. 186, 187. derives the name of *Meduſa* from רוש *Duſh*, triturare, *to tread out*; and that *Meduſa* (מרושה, Iſa. xxi. 10.) therefore is *the preſſing out*. *Gorgon*, in like manner, he makes to be the ſame with *Gulgal* גלגל; and that the Arabs call *Meduſa*, as delineated upon the ſphere or celeſtial globe, *Algol*, i. e. *the wheel*.

§ As far as I can inform myſelf, the firſt relation we have of the petrified city is given by Martin a Baumgarten, in his *Peregrinatio*, publiſhed in 1594, though he began his travels in 1507, and conſequently muſt have collected his materials a number of years before they were made public. He was informed, as he tells us, that in the road from Tripoly, of Syria, to Mecca, there was a city, whoſe inhabitants, cattle, and

have not, in the ſeveral accounts of the Cyrenaica and the adjacent provinces, taken the leaſt notice, as far as I can learn, of this ſcene of petrifications. Such a tale, whether real or imaginary, would, in a particular manner, have been highly acceptable, as it was entirely ſuitable to the poetical invention of Lucan, who appears to have been well acquainted with the natural hiſtory of this part of Libya. It is very probable therefore, from the very nature and quality of this portion of the Cyrenaica, whoſe ſurface is perpetually changing by the ſhifting of the ſands, that formerly either the palm-trees * and the echini were not ſufficiently laid open by the winds, or that the deſcription of them, which can ſcarce be imagined, was not thought worthy to be tranſmitted to poſterity.

2. It may be objected, in the ſecond place, that the country of the Gorgons was ſo far from being ſituated where we find Ras Sem, in or adjacent to the Cyrenaica, that we are to look for it in or beyond the moſt weſtern and extreme parts of Libya. For Lucan † deſcribes it to lie under Mount Atlas, upon the ocean called therefrom Atlantic; and Pliny ‡, as he is authorized by Xenophon Lampſacenus, places the Gorgons among the iſlands of Cape Verd, as they are now called, two days ſail from the continent. How great affinity ſoever may be then in their names, (for names do ſometimes very ſtrangely agree, though the leaſt reaſon cannot be aſſigned for ſuch agreement,) it appears, that the circumſtances of the ſtories themſelves (it is of no moment whether they be real or allegorical) are different; and conſequently, that neither can the Gorgoniæ Domus and Ras Sem be the ſame.

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and utenſils, were turned into ſtone. But if this petrified city be the ſame with Ras Sem, then Baumgarten muſt have miſtaken Tripoly in Syria for Tripoly in Barbary; whereby the ſtories will accord. Yet, if they were the ſame ſtory, it is much, that ſo ſtrange and marvellous as it was accounted to have been at that time, i. e. in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, it ſhould have lain dormant till about the middle of the laſt, when it was talked of as a miracle and matter of fact that had lately happened. This we learn from Mr. Fitton's letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, mentioned above; from Kircher's *Mundus Subterr.* ut ſupra; from S. Clarke's *Deſcription*, &c.

* We have juſt ſuch another ſcene, though more diſperſed, of petrified branches and trunks of trees, of various ſizes, and probably of echini and their prickles too, if they were carefully looked after, upon the iſthmus betwixt Cairo and Suez. Theſe too, no leſs than thoſe at Ras Sem, were no doubt originally covered with ſand, their proper matrix, which the winds, in proceſs of time, have blown away and removed: filling up, in all probability, by theſe depredations from the ſurface, the Amnis Trajanus, the Foſſa Regum, or channel that was cut betwixt the Nile and the Red Sea, and no ſmall part of the northern extremity of the Red Sea itſelf. The learned author of the *Deſcription of the Eaſt*, &c. vol. i. p. 131. has given us the following account of theſe petrifications: viz. 'I do not know,' ſays he, 'whether it may be looked upon as a probable conjecture, that the people travelling in theſe parts, and carrying ſome wood with them for their uſe, might leave it behind when they approached towards the great city, and that, having been covered with ſand, it might petrify, and the ſand be afterwards blown away; though indeed I ſaw one piece,' (and I may add, there are a great number), 'that ſeemed to have been a large body of a tree.'

† Finibus extremis Libyes, ubi fervida tellus
Accipit oceanum demiſſo ſole calentem,
Squallebant late Phorcynidos arva Meduſæ,
Non nemorum protecta coma, non mollia ſulco,
Sed dominæ vultu conſpectis aſpera ſaxis. *Luc.* l. ix. 624, &c.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. vi. c. 31.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Animals.*

§ 1. — *Of the tame and wild Quadrupeds.*

AS the principal riches of the Bedoween Arabs, no leſs than of the eaſtern patriarchs * and princes of old, continue to be valued according to the number and quality of their cattle, I ſhall begin the zoology of theſe countries with the deſcription of ſuch of them as are tame, and conſequently of more general uſe and ſervice to mankind.

The horſe, formerly the glory and diſtinguiſhing badge of Numidia, has of late years very much degenerated; or rather, the Arabs have been diſcouraged from keeping up a fine breed, which the Turkiſh officers were ſure at one time or another to be the maſters of. At preſent, therefore, the Tingitanians and Egyptians have juſtly the reputation of preſerving the beſt, which no longer than a century ago, they had only in common with their neighbours. Now, a valuable and well-taught Barbary horſe is never to lie down. He is to ſtand ſtill and be quiet, whenever the rider quits him and drops the bridle. He is, beſides, to have a long pace, and to ſtop ſhort, if required, in a full career; the firſt of which qualities ſhews the goodneſs and perfection of the horſe; the proper management of the latter ſhews the dexterity and addreſs of the rider. No other motions are either practiſed or admired in theſe countries, where it is accounted very impolite to trot or to amble. But the Egyptian horſes have deſervedly the preference of all others, both for ſize and beauty; the ſmalleſt being uſually ſixteen hands high, and ſhaped, according to their phraſe, like the antelope. The uſual price of the beſt Barbary horſe, is from three to four hundred dollars, *i. e.* from fifty to ſixty or ſeventy pounds of our money; whereas, in the days of Solomon, as indeed ſilver was then nothing accounted of, a horſe came out of Egypt for 150 ſhekels, which amount to little more than ſeventeen pounds.

The aſs, the ζωον ανεπτηνον, and the mule, which deſerves the like appellation, are their moſt hardy and uſeful creatures, requiring little or no attendance. The firſt is not ſo generally trained up for the ſaddle at Algiers as at Tunis, where they are frequently of a much larger ſize; but the mule is in general demand at both places, and preferred to the horſe for common uſe and fatigue. It is certainly ſurer footed, and vaſtly ſtronger, in proportion to its bulk. I could never learn that the mule was prolific, which notion Pliny †, and ſome other authors, ſeem to have entertained.

To the mule we may join the kumrah, as the Algerines call a little ſerviceable beaſt of burden, begot betwixt an aſs and a cow. That which I ſaw at Algiers, where it was not looked upon as a rarity, was ſingle hoofed like the aſs, but diſtinguiſhed from it in having a ſleeker ſkin, with the tail and the head (though without horns) in faſhion of the dam's.

* "And Abraham was very rich in cattle," Gen. xiii 2. & 5. "And Lot alſo which went with Abraham, had flocks and herds." "Job's ſubſtance was ſeven thouſand ſheep, and three thouſand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred ſhe-aſſes," &c. Job i. 3. and xlii. 12. Familiæ aliquot cum mapalibus pecoribuſque ſuis (ea pecunia illis eſt) perfecuti ſunt regem, &c. Liv. l. xxix. § 31. De antiquis illuſtriſſimus quiſque paſtor erat, ut oſtendit Græca et Latina lingua, et veteres poetæ, qui alios vocant πολυαρνας. (Hom. Il. B. 104. De Thyeſte) alios πολυμηλος, alios πολυβοτας, qui ipſas pecudes, propter caritatem, aureas habuiſſe pelles tradiderunt; ut Argis Atreus, Colchide Æeta, ad cujus arietis pellem profecti regio genere dicuntur Argonautæ; ut in Libya ad Heſperidas, unde aurea mala, id eſt, fecundum antiquam conſuetudinem, capras et oves (quas) Hercules ex Africa in Græciam exportavit. Ea enim ſua voce Græci appellarunt μηλα. M. Varro, l. ii. c. 1. De re ruſtica.

† Eſt in annalibus noſtris, peperiſſe ſæpe (mulam); verum prodigii loco habitum. Theophraſtus vulgo parere in Cappadocia tradit; ſed eſſe id animal ibi ſui generis. Plin. lib. viii. cap. 44.

Yet all theſe ſpecies are vaſtly inferior to the camel for labour and fatigue. For this creature travels four * or five days without water; whilſt half a gallon of beans and barley, or elſe a few balls made of the flour, will nouriſh it for a whole day. Pliny's obſervation, of their diſturbing the water with their feet before they drink it, is very juſt; and it may be further obſerved, that they are a long time in drinking, firſt of all thruſting their heads a great way above their noſtrils into the water, and then making ſeveral ſucceſſive draughts in the like manner with pigeons. In travelling over the deſerts of Arabia to Mount Sinai, each of our camels carried a burden of at leaſt ſeven quintals; and what further ſhews the great ſtrength of this animal, a day's journey conſiſted ſometimes of ten, ſometimes of fifteen hours, at the rate of two miles and a half an hour. Theſe extraordinary qualities are, without doubt, ſufficient encouragements for the Arabs of all countries that are not rocky or mountainous, to keep up and multiply the breed.

That ſpecies of the camel kind, which is known to us by the name of the dromas, or dromedary, is here called maihary †, or aſhaary ‡; though it is much rarer in Barbary than in Arabia. It is chiefly remarkable for its prodigious ſwiftneſs, (*the ſwift dromedary*, as the prophet calls it, Jer. ii. 23.) the Arabs affirming, that it will run over as much ground in one day, as one of their beſt horſes will perform in eight or ten; for which reaſon, thoſe meſſages which require haſte, are, in Gætulia, and the more ſouthern parts, diſpatched upon dromedaries, as in Eſth. viii. 10. The ſhekh, who conducted us to Mount Sinai, rode upon a camel of this kind, and would frequently divert us with a token of its great abilities. For he would depart from our caravan, reconnoitre another juſt in view, and return to us again in leſs than a quarter of an hour. It differs from the common camel, in being of a finer and rounder ſhape, and in having upon its back a leſſer protuberance. This ſpecies (for the former, as rarely deviating from the beaten road, travels with its head at liberty) is governed by a bridle, which being uſually faſtened to a ring, fixed in its noſtrils, may very well illuſtrate that expreſſion, 2 Kings xix. 28. of *putting a hook in its noſe*, as it is recorded of Sennacherib, and may be further applicable to his ſwift retreat.

The males of the camel kind, from being tame and harmleſs in other ſeaſons, become unruly in the ſpring; the uſual time when they ſolicit the females. Their familiarity is generally in the night, in the ſame manner with creatures of the cat kind, as it has been long ago obſerved by Ariſtotle §, though contradicted by Pliny ‖. For the ſheath of the penis (in theſe, no leſs than in other animals which reſt a long time together upon their lower belly, and are called *retromingent*) is brought forwards upon theſe occaſions, which, at other times, is thrown backwards for the more convenient

* Sitim et quatriduo tolerant (Cameli); implenturque, cum bibendi occaſio eſt, et in præteritum et futurum, obturbata proculcatione prius aqua: aliter potu non gaudent. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. viii. c. 18. "At the top of the ſecond ventricle (of the dromedary), there were ſeveral ſquare holes, which were the orifices of about twenty cavities, made like ſacks placed between the two membranes which compoſe the ſubſtance of this ventricle. The view of theſe ſacks made us think that they might well be the reſervatories, where Pliny ſays that camels do a long time keep the water, which they do drink in great abundance when they meet with it, to ſupply the wants which they may have thereof in the dry deſerts, where they are uſed to travel." Memoirs for the Natural Hiſtory of Animals, &c. by the Academy at Paris.

† Aſahah rapporte que le chameau dit Almahares, ou de Mahrah, eſt ainſi nomme a cauſe de Mahrah, fils de Hamdan, fundateur d'une tribu. Abulf. de l'Arabie.

‡ Aſhaary ſignifies *ten*; from being commonly blind ten days after its birth.

§ Αι δε καμηλοι οχευονται της θηλειας καθημενης, περισεσηκως δε ο αρρην οχευει εκ αντιπυγος, αλλα καθαπερ και τα αλλα τετραποδα. Ariſt. Hiſt. Animal. l. v. c. 2.

‖ Aliter, ſed male, ſcribit Plinius, l. x. c. 63. Coitus (inquit) averſus elephantis, camelis, tigridibus, &c. quibus averſa genitalia. Idem dicit Solinus, cap. 40.

diſcharge of the urine. The females are pregnant near a whole year, or from one ſpring to the other; and the young dromedaries are blind, like kittens or puppies, ſeveral days after their birth. Their future good or bad qualities likewiſe are prognoſticated from the length or ſhortneſs of their blindneſs.

After the beaſts of burden, we are to deſcribe the black cattle, which are generally ſmall and ſlender; the fatteſt of them, when brought from the ſtall, rarely weighing above five or ſix quintals. Neither is their milk in proportion to their ſize; for, notwithſtanding the rich herbage of this country from December to July, a cow rarely gives above a quart of milk at a time, whilſt the butter has neither the ſubſtance nor richneſs of taſte with what our Engliſh dairies afford us in the depth of winter. The Barbary cows have another imperfection, as they loſe their calves and their milk together. Here the ſheep and the goats contribute alſo to the dairies, particularly in the making of cheeſe. Inſtead of runnet, eſpecially in the ſummer ſeaſon, they turn the milk with the flowers of the great headed thiſtle, or wild artichoke; and putting the curds afterwards into ſmall baſkets made with ruſhes, or with the dwarf palm, they bind them up cloſe, and preſs them. Theſe cheeſes are rarely above two or three pounds in weight, and in ſhape and ſize like our penny loaves; ſuch perhaps as David (1 Sam. xvii. 18.) carried to the camp of Saul. Their method of making butter is, by putting the milk or cream into a goat's ſkin turned inſide out; which they ſuſpend from one ſide of the tent to the other, and then preſſing it to and fro in one uniform direction, they quickly occaſion the ſeparation of the unctuous and wheyey parts. A great quantity of butter is made in ſeveral places of theſe kingdoms; which, after it is boiled with ſalt, in order to precipitate the hairs and other naſtineſſes occaſioned in the churning, they put it into jars, and preſerve it for uſe. Freſh butter ſoon grows ſour and rancid.

The goat is the ſame with that of other countries. But there are two ſpecies of ſheep not known in Europe; the one, which is common all over the Levant, as well as the kingdom of Tunis, is diſtinguiſhed by a broad tail, that ends ſometimes in a point, ſometimes continues broad to the bottom. The fleſh of this ſpecies taſtes generally of the wool; neither has it the tender fibres of the ſmaller tailed ſheep. Yet the tail itſelf, which is greatly eſteemed in their cuſcaſowes and pilloes, conſiſts of a hard ſolid fat, not inferior in taſte to marrow. The other ſpecies, which is bred in the neighbourhood of Gaddemz, Wurglah, and the more diſtant places of the Melanogætuli and Garamantes, is near as tall as our fallow deer; and excepting the head, differs not much in ſhape. The heat of the climate, the ſcarcity of water, joined to the coarſeneſs and dryneſs of the herbs they feed upon, may be the reaſon why their fleſh is dry to the palate, and why their fleeces likewiſe are as coarſe and hairy as thoſe of the goat.

A gelding among the horſes, an ox among the black cattle, or a weather among the ſheep, is rarely or ever known among them. For ſuch males of ſheep or black cattle as are more than ſufficient for the preſervation of the ſpecies, and are intended for ſale or the ſhambles, have only their teſticles ſqueezed or diſcompoſed, when they are three months old; the Mahometans accounting it an act of great cruelty to caſtrate creatures of any other ſpecies than their own.

Beſides this great variety of cattle, we may obſerve further, that each kind is very numerous and prolific. Several Arabian tribes, who can bring no more than three or four hundred horſes into the field, are poſſeſſed of more than ſo many thouſand camels, and triple that number of ſheep and black cattle. The Arabs rarely diminiſh their flocks, by uſing them for food, but live chiefly upon bread, milk, (γαλακτοποτες, as they

they have been called), butter, dates, or what they receive in exchange for their wool. Such cattle likewiſe as are brought to their fairs, or to the neighbouring towns and villages, are very inconſiderable, when compared with the yearly increaſe. By proper care therefore and attendance; nay, if theſe numerous flocks and herds had ſhelter from the inclemency of the weather during a ſmall part only of the winter ſeaſon, this whole country, in a few years, would be over-run with cattle.

Among the quadrupeds that are not naturally tame and domeſticated, we may reckon thoſe large herds of the neat kind, called bekker el waſh *, which have a rounder turn of body, a flatter face, with their horns bending more towards each other than in the tame kind. The bekker el waſh then may be well taken for the bubalus of the ancients †, or the bos Africanus of Bellonius; though what this author deſcribes is little bigger than the caprea, or roe-buck, whereas the bekker el waſh is nearly of the ſame ſize with the red-deer, with which alſo it agrees in colour. The young calves of this ſpecies quickly grow tame, and herd with other cattle.

Bekker el waſh is the name likewiſe given to a ſpecies of the deer kind, whoſe horns are exactly in the faſhion of our ſtag; but the ſize is only betwixt the red and the fallow deer. Thoſe which I have ſeen, were caught in the mountains near Skigata, and appeared to be of the ſame mild and tractable nature with the bekker el waſh. The female, for want of horns, is called in deriſion, fortaſs, i. e. *the broad ſcalp*, or *ſcalded head*.

The fiſhtall, called likewiſe, in ſome parts, lerwee, is the moſt timorous ſpecies of the goat kind, plunging itſelf, whenever it is purſued, down rocks and precipices, if there be any in its way. It is of the bigneſs of an heifer of a year old, but has a rounder turn of body, with a tuft of ſhagged hair upon the knees and neck; this near a foot, the other above five inches long. It agrees in colour with the bekker el waſh, but the horns are wrinkled and turned back like the goat's; from which likewiſe they differ in being more than a foot long, and divided upon the forehead by a ſmall ſtrip of hair, as in the ſheep kind. The fiſhtall, from its ſize, ſhape, and other circumſtances ſeems to be the tragelaphus ‡ of the ancients; an animal, we are to imagine ſuch as this is, betwixt a goat and a deer. Pliny indeed obſerves, that it was peculiar to the banks of the Phaſis; a miſtake of the ſame kind with what he relates elſewhere, that there were no ſtags (cervi) in Africa.

Beſides the common gazell or antelope, this country produces another ſpecies of the ſame ſhape and colour, though of the bigneſs of the roe-buck, with horns ſometimes two feet long. This, which the Africans call lidmee, may be the ſame with the ſtrepſiceros § and addace of the ancients. Bochart, from the ſuppoſed whiteneſs of the buttocks, finds a great affinity betwixt *addace* ‖ and [דישון] *diſon*; which, in Deut. xiv. 5. our tranſlation, agreeably to the Septuagint and Vulgate verſions, renders the *pygarg*.

* *Bukral waſhi*, i. e. *Bos Silveſtris*. *Waſhy* enim ferum, ſylveſtre animal ſignificat. Gol.

† Vid. Pet. Bellon. Obſervat. l. ii. c. 50. Inſignia boum ferorum genera, jubatos biſontes, excellentique et vi et velocitate uros, quibus imperitum vulgus bubalorum nomen imponit, cum id gignat Africa, vituli potuit cervive quadam ſimilitudine. Plin. l. viii. c. 15. Uros imperitum vulgus vocat bubalos, cum bubali pene ad cervinam faciem in Africa procreentur. J. Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 32.

‡ Eadem eſt ſpecie, [cum cervo ſc.] barba tantum et armorum villo diſtans, quem Tragelaphon vocant, non alibi, quam juxta Phaſin amnem, naſcens. Cervos Africa propemodum ſola non gignit. Plin. l. viii. c. 33.

§ Cornua erecta, rugarumque ambitu contorta, et in leve faſtigium exacuta (ut lyras diceres) Strepſiceroti, quem Addacem Africa apoellat, natura dedit. Plin. l. xi. c. 27.

‖ A cinereo nempe colore, qui Hebræis דישן *diſen* dicitur. Boch. Hieroz. l. iii. c. 2.

The bekker el waſh and the gazel are gregarious, and have both of them the like habit of ſtopping on a ſudden when they are purſued, and of looking back for a ſhort time upon the purſuers. Their haunts are likewiſe the ſame, being for the moſt part upon the confines of the Tell and the Sahara. Gazell is improperly interpreted by Bochart and others *, the *hart* or the *fawn*; that appellation being always given, both in the Levant and in Barbary, to the animal which we call the antelope.

Among the quadrupeds of a leſs tameable nature, we muſt give the firſt place to the lion, and then to the panther; for the tiger is not a native of Barbary. The females of both ſpecies have two rows of nipples like a bitch, which give ſuck to three, ſometimes to four or five whelps. Mr. Ray (De Quadr. p. 165.) muſt have been miſinformed in giving two nipples only to the lioneſs. When the little ones breed their teeth, they are uſually ſeized with fevers which carry off three in four of them; and this is the reaſon, as the Arabs inform us, why their numbers are ſo inconſiderable. But whether this is owing to ſuch diſeaſes, or to the great diſperſion rather of the Arabs, (Exod. xxiii. 29. Deut. i. 22.) or perhaps to the much eaſier way of killing them, ſince the invention of fire arms; whatever, I ſay, may be the cauſe, it is certain there would be great difficulty at preſent to procure a fiftieth part of thoſe lions and panthers which Africa contributed formerly to the diverſions of Rome †. I have read in ſome deſcriptions of this country, that women can be familiar with lions; and that, upon taking up a ſtick, and ſpeaking boldly to them, they will immediately loſe their fierceneſs, and leave their prey. Something perhaps of this kind may happen, when they have been well ſatiated with food; at which time the lions are ſuppoſed to loſe their courage, and and that they therefore ſuffer their prey to be ſeized, and reſcued out of their jaws. But theſe inſtances are very rare; it oftener falling out, that perſons of riper age, as well as children, have been, for want of other food, torn to pieces, and eat up by this *devourer* ‡, as he is emphatically called in Scripture. Fire is what they are moſt afraid of; yet, notwithſtanding all the precaution of the Arabs in this reſpect; notwithſtanding the barking of their dogs, and their own repeated cries and exclamations during the whole night, when they are ſuſpected to be upon the prey, it frequently happens, that theſe ravenous beaſts, outbraving all theſe terrors, will leap into the midſt of a douwar, where the cattle are encloſed, and drag from thence a ſheep or a goat. If theſe ravages are repeated, then the Arabs dig a pit where they are obſerved to enter, and covering it over ſlightly with reeds, or ſmall branches of trees, they frequently decoy and catch them. Pliny has taken notice of the ſame practice; which is likewiſe alluded to, Ezek. xix. 8. Pſal. ix. 15. and in other places of Scripture. The fleſh of the lion is in great eſteem, having no ſmall affinity with veal, both in colour, taſte, and flavour. The diſtinction of animals was little known or attended to by the ancient Romans, when, according to an obſervation of Lipſius §, they called the lion a bear, and the panther a rat of Africa.

The

* Capreæ hinnulus Gazal Arabice dicitur (vulgo Gazella) ut Hebraice עזזל in Pomario, et Chaldaice אורזיל inſerto *r*, ut paſſim, et prima gutturali Ajin in Aleph mutato. Boch. Hieroz b. c. 18. Nomen Gaſel, ſive CERVÆ (equo impoſitum). Kempf. Amœnit. Exot. Faſc. ii.

† Leonum ſimul plurium pugnam Romæ princeps dedit Q. Scævola P. filius in curuli Ædilitate. Centum autem jubatorum primus omnium L. Sylla, qui poſtea Dictator fuit, in Prætura. Poſt eum Pompeius Magnus in Circo DC. in iis jubatorum cccxv. Cæſar Dictator cccc. Capere eos, ardui erat quondam operis, foveiſque [ut et nunc eſt] maxime. Plin. l. viii. c. 16. Scaurus Ædilitate ſua varias [*i. e.* pantheras] centum quinquaginta univerſas [in Romam] miſit: dein Pompeius Magnus quadringentas decem; divus Auguſtus quadringentas viginti. *Id. ibid.* c. 17.

‡ *Out of the eater* (לאכל it ſhould be DEVOURER) *came forth meat.* Judg. xiv. 14.

§ Peregrina cum ad Romanos advehebantur, ſtupebant; et nomen iis dabant non ſuum, ſed obvium aliquod

The faadh agreeds with the leopard in being ſpotted, but differs in other reſpects. For the ſkin is not only of a deeper colour, but alſo much coarſer; neither is the creature itſelf of ſo fierce a nature. However, the Arabs fooliſhly imagine it to be a ſpurious offspring betwixt the lion and leopardeſs. It feeds upon carrion, ſometimes upon roots and herbs, like the jackall and the dubbah, and muſt be in great neceſſity when it ventures upon a ſheep or a goat. As the faadh then can ſcarce be taken for the θως or lupus cervarius of the ancients, which is deſcribed as a much fiercer creature, the chamus * of Pliny ſeems better to agree with it.

Beſides this, there are two other animals that are marked like the leopard; only with this difference, that their ſpots are generally of a darker colour, as their fur is ſomewhat longer and ſofter. The firſt is of the cat kind, about one-third leſs than a full grown leopard, and may be taken for the leſſer panther of Oppian. The other has a ſmall pointed head, with the teeth, feet, and other characteriſtics of the weaſel kind. The body is about a foot long, round and ſlender, with a regular ſucceſſion of black and white ringlets upon the tail. This, as well as the ichneumon, ſearches after poultry; and, provided it was tamer, and ſomewhat larger (as it is ſometimes well ſcented), we might well take it for the ginetta †. This creature has two names; being called by ſome, gat el ber-rany, i. e. *the ſtrange* or *foreign cat*, and by others, ſhibbeardou; but I ſhould call it, for the reaſons above, the leſſer ginetta.

The dubbah is of the badger kind, near the bigneſs of a wolf, but has a flatter body, and naturally limps upon the hinder right leg; yet, notwithſtanding this imperfection, the dubbah is tolerably ſwift, and cannot be ſo eaſily run down by the hunters of theſe countries as the wild boar. The neck of it is ſo remarkably ſtiff, that in looking behind, or ſnatching obliquely at any object, it is obliged, in the ſame manner with the hog, the badger, and crocodile, to move the whole body. It is of a buff or dun colour, inclining to be reddiſh, with ſome tranſverſe ſtreaks of a dark brown; whilſt the hairs upon the neck are near a ſpan long, which it can occaſionally erect, notwithſtanding they are much ſofter than the briſtles of a hog. The paws are large and well armed, ſerving in want of other food, to lay open the cephaglione, (i. e. the medulla, cerebrum, or εγκεφαλος) of the palmeta, or dwarf palm; to dig up the roots of plants, and ſometimes the graves of the dead, which lie among the Bedoweens, in the open fields, without being ſecured by walls, trenches, or incloſures. When the dubbah is taken, the Arabs are very induſtrious to bury the head, leſt the brain, according to their ſuperſtition, ſhould be uſed in ſorcery and enchantment; an ancient practiſe, as appears from the duræ nodus hyænæ; an expreſſion in Lucan, l. vi. Next to the lion and panther, the dubbah is the fierceſt of the wild beaſts of Barbary; and, from the characteriſtics of having long hair upon its neck like a mane, moving

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aliquod et e vicino ſuo rure.—Ita pantheras vocarunt mures, ut opinor, Africanos—Tale in leonibus eſt. Cum primum viſi, non leones externo eos nomine inſignierunt, ſed noto et domeſtico urſos.—Virgilium quidem dum Aceſtem tegit Pelle Libyſtidos urſæ, certum mihi intellexiſſe leoninam, &c. Vid. J. Lips. Elect. l. ii. c. 4.

* Pompeii Magni primum ludi oſtenderunt chaum, quem Galli rhaphium vocabant, effigie lupi, pardorum maculis. Plin. l. viii. c. 19. Vid. Geſn. de Quadrup. p. 549, 550. Jonſt. de Quadrup. c. 12. Raii Synops. Animal. Quadrup. p. 201. Quærendum an genus aliquod ſit thois vel pantheris minoris, quorum meminit Oppianus. Conveniunt enim magnitudo, maculæ, ingenium (nam et panthera minorem innoxium eſſe Oppianus ſcribit) et uſus pellium ad veſtes pretioſus, et inſuper odor ſuavis. Geſn. ut ſupra.

† Genetha vel potius genetta aut ginetta [Genocha apud Albertum perperam] eſt beſtia paulo major [minor, Alber. et recte] vulpecula, &c. *Id. ibid.*

its

its neck with difficulty, and disturbing the graves of the dead *, it may lay in a greater claim to the hyæna of the ancients, than the civic cat or the badger, which are lesser animals, and not known, as far as I can learn, in Barbary.

The deeb † is of a darker colour than the fox, though near the same bigness. It yelps every night about the gardens and villages, feeding, as the dubbah does, upon roots, fruit, and carrion. Mr. Ray ‡ supposes it to be the lupus aureus of the ancients; though what Oppian describes by that name is larger, and of a much fiercer nature §.

The deeb is likewise the same with the jackall, or the chathal of the more eastern countries, not differing much in sound from the Heb. שׁעל *shaal*, which is rendered *the fox* in several places of Scripture; and, as we have before observed that this animal feeds upon fruit and dead carcases, we may see the propriety of Psal. lxiii. 10. where *they that shall fall by the sword* are said *to be* (to become) *a portion* (or provision) *for the shaalim;* and of Cant. ii. 15. where the little shaalim are described *to spoil the vines*, and, as we may further suppose, to eat the tender grapes.

Bochart ‖ has made it probable that the jackalls were the θωες of the Greeks, the *beni awi* of the Arabians, and the (אִיִּים) *ijim* or *iim*, Isa. xiii. 12. xxxiii. 14. and Jer. l. 39. which we render *the beasts of the islands;* an appellation very vague and undetermined. Some Jewish commentators make it the plural of אִיָּה, which we render *the kite*, Lev. xi. 14. and Deut. xiv. 13. Of the like nature also is (צִיִּים) *tziim*, or *ziim* (ibid) which we call in general, *the wild beasts of the desert*, instead of some particular well known species, as may be rather supposed, that frequents it. Whereas, by fixing the latter to the black cat, which will be hereafter described, and the ijim to the jackall, both of them noted animals, frequenting no less the uncultivated than the cultivated parts of these countries, and making all the night long a perpetual howling, yelping, or squalling noise, we may have a proper notion, as it is there related, of their *meeting together, and crying out in their desolate places.* The jackalls also, as they are creatures by far the most common and familiar, as well as the most numerous of those countries, several of them feeding often together, so we may well perceive the great possibility there was for Samson to take, or cause to be taken, three

* Hyænam quoque mittit Africa, cui sum spina riget, collum continua unitate flecti nequit, nisi toto corpore circumacto. Solin. c. 40. Plin. l. viii. c 30. Οι δε καλεσιν οι μεν ηλανον, οι δε ὑαινον· εστι το μεγεθος ουκ ελαττον λυκε, χαιτην δ' εχει ωσπερ ἱππος, και ὑτι σκληροτερας και βαθυτερας τας τριχας, και δι ὁλης της ῥαχεως — συμβωρυχει δε, εφιεμενον της σαρκοφαγιας των ανθρωπων. Arist. Hist. Anim. l. viii. c. 5. Vid. Boch. Hieroz. l. iii. c. 11.

† Alkamus, in his *Lexicon*, makes the *Deeb* and the *Teenan* to be the same; and as the latter has a great affinity with *Tannin*, which is commonly rendered *a dragon*, or *dragons*, in Scripture, it is highly probable, that these *tannin* or *tannim* should be sometimes, instead of *dragons*, interpreted *deebs*, or *jackalls*, as will afterwards be farther taken notice.

‡ Vid. Raii Synops. Animal. p. 174.

§ Ου λυκος, αλλα λυκε προφερεστατος, αιπυτατος δηε. *Oppian. Cyneg.* l. iii.

However, Bochart deduceth the name from the Heb. (זָאֵב) zaab, *gold.*

‖ Hieroz. l. iii. c. 12.

Δαφοινοι θωας, i. e. πυῤῥοι fulvi, ut habet scholiastes, Il. λ.
Θωας ὑπερφιαλες ελαφον περιποιπνυεσθαι
Αγεσθενες. Oppian. Halieut. l. ii.

i. e. συναθροιζομενες, confertos, congregatos. Schol. Il. λ. 574.

Awa, i. e. *ululare* seu *latrare* proprium canis, lupi, et filii *awi*. Alcamus in Lexico.

Utrumque nomen אָ et *Afci* est ονοματοποιητικον, ab ululatu.

Θως et Θωυσσειν sunt conjugata; porro Θωυσσειν est ὑλακτειν latrare. Ut supra de *awa*, ex Alcamo, ita J. Pollux de ὑλακτειν; Αλωπεκων και Θωων και λυκων το ὑλακτειν.

hundred

hundred of them. The fox, properly ſo called, is rarely met with, neither is it gregarious.

The gat el khallah, ſiyah ghuſh, or karrah kulak; i. e. *the black cat*, or *black-eared cat*, as the Arabic, Perſian, and Turkiſh names ſignify, is of the bigneſs and ſhape of a cat of the largeſt ſize. The body is of a reddiſh brown; the belly of a lighter colour, and ſometimes ſpotted; the chops are black, the ears of a deep grey, with the tips of them diſtinguiſhed by ſmall tufts of black ſtiff hair as in the lynx. The figure given us of this animal by Charleton *, is not ſo full in the chops as the Barbary ſiyah ghuſh; which, together with the jackall, are generally ſuppoſed to find out proviſion or prey for the lion, and are therefore called the lion's provider. Yet it may be very much doubted, whether there is any ſuch friendly intercourſe betwixt them. In the night indeed, *when all the beaſts of the foreſt do move*, Pſal. civ. 20—22. theſe, as well as others, are prowling after ſuſtenance; and *when the ſun ariſeth*, and *the* lion *getteth himſelf away to his den*, both the black cat and the jackall have been often found gnawing ſuch carcaſes as the lion is ſuppoſed to have fed upon the night before. This and the promiſcuous noiſe which I have heard the jackall particularly make with the lion, are the only circumſtances which I am acquainted with in favour of this opinion. However, this feeding together, and intercourſe betwixt the jackall and the black cat, at theſe ſeaſons, more than what has been obſerved betwixt any other two of the leſſer wild beaſts, may further confirm the conjecture of Bochart, that the latter might be the tziim, eſpecially as *dziwîn*, a name of the ſame ſound in the Arabic, denotes ſuch a creature.

It may be obſerved of the porcupine, that of the many which I have ſeen in Africa, I never knew any of them, though very much provoked, that could dart their quills. Their uſual method of defence is, to recline themſelves on one ſide, and, upon the enemy's near approach, to riſe up quickly, and gore him with the erected prickles upon the other. The fleſh of this animal, when fat and young, is very well taſted, and in great eſteem. The near analogy alſo betwixt *kunfood*, the Arabic name of the hedge-hog, which is here very common, and the Hebrew קפד *kephôde*, Iſa. xxxiv. 11. &c. ſhould induce us to take it for that quadruped, according to the ſeventy ἐχῖνος, rather than for the bittern, as we tranſlate it.

The jird †, and the jerboa, or yerboa, are two little harmleſs animals, which burrow in the ground. They chiefly frequent the Sahara, though I have often ſeen the latter in the plains of Warran. Each of them is of the bigneſs of a rat, having their bellies white, but the reſt of their bodies of a ſorrel colour. The ears likewiſe of them both are round and hollow, in ſome long, in others ſhort, agreeing with the rabbit in the order of their fore-teeth, and in the briſtles of their chops, though they differ in other reſpects. For the head of the jird is ſomewhat pointed, and covered all over with fur; whereas, the noſtrils of the jerboa are flat and naked, lying nearly in the ſame plain with the mouth; wherein alſo it differs from thoſe which have been brought from Aleppo, and are deſcribed by Mr. Haym ‡. All the legs of the jird are nearly of the ſame length, with each of them five toes; whereas the fore-feet of the Barbary jerboa are very ſhort, and armed only with three. The hinder feet are nearly of the ſame length with the body, with each of them four toes, beſides two ſpurs, as we may call the little ones that are placed more than an inch above them. The tail of the jird

* Vid. Charl. Exercit. p. 23.

† Bochart (Hieroz. l. ii. p. 249.) renders it the *great mouſe*.

‡ Vid. Nic. Heym. Teſoro Britannico, vol. ii.

though a little ſhorter than in the common rat, yet is better cloathed; whilſt that of the jerboa is as long as its body, of a yellowiſh colour, with a black tuft near or upon the extremity. They are both good to eat; and the latter, notwithſtanding the great diſproportion betwixt the fore and hinder feet, runs, or rather jumps along with extraordinary ſwiftneſs; the tail, which it carries for the moſt part erect, or occaſionally reclined, contributing all the while to the regularity of its motion.

The jerboa has been taken by ſome authors * for the [שפן] *ſaphan* † of the Scriptures, though the places where I have ſeen them burrow have never been among the rocks, but either in a ſtiff loamy earth, or elſe, where their haunts uſually are, in the looſe ſand of the Sahara; eſpecially where it is ſupported by the ſpreading roots of ſpartum, ſpurge-laurel, or other the like plants. Agreeably to this method of their burrowing in the ground, under the roots of plants, ſome Cyrenaic medals exhibit little animals of this kind, under an umbellated plant, ſuppoſed to be the ſilphium.

That remarkable diſproportion betwixt the fore and the hinder legs of the Jerboa or δίπους, (though I never ſaw them run, but only ſtand or reſt themſelves upon the latter), may induce us to take it for one of the δίποδες or two footed γαλαι or rats, which ‡ Herodotus and other authors deſcribe as the inhabitants of theſe countries; particularly (τὰ Σιλφιὰ) of the province of Silphium.

Beſides the animals above mentioned, Barbary produces the bear, or dabh § (according to their appellation), the ape or ſheddy, the ichneumon or tezerdea, the fox or thaleb, the ferret or nimſe, and the weeſel or fert el heile. The mole likewiſe, the rabbit, the hare, and the wild boar, are every where in great numbers. The laſt of theſe, the chief prey and food of the lion, (in Ecclus xii. 19. the onager or wild aſs is deſcribed to be ſuch), has ſometimes been known to defend itſelf with ſo much bravery, that the victory has inclined to neither ſide; the carcaſes of them both having been found lying one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces.

§ 2. — *Of the oviparous Quadrupeds.*

AMONG the oviparous quadrupeds, we are to place the land and water tortoiſe; the latter of which was a flatter body, though neither of them are peculiar to Barbary, The former, which hides himſelf during the winter months, is very palatable food. but the latter is very unwholeſome. The taitah ‖, or bouiah, as they call the chamæleon, may be diſcovered by a good eye upon every hedge. The tongue is four inches long, and in ſhape like to a ſmall peſtal, which it darts upon flies and inſects with a ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs, and retains them afterwards by a glutinous matter that is excreted from the tip of it. The Moors and Arabs, after they have dried the ſkin, ſuſpend it upon their boſoms to prevent the influence of an evil eye. The taitah differs little in name from the לטאה *letaa*, which in Lev. xi. 3. is rendered the lizard; and therefore

* Vid. Boch. Hieroz. l. iii. c. 33.

† The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and ſo are "the ſtony rocks for the [*ſaphannim* שפנים] *conies*," Pſal. civ. 18. "The *conies* [שפנים, *ſaphannim*] are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houſes in the rocks." Prov. xxx. 26.

‡ Herod. Melp. § 192. Theoph. apud Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. l. xv. c. 26. Photius, ibid. Ariſt. de Murib. Ægypt.

§ דב *Dab*, *Urſus*. *Dabiba* enim Arabice eſt piloſam habere faciem, unde *Dab* faciei pili et villi, &c. Boch. Hieroz. l. iii. c. 9.

‖ Vid. Boch. Hieroz. l. iv. c. 4.

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the chamæleon, a ſpecies indeed of lizard, might, with more propriety, be ſubſtituted for it.

The warral, or guaral, according to Leo *, is ſometimes thirty inches in length; being uſually of a bright reddiſh colour, with darkiſh ſpots. Vanſleb † is ſo weak a philoſopher, as very ſeriouſly to affirm, that the warral is ingendered from the rotten eggs of the crocodile.

The dhab or dab, another lizard, taken notice of likewiſe by Leo ‡, agree nearly in ſhape, and in the hard pointed annuli or ſcales of the tail, with the caudiverbera, as it is repreſented in Geſner § and Johnſton. *Tſab* [צב] ‖ therefore, a word of the ſame ſound in the Hebrew, Lev. xi. 29. is tranſlated erroneouſly, as we may ſuppoſe, the *tortoiſe*, inſtead of the *ſharp ſcaled tailed lizard.*

The zermoumeah is as frequent in the highways and hedges, as the common green lizard. It is a mighty ſlender elegant animal, with a long taper tail, of a light brown colour, all over beautifully ſtriated with yellow ſtreaks.

The ſkink or ſcincus frequently hides itſelf under flat ſtones, or elſe in the holes of old walls and ruins. In the like ſituation, (though they often come into our houſes, and crawl over our beds), we find the nije-daimah, or booka-ſhaſh, which is of a dark gloomy colour, ſeven or eight inches long, with a flat head and body, and with the tail like the dab's. I have often obſerved, that the booka-ſhaſh would beat with its tail the walls, floors, or cieling which it reſted upon; a circumſtance that may induce us to take this for the ſmaller, and the dab for the greater caudiverbera or uromaſtix. The warral alſo, in running upon the ground, uſes the like action; whilſt the Arabs gravely affirm, that the perſon who is touched by one of theſe ſtrokes will become barren and unfruitful.

§ 3. — *Of the Serpentine kind.*

NOT to mention the ſlow-worm and the ſnake, which are common, the moſt remarkable ſpecies of the ſerpentine kind is the thaibanne, which might well be taken for Lucan's Thebanus ophites, provided Thebanus was an appellative, and not the proper name of the ſerpent. I have been informed that ſome of them are three or four yards long; and as it is by far the largeſt ſerpent in Barbary, it will ſo far anſwer to the hæmorrhous, to which Lucan has given the epithet of ingens; the many others which he deſcribes being probably much ſmaller, and of the viper ſize. I have ſeen purſes made of the ſkin of the thaibanne, which were more than four inches wide.

The zurreike, another ſerpent of the Sahara, is uſually about fifteen inches long. It is of a ſlender body, and being remarkable, as the name ¶ (from *zurak*, jaculari) inſinuates, for darting itſelf along with great ſwiftneſs, may perhaps be one of Lucan's jaculi volucres.

But the moſt common as well as malignant of this tribe, is the leffah, which, like our viper or adder, is of a leſs uniform turn of body than the zurreike, and rarely exceeds a foot in length. It is not always of the ſame colour, but varies a little according to the quality of the earth, ſand, or rocks where it is found **. The torrida

* J. Leo. Deſcript. Africæ, l. ix. p. 297.
† Vid. Vanſleb's preſent State of Egypt, p. 47.
‡ Vid. J. Leo, ut ſupra.
§ Geſn. de Quadruped. ovip. p. 23. Jonſt. Hiſt. Quadruped. Tab. LXXIX.
‖ Boch. Hieroz. l. iv. c. 1.
¶ Vid. note, p. 339.
** This circumſtance and quality in the ſerpent kind has been taken notice of by Pliny. "Vulgatum eſt," ſays he, lib. viii. cap. 98. "ſerpentes pleroſque colorem terræ habere, qua occultantur." Vid. etiam Nicand. in Sepe et Sepedone.

dipſas anſwers very well both to the name and to the quality of the leffah, which is ſo called from *leffah*, urere, *to burn.*

The Arabs report that there is the ſame antipathy betwixt the leffah and the taitah, which was long ago aſſigned * to the chamæleon and the viper; and that a little drop of clammy juice, which the taitah lets fall upon the leffah, will throw it into ſuch violent convulſions as are attended with immediate death.

Theſe, after the moſt diligent ſearch and inquiry, are the only ſpecies of the viper kind that I am acquainted with; and I am perſuaded, that the northern parts of Africa do not produce above five or ſix diſtinct ſpecies among the many that are deſcribed by Lucan † and Nicander. For it may be obſerved, in the firſt place, that the ſcytale, ſo called from σκυταλη, *baculus*, which was alſo the ſlow or blind worm, the ſame with the cæcilia or τυφλινη, was, in all probability, from the uniform ſhape of body, the head and the tail being nearly of the like thickneſs, no other than the amphiſbæna. The cenchris alſo, from κεγχρος, its millet-like ſpots, and from being of a larger ſize, according to Nicander, was not different from the thebanus ophites; which, from the name, ſhould be ſpotted like the granite or ſerpentine marble. Yet ſtill theſe ſpots are no diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics; in as much as they may be attributed, more or leſs, to all or to the greateſt part of the ſerpentine kind.

With regard alſo to the aſpis, this had a great variety of ſpecies or ſynonyms rather. Ælian (Hiſt. Anim. l. x. c. 3.) reckons them to be ſixteen. "Plures, diverſæque ſunt aſpidum ſpecies," (ſays Solinus, cap. xxvii.) "verum diſparis effectus ad nocendum: Dipſas (from διψαω) ſiti interficit; hypnale (from ὑπνος) quod ſomno necat." To which we may add the preſter and ſeps; the bite of the former being attended with a fever, as a derivative from πρηθω; the bite of the latter being attended with a corruption of the whole maſs of blood, (the ſame poiſon working differently, according to the habit of body in the wounded perſon,) as a derivative from σηπω. As to the name itſelf of *aſpis*, it might have been generical, from coiling itſelf up like a ſhield; ασπις *ſcutum dicitur, eo quod ad caput tegendum reliquo corpore pro ſcuto utitur.* So that all the properties and characteriſtics above mentioned, may be well attributed to one

* Vid. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. l. iv. c. 33. Philen. de Propr. Anim. in Chamæleonte. Scalig ad Cardanum de Subtilit. apud Geſn. ut ſupra.

† Hic quæ prima caput movit de pulvere tabes,
Aſpida ſomniferam tumida cervice levavit, &c.
At non ſtare ſuum miſeris paſſura cruorem
Squamiferos ingens Hæmorrhois explicat orbes.
Natus et ambiguæ coloret qui Syrtidos arva
Cherſydros, tractique via ſumante Chelydri;
Et ſemper recto lapſurus limite Cenchris;
Pluribus ille notis variatam pingitur alvum,
Quam parvis tinctus maculis Thebanus Ophites;
Concolor exuſtis atque indiſcretus arenis
Ammodytes; ſpinaque vagi torquente Ceraſtæ;
Et Scytale ſparſis etiam nunc ſola pruinis
Exuvias poſitura ſuas; et torrida Dipſas;
Et gravis in geminum ſurgens caput Amphiſbæna;
Et natrix violator aquæ, Jaculique volucres;
Et contentus iter cauda ſulcare Pareas;
Oraque diſtendens avidus ſpumantia Preſter;
Oſſaque diſſolvens cum corpore tabificus Seps.
Sibilaque effundens cunctas terrentia peſtes,
Ante venena nocens, late ſibi ſubmovet omne
Vulgus, et in vacua regnat Baſiliſcus arena.

Luc. Bell. Civ. l. ix.

and

and the ſame animal. Conſequently the aſpis, the dipſas, the uphale, the preſter, and ſeps, might be only one ſingle ſpecies of viper, under theſe different appellations.

The natrix, in like manner, which is the coluber and anguis, was probably the ſame with the chelydris or chelydrus, from its ſtinking quality, implied in the expreſſion *via fumente*, or from living and depoſiting its eggs in dunghills; the viper kind, on the contrary, being all of them ſweet, and in ſmell altogether inoffenſive. The ſame might alſo be the cherſydros (χερσος et ὑδωρ), from frequenting both the land and water, contrary to the cuſtom of the viper kind, which lives conſtantly upon land. The pareas too, παρα τας παρειας μειζας εχειν, though the whole genus can upon occaſion enlarge their jaws, from being ſacred to Æſculapius, ſhould be no other than the anguis or natrix. The natrix therefore, the coluber, anguis chelydris or chelydrus, together with the cherſydros and pareas, were likewiſe one and the ſame creature.

The ammodytes, from its bright ſandy colour, anſwers exactly to the ceraſtes, which is deſcribed to be concolor exuſtis arenis; though it is particular enough, that no notice is taken of the horns (τα κερατα) by Lucan, from whence it received its very name. And this circumſtance may give us room to ſuſpect, that the poet had a greater regard to apply, at all adventure, ſuch a ſet of vague indiſcriminating phraſes as would beſt ſuit his poeſy, and be applicable to the whole genus, than to aſſign to each ſpecies, like an accurate naturaliſt, its real and ſpecific ſignatures and characteriſtics. And further, Nicander, in giving horns indiſcriminately to the aſpis, echis, ceraſtes, and hæmorrhous, ſeems to make them one and the ſame ſerpent, notwithſtanding ſome ſmall, and perhaps accidental and non-permanent differences in their colours. Neither can any right ſpecific diſtinction or characteriſtic be drawn from what that author too often inſiſts upon, *viz.* their ſtraight and direct, or their oblique and ſiniſter motions.

§ 4.—*Of the Birds.*

IN deſcribing the more curious birds, we may add to the eagle kind the karaburno, which is of the bigneſs of our buzzard; with a black bill, red iris, yellow ſhort feet, the back of an aſh or ſordid blue colour, the pinions of the wings black, the belly and tail whitiſh.

The graab el Sahara, or *crow of the deſert*, is ſomewhat bigger than our raven; and, from the redneſs of the feet and bill, may demand the title of coracias major, or the larger coracias or pyrrhocorax.

The emſeeſy, or ox-bird, is as large as the curlew, being all over of a milk white colour, except the bill and the legs, which are of a fine red. It generally feeds after cattle in the meadows, which makes the fleſh of it unſavory, and ſoon to corrupt. It reſembles the crow in habit and ſhape of body.

The boo-onk, or long neck, is of the bittern kind, ſomewhat leſs than the lapwing. The neck, the breaſt, and the belly are of a light yellow; but the back and the upper part of the wings are of a jet black. The tail is ſhort, the feathers of the neck long, and ſtreaked either with white, or with a light yellow. The bill, which is three inches long, is green, in faſhion like to the ſtork's; and the legs, which are ſhort and ſlender, are of the ſame colour. In walking and ſearching for food, it throws out its neck to the length of ſeven or eight inches, from whence the Arabs call it boo-onk, *the father of the neck*, or the *long neck*.

The burourou, one of the larger ſpecies of the horned owls, is ſpotted like the Norwegian. It generally frequents the deſert, like the graab el Sahara; and when it appears to the northward, among the towns and villages, it is fancied to portend ſome direful

direful infectious diſtemper. Whilſt the plague raged lately at Algiers, ſeveral of theſe birds were ſeen to hover about and pitch upon the houſes, particularly where the inhabitants were infected; drawn thither, no doubt, by the contagious ſmell. But as ſoon as the diſtemper was over, they diſappeared, and retired again into the Sahara.

The yarourou, or *canis ſylveſtris*, as that Syriac word is commonly interpreted, and particularly taken notice of by Dr. Pocock, in his *Comment* upon Mic. i. 8. is nearly allied in name to the burourou, though we cannot here draw any conſequence from it; in as much as the yarourou was not a bird, but a quadruped, *viz.* the jackall; as tanin, the original word, which we render *dragon*, is there interpreted *.

The ſhaga-rag is of the bigneſs and ſhape of a jay, though with a ſmaller bill, and ſhorter legs. The back is browniſh; the head, neck and belly of a light green; and upon the wings and tail there are ſeveral ſpots or ringlets of a deep blue. It makes a ſqualling noiſe, and builds in the banks of the Shelliff, Booberak, and other rivers. Shagarag, by a ſmall tranſmutation of letters, is the ſame name with *ſharakrak*, or *ſhakarak* of the Arabian authors, and with the שרקרק *ſharakrak* of the Talmudiſts; ſo called from שרק *ſharak*, *to ſqual*. It was probably in conformity to this quality that Buxtorf has interpreted *ſharakrak* the *merops* or *bee-eater*, a bird very common all over Barbary and the Levant, which flies in flocks, and, in the heat of the day makes a ſqualling noiſe, though not ſo ſhrill as the ſhagarag. Jonathan, the Syriac verſion, and the Talmudiſts, explain רחם *racham*, Lev. xi. 18. or רחמה *rachamah*, Deut. xiv. 17. by *ſharakrak*, or *ſarakreka* in the Syriac; which being more regarded, or ſuppoſed perhaps to be better underſtood by Munſter and Deodatus than the original word *rachamah*, induced them to tranſlate it *pica*, (the magpye, or rather the jay,) with which our ſhagarag has no ſmall affinity, both in voice and plumage. I ſhall, in another place, take notice of the rachamah, which was ſo little known to the Jewiſh writers, that the learned Bochart †, after acknowledging his own ignorance of it, complains likewiſe of theirs, in this ingenious and juſt remark: "Avem illam, *viz.* rachamah," ſays he, "definire non potuerunt viri, tam imperiti rerum naturæ, quam periti vocem interpretes."

The houbaara, or houbaary, is of the ſize of a capon, but with a longer body. It feeds upon ſhrubs and inſects, like the graab el Sahara, and frequents, in like manner, the deſert; for which reaſon, perhaps, in the Arabian verſion ינשוף (or *the owl*, as we render it,) *yanſouph*, Iſa. xxxiv. 11. is interpreted the houbary. This bird is of a light dun or yellowiſh colour, marked all over with little brown taches; whilſt the larger feathers of the wing are black, with each of them a white ſpot near the middle. The feathers of the neck are whitiſh, with black ſtreaks; but are chiefly remarkable for their length, and for being erected, as in the rough and dung-hill cock, whenever it is attacked or provoked. The bill is flat like the ſtarling's, nearly an inch and a half long; and the legs agree in ſhape, and in the want of the hinder toe with the buſtard's. The gall and the contents of the ſtomach are in great eſteem for ſore eyes, and have therefore been ſometimes ſold at a great price. Nothing ſurely can be more entertaining than the ſight of the houbaara when it is purſued by the hawk, and to obſerve the great variety of flights and ſtratagems which it is obliged to uſe, in order to eſcape. The Arabian authors ‡ add, that upon theſe occaſions it endeavours to ſquirt its dung into the hawk's eyes, in order to blind them; but it may drop it rather, as the ſtrunt-bird is known to do, out of fear. Golius and Bochart likewiſe miſinterpret hoobaara in calling it the buſtard; which agrees indeed in colour, in habit of body, and number of toes with the hoobaara, but differs in being at leaſt of twice the bigneſs.

* Vid. note *, p. 318. † Boch. Hieroz. l. ii. c. 25. ‡ Boch. Hieroz. part. poſt.

The rhaad or ſaf-ſaf, which is a granivorous and gregarious bird, wants alſo the hinder toe. There are two ſpecies of it; the ſmaller being of the ſize of an ordinary pullet, whereas the larger is near as big as the hoobaara, and differs alſo from the leſſer in having a black head, with a tuft of dark blue feathers immediately below it. The belly of them both is white, the back and the wings are of a buff colour, ſpotted with brown; the tail is lighter, and marked all along with black tranſverſe ſtreaks. The beak and the legs are ſtronger than in birds of the partridge kind. Rhaad *, which denotes *thunder* in the language of this country, is ſuppoſed to be a name that has been given to it from the noiſe that it makes in ſpringing from the ground; as ſaf-ſaf †, the other name, very naturally expreſſes the beating of the air, when it is got upon the wing.

The kitawiah, or African lagopus, as we may call it, is another bird of the gregarious and granivorous kind, with ſhort feathered feet, which likewiſe want the hinder toe. It frequents the moſt barren, as the rhaad does the more fertile parts of theſe countries; and is, in ſize and habit of body, like the dove. The back or upper part of it is of a livid colour, with dark ſpots; the belly is blackiſh; and upon the throat there is the figure of a creſcent, of a beautiful yellow. Each feather in the tail is tipped with a white ſpot, whilſt that in the middle is long and pointed, as in the merops. The fleſh of this beautiful bird is like that of the rhaad, *viz.* red upon the breaſt, and white in the legs; wherewith it agrees further, in being not only of an agreeable taſte, but of an eaſy digeſtion.

The Barbary partridge is the ſame with the greater or red-legged ſpecies, that is already known and deſcribed by Mr. Ray; and beſides the quail, which is common to moſt countries, there is one here of a lighter colour, that wants the hinder toe. Both of them are birds of paſſage; as it likewiſe the woodcock, which makes its firſt appearance in October, and continues till the March following, as in Europe. The Africans call the latter (from the largeneſs, I ſuppoſe, of its head), *the aſs of the partridges.*

Beſides ſuch of the web-footed water fowl as are common in England, I have ſeen ſeveral other ſpecies, beautifully diſtinguiſhed by their differently figured bills and plumage, which it would be too tedious to enumerate. They are all of them called by the general name of brak, which word, Golius and others, have made to denote ſome particular ſpecies only of the duck kind, contrary to the received acceptation of it in this country, for the family in general.

Among the leſſer birds, we may place a ſpecies of the thruſh kind, not inferior to the American birds in the richneſs of its plumage. The head, neck, and back are of a fine light green, the wings of a lark colour, the breaſt white, and ſpotted like the thruſh, the *uropygium*, or rump, of an elegant yellow, and the extremity of the feathers upon the tail and wings, were tipped with the like colour. If we except the feet, which are ſhorter and ſtronger, it agrees in the faſhion of the bill, and in the whole habit of the body with the thruſh. This bird is not very common, and appears only in the ſummer months when figs are in ſeaſon.

To the little thick-billed birds we may add the Caſpa ſparrow, which is as big as the common houſe ſparrow, and as often ſeen upon the houſes in the date villages, to the weſtward of the Lake of Marks, as the common ſparrow is in other places. It is all over of a lark colour, excepting the breaſt, which is ſomewhat lighter, and ſhines

* Sc. a *rahad*, tonuit.

† *Sufsuf*, tranſlated *paſſer* only by Golius, is not unlike in name to the שחף *ſachaph* or *ſah-haph*, which, Lev. xi. 16. we render *the cuckow*.

like

like the pigeon's. This bird has an exceedingly ſweet and melodious note, much preferable to that of the Canary bird, or nightingale. Several attempts have been made to bring it to Kairwan, and other places to the northward; but it was always found to be of ſo delicate and peculiar a nature, that it immediately languiſhed and pined away upon changing the climate.

§ 5.—*Of the Inſects—particularly the Locuſt.*

INSECTS, and volatiles under that denomination, are more numerous than curious. Butterflies, adderbolts, beetles, &c. are in ſuch a variety of ſhapes, and luxuriancy of colours, that it would be too tedious to enumerate them all. A ſpecies or two of each ſort may be ſufficient.

The moſt curious ſpecies of the butterfly kind is near four inches from one tip of the wing to the other, being all over very beautifully ſtreaked with murrey and yellow. Yet the edges of the lower wings are to be excepted, which, being indented, and ending in a narrow ſtrip or lappet of an inch long, are very elegantly bordered with yellow. Near the tail there is a ſpot of a carnation colour.

The rareſt ſpecies of the libellæ or adderbolts, is one of three inches and a half long, broad tailed, of a ruſty colour, with bright ſpotted wings. There is another of the ſame ſize, but of a more cylindrical body, differing little in colour from the common locuſt.

The leaſt frequent of the beetle kind, is a ſpecies with one horn, of the colour and ſize of a cheſnut. The head is notched round, or indented, and the feet are broad like thoſe of the gryllo-talpa's. The leſſer naſicornes are every where met with, as alſo a diverſity of elaſtic beetles.

In the hotter months of the ſummer, eſpecially from mid-day to the middle of the afternoon, the cicada, τεττιγξ, or *graſhopper*, as we falſely tranſlate it, is perpetually ſtunning our ears with its moſt exceſſive ſhrill and ungrateful noiſe. It is in this reſpect the moſt troubleſome and impertinent of inſects, perching upon a twig, and ſqualling ſometimes two or three hours without ceaſing; thereby too often diſturbing the ſtudies or the ſhort repoſe that is frequently indulged in theſe hot climates at thoſe hours. The τεττιγξ of the Greeks muſt have had a quite different voice, more ſoft ſurely and melodious; otherwiſe the fine orators of Homer*, who are compared to it, can be looked upon no better than ſo many loud loquacious ſcolds.

To that ſpecies of locuſts, which are called mantes by the naturaliſts, I am to add one of three inches long, of a brown colour, with the fore legs armed with ſtrong horny claws. There is another of the ſame ſize of the cucullated kind, which hath the upper wings ſtreaked with a light green, and the membranaceous ones finely chequered with fleſh, brown, and ſcarlet colours; beſides a third ſpecies, of two inches long, with elegant green wings. But the chief characteriſtics of the latter are two antenæ, which project, like a couple of feathers from the forehead.

I never obſerved the mantes to be gregarious; but the locuſts, properly ſo called, which are ſo frequently mentioned by ſacred as well as profane writers, are ſometimes ſo beyond expreſſion. Thoſe which I ſaw, *ann.* 1724 and 1725, were much bigger than our common graſhoppers, and had brown ſpotted wings, with legs and bodies of a bright yellow. Their firſt appearance was towards the latter end of March, the wind having been for ſome time from the ſouth. In the middle of April, their numbers were ſo vaſtly increaſed, that in the heat of the day, they formed themſelves

* —— ωγοφηται
Εσθλοι, τεττιγεσσιν εοικοτες, οιτε καθ' υλην
Δενδρεω εφεζομενοι, οπα λειριοεσσαν ιεισι. Il. γ. 150.

into

into large and numerous ſwarms, flew in the air like a ſucceſſion of clouds, and, as the prophet Joel (ii. 10.) expreſſes it, they *darkened the ſun.* When the wind blew briſkly, ſo that theſe ſwarms were crowded by others, or thrown one upon another, we had a lively idea of that compariſon of the pſalmiſt, (Pſal. cix. 23.) of being *toſſed up and down as the locuſt.* In the month of May, when the ovaries of thoſe inſects were ripe and turgid, each of theſe ſwarms began gradually to diſappear, and retired into the Mettijiah, and other adjacent plains, where they depoſited their eggs. Theſe were no ſooner hatched in June, than each of the broods collected itſelf into a compact body, of a furlong or more in ſquare; and marching afterwards directly forward towards the ſea, they let nothing eſcape them, eating up every thing that was green and juicy; not only the leſſer kind of vegetables, but the vine likewiſe, the fig-tree, the pomegranate, the palm, and the apple tree—*even all the trees of the field,* Joel i. 12. In doing which, *they kept their ranks like men of war,* climbing over, as they advanced, every tree or wall that was in their way; nay, they entered into our very houſes and bed-chambers, like *ſo many thieves.* The inhabitants to ſtop their progreſs, made a variety of pits and trenches all over their fields and gardens, which they filled with water; or elſe they heaped up therein heath, ſtubble, and ſuch like combuſtible matter, which were ſeverally ſet on fire upon the approach of the locuſts. But this was all to no purpoſe; for the trenches were quickly filled up, and the fires extinguiſhed by infinite ſwarms ſucceeding one another; whilſt the front was regardleſs of danger, and the rear preſſed on ſo cloſe, that a retreat was altogether impoſſible. A day or two after one of theſe broods was in motion, others were already hatched to march and glean after them, gnawing off the very bark and the young branches of ſuch trees as had before eſcaped with the loſs only of their fruit and foliage. So juſtly have they been compared by the prophet Joel (ii. 3.) to *a great army;* who further obſerves, that *the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a deſolate wilderneſs.*

Having lived near a month in this manner, like a μοριοσομον ξιφος*, or *ſword with ten thouſand edges,* to which they have been compared, upon the ruin and deſtruction of every vegetable ſubſtance that came in their way, they arrived at their full growth, and threw off their nympha-ſtate, by caſting their outward ſkin. To prepare themſelves for this change, they clung by their hinder feet to ſome buſh, twig, or corner of a ſtone; and immediately, by uſing an undulating motion, their heads would firſt break out, and then the reſt of their bodies. The whole transformation was performed in ſeven or eight minutes, after which they lay for a ſmall time in a torpid and ſeemingly in a languiſhing condition; but as ſoon as the ſun and the air had hardened their wings by drying up the moiſture that remained upon them, after caſting their ſloughs, they re-aſſumed their former voracity, with an addition both of ſtrength and agility. Yet they continued not long in this ſtate before they were entirely diſperſed, as their parents were before, after they had laid their eggs; and as the direction of the marches and flights of them both was always to the northward, and not having ſtrength, as they have ſometimes had, to reach the oppoſite ſhores of Italy, France, or Spain, it is propable they periſhed in the ſea; a grave which, according to theſe people, they have in common with other winged creatures.

The locuſt, I conjecture, was the *noiſome beaſt,* or *the pernicious deſtructive animal,* as the original words may be interpreted, which, with the *ſword,* the *famine,* and the *peſtilence,* made the *four ſore judgments* that were threatened againſt Jeruſalem, Ezek. xiv. 21. The Jews were allowed to eat them; and indeed, when ſprinkled with

* Piſidas apud Boch. Hieroz. par. ii. p. 441.

 ſalt,

ſalt, and fried, they are not unlike in taſte to our freſh water cray-fiſh. The Acridophagi *, no doubt were fond of eating them; in ſo much as they received their name from thence. Ludolphus † has endeavoured to prove, that the שלוים (*ſhellowim*, or *quails*, as we render the word), which the Iſraelites fed upon in the wilderneſs ‡, were a ſpecies only of locuſts. The ſame opinion is embraced by the learned Biſhop of Clogher §, who urges in defence of it, Wiſd. xvi. 3. where the food of the Iſraelites, (or *the things that were ſent*, τα επαπεςαλμενα,) there ſuppoſed to be referred to, is ſaid to have had ειδεχθειαν, an *ugly*, *odious*, or *diſagreeable ſight* or *appearance*; an expreſſion, ſays he, by no means applicable to the quail, which is a beautiful bird, but very much ſo to a locuſt. But, not to diſpute whether any of God's creatures can be properly called *ugly*, the ugly ſight there recorded refers to the frogs, lice, &c. that were ſent among the Egyptians, as will appear by comparing the different caſes and afflictions of the Egyptians and Iſraelites, which are all along deſcribed, in contraſt with each other, throughout the context; they eſpecially who are ſpoken of, ver. 3. being no other than the Egyptians. Moreover the *quails* (ορτυγομητρα, or *land rails*, birds of the fineſt taſte) are particularly mentioned, ver. 2. to have been their food; and alſo chap. xix. 12. where *quails* (ορτυγομητρα) are ſaid to have *come up unto them from the ſea for their contentment*, or comfort. And beſides, the holy pſalmiſt, in deſcribing this particular food of the Iſraelites, or the *ſhellowim*, by calling them *feathered fowls*, (which the locuſts certainly are not, having only membranaceous wings), entirely confutes all ſuppoſitions of this kind; as indeed the admitting of them would be to confound all Scripture names. It would be to make *arbah* (as the locuſts are always called) and *ſhellowim*, names undoubtedly very different, to be one and the ſame.

Neither has any authority been hitherto produced for taking ακριδες, according to the Greek appellation, for the *fruit* of the locuſt tree, or the *tops of plants* ‖; the name itſelf being rather derived from the deſire or appetite which this inſect has, in particular, of living upon ſuch food ¶. And beſides, the ακριδες deſcribed by Ariſtotle **, and other hiſtorians, are the locuſts I am now ſpeaking of. The LXXII likewiſe always interpret [ארכה] *arbah* by the ſame word; conſequently the writers of the New Teſtament may be ſuppoſed to have taken it in the ſame ſignification. The ακριδες then, which St. John Baptiſt fed upon in the wilderneſs, were properly locuſts; and provided they appeared in the Holy Land during the ſpring as they did in Barbary, it may be preſumed that St. John entered upon his miſſion, and that *the day of his ſhewing himſelf unto Iſrael*, Luke i. 20. was at that ſeaſon.

§ 6.—*Of the Scorpion and Phalangium.*

The ackrab, or ſcorpion, in conſideration of its noxious qualities, may claim the next place after the locuſt. Some of the ſpecies are long and narrow; others are of a rounder ſhape, and larger, with tails conſiſting of ſix joints. I never obſerved any

* Agatharcides deſcribes theſe people to be βραχυτεροι των λοιπων, ισχνοι δε τοις ειδεσι, μελανες δε εξαισιως.

† *Viz.* in Comment. Hiſt. Æthiopic, p. 185. &c. ‡ Exod. x. 13. Numb. xi. 31.

§ Chronol. p. 379.

‖ In hanc ſententiam (ſc. quod ακριδες erant ακροδρυα vel ακρα δρυων vel ακρεμονες, ſive ακριοματα, *i. e.* arborum, vel herbarum ſummitates) propenderunt Athanas. Iſid. Euthym. Theophyl. &c. Vid. Pol. Synop. in Matt. iii. 4. et Boch. Hieroz. l. iv. c. 7.

¶ Ακρις παρα το ακρας των αςαχυων και των φυτων νεμεσθαι. Etym. Magn. *Je-rad*, the Arabic name for theſe inſects, is derived from *avulſit, detraxit*: ut folia de ramis, &c. vid. Gol. in voce.

** Ariſt. Hiſt. Animal. l. v. c. 28.

that

that had ſeven, according to what has been aſſerted by ſome ancient authors *. Thoſe to the northward of Mount Atlas are not very hurtful; for the ſting being only attended with a ſlight fever, the application of a little Venice treacle quickly aſſuages the pain. But the ſcorpions of Gætulia, and moſt other parts of the Sahara, as they are generally larger, and of a darker complexion, ſo their venom is proportionably malignant, and frequently attended with death. I had once ſent me a female ſcorpion, which, as it is a viviparous animal, had juſt brought forth her young, about twenty in number, each of them ſcarce ſo large as a grain of barley.

Of the ſame virulent nature with the ſcorpion, is the bite of the boola-kaz; a phalangium of the Sahara, the rhax probably which Ælian † obſerves to be an animal of theſe parts. It is computed that twenty or thirty perſons die every year by the hurt received from this animal and the leffah.

The method of curing the bite or ſting of theſe venomous creatures, is either immediately to burn, or to make a deep inciſion upon the wounded part, or elſe to cut out the contiguous fleſh. Sometimes alſo the patient lies buried all over, excepting his head, in the hot burning ſands, or elſe in pits dug and heated for the purpoſe; in order, no doubt, to obtain the like copious perſpiration that is excited by dancing ‡ in thoſe that are bitten by the tarantula. But when no great danger is apprehended, then they apply hot aſhes only, or the powder of alhenna, with two or three thin ſlices of an onion, by way of cataplaſm. I never heard that oil of olive, which they have always at hand, was ever made uſe of; which, being rubbed warm upon the wound, has been lately accounted a ſpecific remedy, particularly againſt the bite of the viper. It was one § of the twenty remarkable edicts that were given out by the Emperor Claudius in one day, that no other remedy ſhould be uſed in the bite of a viper, than the juice of the yew-tree or taxus.

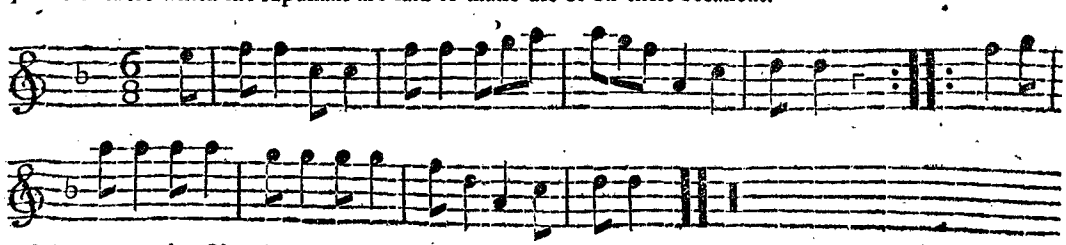
§ 7. — *Of the Fiſh.*

THERE are few ſpecies of fiſh to be met with in theſe ſeas or rivers, but what have been long ago deſcribed by Rondeletius, and ſtill continue to be taken as well on this as on the other ſide of the Mediterranean; a catalogue of which is placed among the *Collectanea.* To theſe we may add a firm and well taſted barbel, which, with the eel, is common to moſt of thoſe rivers. The barbel has two appendages on the lower jaw. In the warm fountain at Capſa, we find a beautiful little perch, with chequered fins,

* Conſtat et ſeptena caudæ internodia fæviora eſſe. Plin. l. xi. c. 25. de ſcorpionibus. Σκορπιων δε, και πλινων και απτερων λεγεται πληθος, μεγεθει δε επτα σφονδυλων. Strab. l. xvii. Και πυ επτα εχων σφονδυλους ωφθη τις. Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. l. vi. c. 20.

† Lib. iii. c. 136.

‡ Matthiolus, in his Annotations upon Dioſcorides, l. ii. c. 77. de Araneo, vouches for the fact, and acquaints us that he had ſeen it: quod equidem atteſtari poſſum. The following air, called the tarentella, is one of thoſe which the Apulians are ſaid to make uſe of on theſe occaſions.



§ Vid. Sent. in Claudio.

and a turned-up nose; but this is a coarse fish, of no delicate flavour, though we may consider it as a curiosity, in living so far from the sea, and in being, as far as I could be informed, the only fish appertaining to the many rivulets of these inland parts of Africa. The fishermen find sometimes, in drawing and clearing their nets, the penna marina or *sea feather*; which, in the night time particularly, is so remarkably glowing and luminous, as to afford light enough to discover the quantity and size of the fish that are inclosed along with it in the same net. I have seen more than once large shoals of a small circular flat polypus, with a thin semicircular ridge obliquely crossing the back of it. This, which is the urtica marina soluta, and the veletta of F. Columna, is hung all over with little feet or suckers, and is greedily pursued by the tunny and porpoise. A few years ago, an orca, or toothed whale, sixty feet long, was stranded under the walls of Algiers; which was looked upon as so extraordinary an appearance, that the Algerines were apprehensive it portended some direful event to their polity and government.

Among the fish that are called *crustaceous*, the first place is to be given to the lobster, though it is in no great plenty upon the coast of Barbary; whereas shrimps and prawns, a small thin-shelled crab, like the broad-footed one of Rondeletius, the locusta, vulgarly called the long oyster, together with the squilla lata, or *sea cray-fish* of the same author, are every day brought to the market. These are preferred to the lobster for firmness and elegancy of taste.

The echini, or *sea eggs*, are more remarkable for their number than their variety. I have seen no more than three species; one of which is of the pentaphylloid or spatagus kind, being very beautiful to look upon, but of no use. Each of the others has five sutures, accompanied with several concentric rows of little knobs, supporting so many prickles or aculei. The roe, which lies in the inside of them, between the sutures, and is the only part that is eatable, is turgid and in perfection about the full of the moon. After being tempered and seasoned with pepper and vinegar, it is looked upon as no small dainty; of which I have often tasted.

Neither is there any great plenty or variety of *shell-fish*, as will appear from the catalogue of them, which is inserted among the *Collectanea*. The exuviæ, indeed, of a few species of whilks and slithers, of the sea-ear, of the spondylus, and of a smooth shallow chama, are what we commonly see lying upon the shore; whilst the greater whilk or buccinum, eight or ten inches long; a long narrow pectunculus; the muscle of Matthiolus; the concha Veneris; a large thin ampullaceous whilk; the eighteenth species of Lister; with the long-nosed muricated one, the twentieth of the same author, may be reckoned among the rarities. But the solitana, which, as Varro tells us, (l. xiii. c. 14. *De re Rustica*), contained twelve gallons, would be undoubtedly the greatest curiosity, and the very princess of the testaceous kind, provided it still continued to be a native of these seas.

Tunis was formerly well supplied with oysters, from the haven of Bizerta; but, when I was there, some copious rains *, with the usual torrents consequent thereupon, which fell into it from the neighbouring lake, were supposed, by making the water too fresh, to have diminished the breed. The bottoms likewise, not only of the several coasting vessels of Algiers, but of others that have continued any time in the harbour, were frequently covered with oysters; yet no banks of them could ever be discovered,

* Nimirum tenuitas aquæ non sufficit eorum respirationi. — Atque eadem causa est, quod in Ponto, cujus oræ crebris fluminum ostiis alluuntur, non sunt testacea, nisi quibusdam in locis pauca — Etiam in æstuariis Venetis observatur testacea interire, quando immodicis pluviis paludstris salsedo diluitur. J. Grand. de Verit. diluvii, &c. p. 66. C. Langii Method. Testac. p. 7. in præfat.

though

though they have been carefully ſought after. As this coaſt likewiſe is no way remarkable for banks of ſand, the cockle is a great rarity; but muſcles are every where as common, as they are large and good; neither are they attended, as thoſe of our iſland frequently are, with crabs or cancelli. The ſubmarine rocks of theſe coaſts, particularly near Cape Zibeeb and Port Farina, are ſometimes very pregnant with another ſpecies of muſcle, of a more delicious taſte, and cylindrical ſhape, which is called by ſome naturaliſts, dactylus *, from being in the ſhape of a finger or date; and by others pholus, or pholis, from (φωλευειν) lying hid in the rocks. They are found of different and intermediate ſizes, from half an inch to two or three inches in length; lying very near, or within an inch or two of each other, with ſometimes a ſmall duct of communication, rarely bigger than a briſtle betwixt them. The cavities they lie in, are as exactly fitted to them, as if they had been caſt in ſo many moulds; which they ſeem likewiſe to have a power of gradually enlarging, according to the different periods of their growth. But in what manner this is effected, how they are nouriſhed and propagated, with a great many other circumſtances relating to their animal economy, remains at preſent among the ſecrets of nature.

As the oſtrich will be taken notice of in the natural hiſtory of Arabia Petræa, theſe are all the obſervations which I have to offer, with regard to the animals of theſe kingdoms. In the courſe of which, ſome perhaps might expect to be entertained with the deſcription of ſtrange and wonderful objects, ſuch as Africa has been commonly ſuppoſed to produce. But the natural and ordinary courſe of things is much the ſame in Barbary as in other places; each ſpecies keeping inviolably to itſelf. For if we except the mule and the kumrah, (procreated from animals under the direction of mankind, and therefore not properly left to themſelves), few, I ſay, if any other inſtances can be urged in favour of the old obſervation, THAT AFRICA IS ALWAYS PRODUCING SOME NEW MONSTER †.

CHAP. III.—*Of their Arts, Habits, Cuſtoms, &c.*

§ 1.—*Of the State of Learning in Barbary, with the Method of teaching their Children.*

THE liberal arts and ſciences among the Mahometans continue to be, as they have been for many ages, in a low ſtate and condition. Philoſophy, mathematics, and the knowledge of phyſic and medicine, which, a few centuries ago they had almoſt entirely to themſelves, are at preſent very little known or ſtudied. The roving and unſettled life of the Arabs, and the perpetual grievances which the Moors meet with from the Turks, will not permit either of them to enjoy that liberty, quiet, and ſecurity which have at all times given birth and encouragement to learning. As for the Turks, they are generally of ſuch turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſitions, or elſe engage themſelves ſo deep in trade and in the improvement of their fortunes, that they have no taſte at all for it; being wonderfully aſtoniſhed, as they have often told me, how the Chriſtians can take delight, or ſpend ſo much time and money, in ſuch empty amuſements as ſtudy and ſpeculation.

* Dactylus non a digitorum forma ſed a Syriaca voce דקלא vel דגלתא quæ palmam ejuſque fructum ſignificat. Vid. Hilleri Hieroph.

† Λεγεται δε τις παροιμια ὁτι αει φερει τι Λιβυη καινον. Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. l. viii. c. 28. Ideo (ſc. inopia aquarum ad paucos amnes congregantibus ſe feris) multiformes ibi animalium partus: varie fœminis cujuſque generis mares aut vi aut voluptate miſcente. Unde etiam vulgare Græciæ dictum, SEMPER ALIQUID NOVI AFRICAM AFFERRE. Plin. l. viii. c. 16.

When the Mooriſh and Turkiſh boys (for there is little or no education among the Bedoweens) are about ſix years old, they are ſent to ſchool, where they learn to read, to write, and repeat their leſſons at the ſame time. They make no uſe of paper; but each boy writes upon a thin ſmooth board, ſlightly daubed over with whiting, which may be wiped off or renewed at pleaſure. Such probably, for the Jewiſh children uſe the ſame, was the πινακιδιον, the *little board* or *writing table* (as we render it, Luke i. 63.) that *was called for by Zacharias*. After they have made ſome progreſs in the Koran, which is the principal book that is taught there, they are initiated, with the like care, in the ſeveral ceremonies and devotions of their religion; the maſter receiving from each boy, for his trouble and attendance, about a penny a week. When a boy has laudably acquitted himſelf in any branch of theſe inſtructions, he is forthwith decked out in the moſt ſumptuous apparel, and, being mounted upon a horſe richly capariſoned, is conducted through the ſtreets by his ſchool-fellows, with loud acclamations; whilſt in the mean time, his friends and relations are met together to congratulate his parents, (*omnes omnia bona dicere*, &c.) and to load the young ſcholar with gifts. After the boys have been thus employed for three or four years, they learn ſome trade, or elſe are inrolled in the army; in attending which occupations there are very few of them who retain what they learned in their youth, except the ſanjacktars, i. e. *the ſecretaries at war*, and thoſe who are employed in collecting the tribute.

If we except the Koran, and ſome enthuſiaſtic comments upon it, few books are read or inquired after by thoſe few perſons of riper years, who have either time or leiſure for ſtudy and contemplation. At preſent all that variety of learning which they formerly either invented themſelves, or adopted into their own language, may be reduced to a few ſheets of blundering geography, or to ſome tireſome memoirs of the tranſactions of their own times; for ſuch branches of hiſtory as are older than the Mahometan æra, are a medley of romance and confuſion.

Upon my arrival at Algiers, I made it my buſineſs to get acquainted with ſuch perſons as had the character of being learned and curious; and though it is very difficult, (as well from their natural ſhyneſs to ſtrangers as from a particular contempt they have for Chriſtians), to cultivate with them any real friendſhip, yet, in a little time, I could find the chief aſtronomer, who has the ſuperintendance and regulation of the hours of prayer, had not trigonometry enough to project a ſun-dial; that the whole art of navigation, as it is practiſed by the corſairs of Algiers and Tunis, conſiſted in nothing more than what is called the pricking of a chart, and diſtinguiſhing the eight principal points of the compaſs. Even chemiſtry, formerly the favourite ſcience of theſe people, riſes no higher than the making of roſe-water. I have rarely converſed with any of their tibeebs, i. e. *phyſicians*, who were acquainted with Rhaſes, Averroes, or others of their compatriots. The Spaniſh edition of Dioſcorides is chiefly ſtudied; though the figures of the plants and animals are more conſulted than the deſcriptions. The Dey's tibeeb (the e-mim or *preſident* of the phyſicians) once aſked me, whether the Chriſtians had ſuch an author as Boo-kratt, i. e. *The father of Kratt*, (ſo, either out of ignorance or affectation, they call Hippocrates), adding, that he was the firſt of the Arabian hackeems or *doctors*, and lived a little before Avicenna.

After this general account of the ſtate of learning and education in this country, it cannot be expected that any branch either of ſpeculative or practical knowledge, ſhould be ſtudied properly as an art or ſcience. There are not indeed wanting ſeveral perſons who preſcribe in phyſic, play upon a variety of muſical inſtruments, and are concerned in other actions and performances, which ſeem at leaſt to ſuppoſe ſome ſkill in nature or mathematics. Yet all this is learnt merely by practice, long habit and cuſtom, aſſiſted

aſſiſted for the moſt part with great ſtrength of memory and quickneſs of invention. For no objection can be made againſt the natural parts and abilities of theſe people, which are certainly ſubtle and ingenious enough; only time, application and encouragement are wanting to cultivate and improve them.

§ 2. — *Of their Skill in Phyſic or Medicine.*

IN giving a more particular account of what arts and ſciences are ſtill remaining in Barbary, I ſhall begin with the hiſtory of phyſic or medicine. And here it is to be obſerved (for the want, no doubt, of proper perſons duly and methodically bred up to theſe arts), that there are few, if any, of the more dangerous caſes and diſtempers, but ſuch as either prove mortal, or of a long continuance. It is to be obſerved likewiſe, that few perſons will admit either of advice or medicine, believing in ſtrict and abſolute predeſtination; whilſt others, who are leſs ſuperſtitious, prevent the aſſiſtance of both by their ill conduct and management, leaving all to the ſtrength of nature, or elſe to *magereah*, as they call charms and inchantments. The hiſtory therefore of phyſic, will be expreſſed in a few lines; for if we except the following remedies, together with the conſtant reſort that is made to the hammams, in diſtempers of all qualities and complexions, there is little beſides of general uſe and eſtabliſhment.

To begin then with rheumatic and pleuritic caſes, in which it is uſual to make ſeveral punctures upon the part affected with a red hot iron. This operation is to be repeated according to the ſtrength of the patient, and the violence of the diſeaſe.

A decoction of ſandegourah, as they name the chamæpitys or ground-pine, or elſe of the globularia fruticoſa, is the ordinary medicine for fevers; though I have known the common ſcabious of this country, (the ſcabioſa Africana fruteſcens, *Par. Bat.*) taken either as a ſallad or potherb, or elſe in a ſtrong decoction, to remove violent tertian and quartan agues.

A drachm or two of the root of round birthwort, or boruſtum, according to their name, is an eſtabliſhed remedy for the cholic and other flatulent diſtempers; as the root of bookoka or ariſarum dried and powdered, is for the ſtone and gravel. I once knew above a pint of a gelatinous ſubſtance diſcharged by a young boy of our interpreter's, upon eating plentifully of the ordinary bread of the bedoweens, made of equal quantities of barley or wheat flour, and of the roots of bookoka, dried in the oven and powdered.

One drachm of a dark coloured drop-ſtone, or the like quantity of the powder of the orobanche mauritanica, have been uſed with good ſucceſs in ſtopping inveterate diarrhœas. A decoction of hanzæra is eſteemed very prevalent in the lues venerea, and complaints of that claſs; which, by the frequent uſe made of the hammams, or by the warmth of the climate, or both, do not appear ſo virulent and ſtubborn here as in Europe.

Little elſe is obſerved in the management of the ſmall pox, than to keep the patient moderately warm, and giving him, now and then, ſix or eight grains of alkermes in honey, to throw out the puſtules. They make uſe of freſh butter to hinder the pitting; and, to prevent the ulcers from falling upon the eyes, they keep the lids conſtantly tinged with alkahol, or *the powder of lead ore*. Inoculation is performed by making a ſmall wound upon the fleſhy part of the hand, betwixt the thumb and the fore-finger. The perſon who is to undergo the operation receives the infection from ſome friend or neighbour, who has a favourable kind, and who is intreated to ſell two or three of his puſtules, for the ſame number of nuts, comfits, or ſuch like trifles. This they call the purchaſing

purchaſing of the ſmall pox; and I have been told, that among the Jews, the purchaſe alone, without inoculation, was a ſufficient preparative for the infection. However, inoculation is in no great repute in thoſe parts of Barbary or the Levant where I have been. Moſt people eſteem it to be a tempting of Providence, and a ſoliciting a diſtemper before nature may be diſpoſed or prepared to receive it. And accordingly they tell a number of ſtories to diſcourage the practice; particularly of a beautiful young lady, who, not to loſe too much of her beauty, purchaſed only a couple of puſtules. It happened indeed that ſhe had no more than were paid for; but the misfortune was, that they fell upon her eyes, and ſhe was blind by the experiment.

Clyſters are little known or made uſe of, probably from the too frequent want there would be of proper inſtruments, not ſo eaſily procured in theſe countries; or rather from ſome ſuppoſed breach of modeſty (in which they are very delicate) in applying them. The obſervation of a Turkiſh gentleman, who was violently afflicted with the headach, was pertinent enough on this occaſion. Upon applying to an Engliſh phyſician, who was then at Algiers, and being ordered a clyſter, the patient abſolutely refuſed it, and exclaimed greatly againſt the ignorance of our Engliſh tibeeb, who fooliſhly imagined, that ſo noble a part as the head could be in the leaſt influenced or corrected by the tail, the moſt ignoble, and at ſo great a diſtance.

The Arabs attempt to heal all ſimple and gun-ſhot wounds, by pouring freſh butter, almoſt boiling hot, into the part affected; and I have been credibly informed, that a great many perſons have been cured by this method.

For the aſſuaging of ſwellings, bruiſes, inflammations, and ailings of that kind, the leaves of the prickly pear, roaſted a quarter of an hour in the aſhes, and applied as hot as poſſible to the part affected, are, in this climate, found to be very beneficial. They are noted alſo for ſuppurating and bringing boils, plague-ſores, and ſuch like tumors to maturity. I have likewiſe known them applied with ſucceſs, and without the leaſt ſuſpicion of having any repelling quality, in the gout.

In ſlight wounds, bruiſes and inflammations, or elſe in order to harden and conſolidate the parts, ſome perſons take the powder of alhenna, and make it up with warm water, into a cataplaſm. This, when applied, tinges the ſkin with a tawny orange colour, which continues for ſome months; and what is more ſurpriſing, the tincture paſſes quickly into the blood, and in one night's time tinges the urine of a ſaffron colour.

In green wounds, and ſome other of the above mentioned caſes, the leaves likewiſe of madramam, as they call the virga aurea minor foliis glutinoſis, have a good effect; whilſt the root of toufailet, or thapſia, roaſted and applied hot to the hips, or made up into an ointment, is reckoned a ſpecific remedy in the ſciatica.

Theſe are ſome of the principal medicines, or douwas, as they are called, that are made uſe of in this country; in the preſcribing or taking of which, they obſerve no uniform practice, nor exact proportion. For thoſe which regard external caſes are ſometimes applied ſo ſparingly, as if it was indifferent both to the patient and the phyſician, whether or no any benefit was intended by them; whilſt others, in the ſame caſe, act quite the contrary, ſuppoſing the larger the cataplaſm the ſpeedier the cure. Neither is there much more caution uſed in ſuch medicines as are given inwardly. For a handful at random, whether of dry or green herbs, is the common doſe; which, if taken in a decoction, they uſually pound firſt in a mortar, and then pour at a venture, half a pint, a whole pint, or more, of boiling hot water upon it. Compound medicines are very rare. The Moors indeed pretend to have received ſeveral of them traditionally from their anceſtors; but the few ingredients which the ſhops of their tibeebs are furniſhed

furniſhed with to anſwer ſuch preſcriptions, the great reſervedneſs likewiſe which they ſhew, in converſing with them upon this ſubject, appear to be ſtrong ſuſpicions that they are no better verſed in the *materia medica* than the Arabs. The only preſcription of this kind that I have met with, is aſcribed to Seedy Mahomet Zerok, a famous Marabbutt, who recommends it in this manner: 'The lives of us all are in the hands of God, and when IT IS WRITTEN, we muſt die. However, it has pleaſed God to ſave many perſons from the PLAGUE, by taking every morning, while the infection rages, one pill or two of the following compoſition; *viz.* of myrrh, 2 parts; ſaffron, 1 part; aloes, 2 parts; ſyrop of myrtle berries, q. s.' *

§ 3.—*Of their Knowledge in Mathematics.*

NEITHER are theſe people much more converſant in any of the branches of *mathematics*. For, in the firſt place, they are altogether ſtrangers to thoſe that are ſpeculative and abſtracted. Even ſuch quadrants, aſtrolabes, and other mathematical inſtruments of their anceſtors as have eſcaped the injuries of time, are looked upon rather as curioſities than conſulted as uſeful inventions. Beſides ſeveral of theſe quadrants, deſigned chiefly for taking altitudes, I ſaw one at Tozer, in what we call *Oughtred's projection*, well executed, and of a foot radius. We are alſo ſometimes favoured with a ſight of their kalendars, one of which I have by me, (all of them likewiſe the works of former ages), wherein the ſun's place, the ſemidiurnal and nocturnal arch, the length of the twilight, with the ſeveral hours of prayer for each day in the month, are calculated to a minute, and beautifully inſerted in proper columns. But theſe again are as little conſulted as their inſtruments; for in caſe the cloudineſs of the weather will not permit them to adjuſt their ſmall and greater hour glaſſes to ſome inaccurate meridian lines, made for that purpoſe, the times of devotion, which ſhould be punctual to a minute, are left entirely to the will and pleaſure of their mwezzims or maedins, i. e. to *the cryers*, no other methods being ſtudied for the menſuration of time; and public clocks, from the great averſion perhaps which the Mahometans have to bells, not being allowed of.

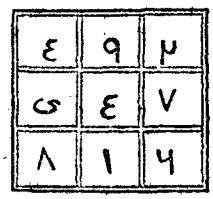
Even the very firſt operations, either in numeral arithmetic or algebra, are not known to one perſon in twenty thouſand; notwithſtanding their forefathers, if we may judge from the name †, ſeem to have been the inventors of the one, as they have given to all Europe the characters ‡ of the other. However, the merchants, beſides being frequently very dextrous in the addition and ſubſtraction of large ſums by memory, have a ſingular method of numeration, by putting their hands into each other's ſleeve, and there touching one another with this or that finger, or with ſuch a particular joint of it, each of them denoting a determined ſum or number, will tranſact affairs of the greateſt value, without ſpeaking to one another, or letting the ſtanders by into the ſecret.

* This however was deſcribed long before by Razi, and known to all following phyſicians, under the name of Pil. Rufi ad peſtilentiam præcavendam, &c. as a learned phyſician, among other critical remarks, has lately informed me.

† *Jaber* eſt reductio partium ad totum, ſeu fractionum ad integritatem. Et hinc Algebra nomen habet. Gol. My learned friend above mentioned, acquaints me, that Diophantus wrote on Algebra about the beginning of the fourth century; and that his writings were tranſlated afterwards into Arabic by Albugiani, about A.D. 959, as Abulfaragius informs us.

‡ Our numbers, viz. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0. being borrowed from the Arabian ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠ which were originally from the Indians. Vid. Bernardi Tab. literat. feriem vii.

Yet of a ſtill much more extraordinary nature, provided we could be equally aſſured of the truth of it, is the knowledge which the thalebs * are ſuppoſed to have in numbers. For they pretend to ſuch a powerful inſight into the nature and quality of them, that by differently joining and combining them, they can bring to light a variety of ſecrets; excite, as well as break the force of charms; and perform a thouſand tricks of the like nature. The following diagram, or *net*, (as in my Arabic MS. †) called haraz el mabarak, or *the bleſſed amulet*, is one among many of theſe numeral combinations, which, when hung about the neck, is ſaid to procure the favour of princes, to inſpire courage, to intimidate an enemy, to prevent diſtempers, or whatever elſe may be hurtful and injurious.



i. e. in our cyphers

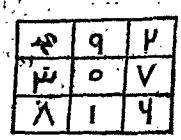
70	9	2
10	70	7
8	1	6

* Or Thulby's (vid. note, p. 96.) Studioſi ſapientiæ, from *Tulaba*, quæſivit, *he ſought after (knowledge)*. Vid. Gol.

† The MS. referred to above is a little book, which contains not only this, but a variety of other magic charms and figures; wherein frequent prayer is made to God, after he is invoked by Adam's robe, by Eve's head dreſs, by Moſes' rod, by the goſpel of Jeſus, &c. that he would beſtow his influence upon it, and be propitious to the bearer of it. The Mahometans place ſo great confidence in it, and indeed in every part of it, that after they have ſuſpended it upon their boſoms, they are afraid of nothing, and will undertake the moſt dangerous actions. I once ſaw a ſtrolling *derviſhe* at Algiers armed with this book, who would have allowed us, nay, even provoked us to fire at his head or breaſt a loaded gun or piſtol, which he confidently aſſured us could do him no harm. But as it was not prudent to make the experiment, and as the influence of it would be the ſame, as he affirmed, upon any other creature, we ſuſpended it accordingly upon the neck of a ſheep; which indeed, a little to our ſurpriſe at firſt, and to the no ſmall exultation of the *derviſhe*, ſtood about a minute after it was ſhot, before it fell down dead.

I have called theſe diagrams or nets, numeral combinations, and not for what they might have been originally intended, magic ſquares; ſome of which conſiſt of four places, as this above does of three; wherein the letters ε, ϛ, ο, (interpreted by my late friend, Mr. Gagnier, 70, 10, 80,) are often combined with the proper Indian or Arabian figures or numbers μ, ν, λ, &c. We may therefore ſuſpect the MS. to be faulty, and that all theſe nets (like thoſe in Parnelius's Archidox. Mag. lib. vii. who might borrow them from the Arabians) were originally intended for ſo many magic ſquares; as this particularly by changing the firſt ε into ⁴ 4, and the other into ο 5, and the ϛ into μ 3, will be

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6



The following Hebrew letters. which Manaſſeh ben Iſrael inſerts before his treatiſe *De Reſurrectione Mortuorum*, were probably another of theſe charms or magic ſquares:

ת	מ	א
ץ	אר	כ
מח	צ	ת

§4 Of

§ 4.—*Of their Muſic and Muſical Inſtruments.*

IT has been already obſerved, that theſe people play upon ſeveral inſtruments of muſic; but as they do not write down their compoſitions, nor aim at any contraſt or variety of parts in the muſic itſelf, we cannot conſider even this branch of the mathematics as a ſcience among them. For the muſic of the Bedoweens rarely conſiſts of more than one ſtrain, ſuitable indeed to their homely inſtruments, and to their ſimple invention.

The *arabebbah*, as they call the *bladder and ſtring*, is in the higheſt vogue, and doubtleſs of great antiquity among them; as is alſo the gaſpah, which is a common reed, open at each end, like the German flute, with three or more holes upon the ſide, according to the ability of the perſon who is to touch it; though the compaſs of their tunes rarely or ever exceeds an octave. Yet, even in this ſimplicity of harmony, they obſerve ſomething of method and ceremony. For in their hiſtorical *cantatas* eſpecially, they have their preludes and ſymphonies; each ſtanza being introduced with a flouriſh from the arabebbah, while the narration itſelf is accompanied with ſome ſoft touches upon the gaſpah. The ſtrolling Bedoweens and Derviſhes, like the ancient ΑΙΟΔΟΙ, or *rhapſodiſts*, are chiefly converſant in this ſort of muſic; who, after they have got a multitude of people together, and placed them in a circle, begin to chant over the memorable actions of their prophet, &c. or elſe laying before them the plans of Mecca, Medina, &c. give a flouriſh at each period of their deſcriptions with one or other of theſe inſtruments.

The *taar*, another of their inſtruments, is made like a ſieve, conſiſting (as Iſidore * deſcribes the tympanum) of a thin rim or hoop of wood, with a ſkin of parchment ſtretched over the top of it. This ſerves for the baſs in all their concerts; which they accordingly touch very artfully with their fingers, or with the knuckles or palms † of their hands, as the time and meaſure require, or as force and ſoftneſs are to be communicated to the ſeveral parts of the performance. The taar is undoubtedly the tympanum of the ancients; which appears as well from the general uſe of it all over Barbary, Egypt, and the Levant, as from the method of playing upon it, and the figure itſelf of the inſtrument, which is exactly the ſame with what we find in the hands of Cybele and the Bacchanals among the baſſo relievos and ſtatues of the ancients.

But the muſic of the Moors is more artful and melodious than that of the Bedoweens, for moſt of their tunes are lively and pleaſant; and if the account be true, which I have often heard ſeriouſly affirmed, that the flowers ‡ of mullein and mothwort will drop, upon playing the miſmoune, they have ſomething to boaſt of which our modern muſic does not pretend to. They have alſo a much greater variety of inſtruments than the Arabs; for beſides ſeveral ſorts of flutes and hautboys, they have the rebebb, or *violin of two ſtrings*, played upon with a bow; they have the a-oude §, or baſs double-ſtringed lute, bigger than our viol, that is touched with a *plectrum*; beſides ſeveral ſmaller guittars, or quetaras ‖, according to their pronunciation, of different ſizes, each of them tuned an octave higher than another. They have alſo improved the taar of the Bedoweens, by ſuſpending looſely upon pieces of wire in the rim of it, ſeveral pairs of thin hollow braſs plates, which, claſhing againſt each other in the ſeveral

* Iſid. Orig. l. iii. cap. 21. † Lucret. l. ii. 618. ‡ Ovid. Amor. l. iii. El. vii. 33.

§ *A-oude*, from whence the Spaniſh *laud* or *laut*, and our *lute*, ſuppoſed by Boch rt (Hieroz. i. l. iv. c. 8) to be the Χελυς or *teſtudo* of the ancients.

‖ The ſame word and inſtrument, no doubt, with the ancient cithara.

ſtrokes and vibrations given to the parchment, form a clinking but regular kind of noiſe, that fills up thoſe little vacancies of ſound, which would otherwiſe be unavoidable. Yet, notwithſtanding this multiplicity of inſtruments; notwithſtanding they learn all by the ear, and paſs quickly from one meaſure to another, *haſtening the time*, as the muſicians term it, in them all, yet the greateſt uniformity and exactneſs is always preſerved throughout theſe performances. I have often obſerved twenty or thirty perſons playing together in this manner, during a whole night, (the uſual time of their more ſolemn entertainments *), without making the leaſt blunder or heſitation.

Neither ſhould I omit the Turkiſh muſic, which is inferior indeed to the Mooriſh in ſprightlineſs, yet is ſtill more compounded than that of the Bedoweens. The Turks have been always a proſperous and thriving nation, who diſtinguiſh themſelves ſometimes by briſk and cheerful tempers; yet there is a certain mournful and melancholy turn, which runs through all their compoſitions. We may account for it perhaps from that long intercourſe and converſation which they have had with their Grecian ſubjects, whoſe *airs*, like thoſe of a neighbouring nation, being uſually doleful and ſerious, inſpire in the hearer penſiveneſs and ſorrow; which, as they may be ſuppoſed to hang perpetually upon the mind, ſo cannot fail of being communicated to the muſic of perſons in diſtreſs and captivity. The Turks chiefly make uſe of two inſtruments; whereof the one is like a long-necked kitt, or *fiddle*, played upon like the rebebb; the other, which is in the faſhion of our dulcimer, with braſs ſtrings, is touched ſometimes with the fingers, ſometimes with ſmall ſticks, or elſe with a plectrum.

But the want of inſtruments in the private muſic of the Turks, is amply made up in that of their beys and baſhaws. For here (as in ſome of the eaſtern ceremonies of old †) are inſtruments without number; flutes, hautboys, and trumpets, drums, and kettle-drums, beſides a number and variety of cymbals, or hollow plates of braſs, which being beat ‡, at certain intervals, one againſt another, thereby render a ſhrill and jarring, but martial ſound; ſuch as the Corybantes in particular, made in the ceremonies of Cybele §. Here the time is more haſtened than in the Mooriſh muſic; the ſame note, which, in the beginning, was held out as long as a minim, being in the concluſion as quick as a ſemi-quaver. I had not art enough to note down any of theſe airs; but in the oppoſite plate there are ſpecimens of the other.

§ 5.—*Of their Architecture, or Method of Building.*

THE art wherein the Moors particularly are the moſt converſant at preſent is *architecture*; though, as ſpace and convenience are the only points regarded in their plans, the *mallums* (as they call thoſe perſons who are ſkilled in the deſigning and executing of them) are to be conſidered rather as maſters of a craft or trade, than of a ſcience or liberal profeſſion. However, the plaſter and cement, which they make uſe of, particularly where any extraordinary compactneſs or ſtrength is required, appear, upon compariſon, to be of the very ſame conſiſtence and compoſition with what

* "Ye ſhall have a ſong as in the night, when a holy ſolemnity is kept," Iſa. xxx. 29. Παννυχιοι ᾄσαντο was an early practice among the Greeks, as we learn from Homer, Il. π. 476.

† As in Dan. iii. 5. where we have mentioned the cornet, flute, harp, ſackbut, pſaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of muſic.

‡ Auſon. ad Paulin. Ep. xxv. l. 20. Lucret. l. ii. 634. Ovid. Faſt. l. iv. 182. Horat. Od. xvi. l. i. 7. Stat. Theb. viii. 221. Nonn. in Dionys.

§ Virg. Georg. l. iv. 64. Ovid. Met. l. xiv. 537. Virg. Æn. ix. 619. Plin. apud Strab. l. x. Arat. Phænom. interp. Germ. p. 2. lib. 15. Eurip. in Bacch. 125. Arriani lib. rerum Ind. p. 172, 173. edit. Step. 1575.

we

we meet with in the moſt ancient fabrics. The ciſterns that were built by Sultan Ben Eglib in ſeveral parts of the kingdom of Tunis, (and the like may be ſaid of a variety of ſtructures at this time), are of equal ſolidity with the celebrated ones at Carthage; and continue to this day, unleſs where they have been deſignedly broken down, as firm and compact as if they were juſt finiſhed. The compoſition is made in this manner: they take one part of ſand, two parts of wood aſhes, and three of lime; which, after it is well ſifted and mixed together, they beat, for three days and nights inceſſantly with wooden mallets, ſprinkling them alternately, and at proper times, with a little oil and water, till they become of a due conſiſtence. This is chiefly uſed in making arches, ciſterns, and the terraces or tops of their houſes. But the caduces, as they call the earthen pipes of their aqueducts, are joined together and let into each other, by beating tow and lime together with oil only, without any mixture of water. Both theſe compoſitions quickly aſſume the hardneſs of ſtone, and ſuffer no water to pervade them.

Inſtead of common glue, the joiners frequently uſe a preparation of cheeſe, which is firſt to be pounded with a little water in a mortar, till the wheyey matter is entirely waſhed out. When this is done, they pound it again with a ſmall quantity of fine lime, and then apply it, as quick as poſſible, to ſuch boards as are to be joined together; which, after the joints are dry, are not to be ſeparated, I am told, even when thrown into water.

Having premiſed thus much, let us now ſpeak of their method of building; eſpecially as it relates to their dwelling-houſes. And as there is a near relation between them, and thoſe that are occaſionally mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, a particular account of the ſtructure and contrivance of the one, may not a little contribute to the clearing up ſuch doubts and difficulties as have ariſen, from not rightly comprehending the faſhion of the other.

Now the general method of building, both in Barbary and the Levant, ſeems to have continued the ſame, from the earlieſt ages down to this time, without the leaſt alteration or improvement. Large doors, ſpacious chambers, marble pavements, cloyſtered courts, with fountains ſometimes playing in the midſt, are certainly conveniences very well adapted to the circumſtances of theſe hotter climates. The jealouſy likewiſe of theſe people is leſs apt to be alarmed, whilſt, if we except a ſmall latticed window or balcony, which ſometimes looks into the ſtreet, all the other windows open into their reſpective courts or quadrangles. It is during the celebration only of ſome zeenah (as they call a public feſtival), that theſe houſes and their latticed windows or balconies are left open. For this being a time of great liberty, revelling, and extravagance, each family is ambitious of adorning both the inſide and the outſide of their houſes with their richeſt furniture; whilſt crowds of both ſexes, dreſſed out in their beſt apparel, and laying aſide all modeſty and reſtraint, go in and out where they pleaſe. The account we have, 2 Kings ix. 30. of Jezebel's *painting her face, and tiring her head, and looking out at a window*, upon Jehu's public entrance into Jezreel, gives us a lively idea of an eaſtern lady at one of theſe zenahs or *ſolemnities*.

The ſtreets of theſe cities, the better to ſhade them from the ſun, are uſually narrow, with ſometimes a range of ſhops on each ſide. If from theſe we enter into one of the principal houſes, we ſhall firſt paſs through a porch or gate-way, with benches on each ſide, where the maſter of the family receives viſits and diſpatches buſineſs; few perſons, not even the neareſt relations, having further admiſſion, except upon extraordinary occaſions. From hence we are received into the court, or quadrangle, which lying open to the weather, is, according to the ability of the owner, paved with

marble, or ſuch materials, as will immediately carry off the water into the common ſewers. There is ſomething very analogous betwixt this open ſpace in theſe buildings, and the impluvium*, or cava ædium of the Romans; both of them being alike expoſed to the weather, and giving light to the houſe. When much people are to be admitted, as upon the celebration of a marriage, the circumciſing of a child, or occaſions of the like nature, the company is rarely or never received into one of the chambers. The court is the uſual place of their reception, which is ſtrewed accordingly with mats and carpets for their more commodious entertainment; and as this is called el wooſt, *or the middle of the houſe*, literally anſwering to the το μεσον of St. Luke, (v. 19.) it is probable that the place where our Saviour and the apoſtles were frequently accuſtomed to give their inſtructions, might have been in the like ſituation; i. e. in the area or quadrangle of one of theſe houſes. In the ſummer ſeaſon, and upon all occaſions, when a large company is to be received, this court is commonly ſheltered from the heat or inclemency of the weather, by a velum †, *umbrella* or *veil*; which, being expanded upon ropes from one ſide of the parapet wall to the other, may be folded or unfolded at pleaſure. The Pſalmiſt ſeems to allude either to the tents of the Bedoweens, or to ſome covering of this kind, in that beautiful expreſſion of *ſpreading out the heavens like a veil or curtain* ‡.

The court is for the moſt part ſurrounded with a cloyſter, as the cava ædium of the Romans was with a periſtylium or colonnade; over which, when the houſe has one or more ſtories, (and I have ſeen them with two or three), there is a gallery erected, of the ſame dimenſions with the cloyſter, having a balluſtrade, or elſe a piece of carved or latticed work going round about it, to prevent people falling from it into the court. From the cloyſters and galleries, we are conducted into large ſpacious chambers, of the ſame length with the court, but ſeldom or never communicating with one another. One of them frequently ſerves a whole family, particularly when a father indulges his married children to live with him, or when ſeveral perſons join in the rent of the ſame houſe. From whence it is, that the cities of theſe countries, which are generally much inferior in bigneſs to thoſe of Europe, yet are ſo exceedingly populous, that great numbers of the inhabitants are ſwept away by the plague, or any other contagious diſtemper. A mixture of families of this kind ſeems to be ſpoken of by Maimonides, as he is quoted by Dr. Lightfoot § upon 1 Cor. x. 16. In houſes of better faſhion, theſe chambers, from the middle of the wall downwards, are covered and adorned with velvet or damaſk hangings, of *white*, *blue*, *red*, *green*, or other

* Si relictum erat in medio domus ut lucem caperet, deorſum quo impluebat, impluvium dicitur. Varro de Ling. Lat. lib. iv. § 33. Impluvium locus ſine tecto in ædibus, quo impluere imber in domum poſſit. Aſcon. Pedian. not. in Cicer. Orat. i. in Verrem, c. 56. Sub divo, quod impluvium dicitur. Serv. not. in Virg. Æn. xi. 512. Atria ædificii genus fuere, continens mediam aream, in quam ex omni tecto pluvia recipitur, columnis quadifariam perſingulos angulos diſpoſitis et epiſtyliis. Alexand. ab Alexandro Genial. D. l. iii. c. 6. Præter veſtibula fuere cava ædium et periſtylia, in quæ quilque ſuo jure non vocatos admittebatur. *Id.* lib. v. c. 24.

† This is the ſame with the Arab. *Sowadik*, which is interpreted, Velum, aut quid ſimile, quod obtenditur atrio domus, ſeu cavædio. Vid. Gol. in voce.

‡ Pſal. civ. 2. The ſame expreſſion we have in the prophet Iſaiah, xl. 22.

§ 'Solomon appointed that each place be appropriated to one man there, where there is a diviſion into divers habitations, and each of the inhabitants receive there a place proper to himſelf, and ſome place alſo is left there common to all, ſo that all have an equal right to it, as a court belonging to many houſes,' &c. עירוב. 'The *conſorting together*, which thoſe that dwell among themſelves in the ſame court make, is called עירובי חצרות, κοινωνια, *the communion of courts*. And that conſorting together which they make that dwell among themſelves in the ſame walk or entry, or which citizens of the ſame city make among themſelves, is called שיתוף, *participating together*.'

colours,

colours, Eſth. i. 6. ſuſpended upon hooks, or taken down at pleaſure; but the upper part is embelliſhed with more permanent ornaments, being adorned with the moſt ingenious wreathings and devices in ſtucco and fret-work. The cieling is generally of wainſcot, either very artfully painted, or elſe thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings and ſcrolls of their Koran intermixed. The prophet Jeremiah (xxii. 14.) exclaims againſt the eaſtern houſes, that *were cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion.* The floors are laid with painted tiles *, or plaſter of terrace; but as theſe people make little or no uſe of chairs (either ſitting croſs-legged, or lying at length), they always cover or ſpread them over with carpets, which, for the moſt part, are of the richeſt materials. Along the ſides of the wall or floor, a range of narrow beds or mattreſſes is often placed upon theſe carpets; and, for their further eaſe and convenience, ſeveral velvet or damaſk bolſters are placed upon theſe carpets or mattreſſes — indulgences that ſeem to be alluded to by *the ſtretching themſelves upon couches, and by the ſowing of pillows to arm-holes*, as we have it expreſſed, Amos vi. 4. Ezek. xiii. 18. 20. At one end of each chamber, there is a little gallery, raiſed three, four, or five feet above the floor, with a balluſtrade in the front of it, with a few ſteps likewiſe leading up to it. Here they place their beds, a ſituation frequently alluded to in the Holy Scriptures †, which may likewiſe illuſtrate the circumſtance of Hezekiah's *turning his face* ‡, *when he prayed, towards the wall*, (i. e. from his attendants), 2 Kings xx. 2. that the fervency of his devotion might be the leſs taken notice of and obſerved. The like is related of Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 4. though probably not upon a religious account, but in order to conceal from his attendants the anguiſh he was in for his late diſappointment.

The ſtairs are ſometimes placed in the porch, ſometimes at the entrance into the court. When there is one or more ſtories, they are afterwards continued through one corner or other of the gallery, to the top of the houſe; whither they conduct us through a door, that is conſtantly kept ſhut, to prevent their domeſtic animals from daubing the terrace, and thereby ſpoiling the water which falls from thence into the ciſterns below the court. This door, like moſt others we meet with in theſe countries, is hung, not with hinges, but by having the jamb formed at each end into an axle-tree or piviot; whereof the uppermoſt, which is the longeſt, is to be received into a correſpondent ſocket in the lintel, whilſt the other falls into a cavity of the like faſhion in the threſhold. The ſtone door, ſo much admired, and taken notice of by Mr. Maundrell §, is exactly of this faſhion, and very common in moſt places.

I do not remember ever to have obſerved the ſtair-caſe conducted along the outſide of the houſe, according to the deſcription of ſome late very learned authors; neither indeed will the contiguity and relation which theſe houſes bear to the ſtreet and to each

* A pavement like this is mentioned, Eſth. i. 6, 7. "The beds were of gold and ſilver, upon a pavement of red and blue and white and black marble."

† "Thou wenteſt up to thy father's bed — to my couch," Gen. xlix. 4. "Thou ſhalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up," 2 Kings i. 6. 16. "I will not go up into my bed," Pſal. cxxxii. 3.

‡ In the Targum of Jonathan, *turning towards the wall* is explained by *turning towards the wall of the ſanctuary*, or *the weſtern wall* (as Abarbanel further illuſtrates it) *where the ark ſtood*; this being their *kiblah*, or place towards which they were to worſhip, 1 Kings viii. 38, &c. But the like action that is recorded of the wicked and idolatrous king Ahab, can ſcarce have ſuch a conſtruction put upon it; neither can we well ſuppoſe, that the like cuſtom was obſerved in placing both their beds and their windows to face the ſanctuary, Dan. vi. 10.; for if the latter did ſo, the other, as lying in a corner, at a diſtance from them, muſt have a different ſituation.

§ Vid. Maundrel's Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 77. edit. Ox. 1707.

other, (exclusive of the supposed privacy of them), but of any such contrivance. However, we may go up or come down by the stair-case I have described, without entering into any of the offices or apartments, and consequently without interfering with the business of the house.

The top of the house, which is always flat, is covered with a strong plaster of terrace; from whence, in the Frank language, it has attained the name of *the terrace*. This is usually surrounded by two walls, the outermost whereof is partly built over the street, partly makes the partition with the contiguous houses; being frequently so low, that one may easily climb over it. The other, which I shall call *the parapet wall*, hangs immediately over the court, being always breast high, and answers to the מעקה *, or *lorica*, Deut. xxii. 8. which we render *the battlements*. Instead of this parapet wall, some terraces are guarded, like the galleries, with balustrades only, or latticed work, in which fashion probably, as the name seems to import, was the שבכה, or *net*, or *lattice*, as we render it, that Ahaziah (2 Kings i. 2.) might be carelessly leaning over, when he fell down from thence into the court. For upon these terraces, several offices of the family are performed; such as the drying of linen and flax, Josh. ii. 6. the preparing of figs and raisins; where likewise they enjoy the cool refreshing breezes of the evening †, converse with one another, and offer up their devotions ‡. In the feast of tabernacles, booths were erected upon them, Neh. viii. 16. As these terraces are thus frequently used and trampled upon, not to mention the solidity of the materials wherewith they are made, they will not easily permit any vegetable substances to take root or thrive upon them; which perhaps may illustrate the comparison, Isa. xxxvii. 27. of the Assyrians, and Psal. cxxix. 6. of the wicked, *to the grass upon the house-tops, which withereth before it is grown up.*

When any of these cities is built upon level ground, one may pass along the tops of the houses from one end of it to the other, without coming down into the street. Such in general is the manner and contrivance of these houses. If then it may be presumed that our Saviour, at the healing of the paralytic, was preaching in a house of this fashion, we may, by attending only to the structure of it, give no small light to one circumstance of that history, which has lately given great offence to some unbelievers. For among other pretended difficulties and absurdities relating to this fact, it has been urged §, that "as *the uncovering* or *breaking up of the roof*, Mark. ii. 4. or *the letting a person down through it*, Luke v. 19. supposes the breaking up of tiles, spars, rafters, &c. so it was well," as the author goes on in his ludicrous manner, "if Jesus and his disciples escaped with only a broken pate, by the falling of the tiles, and if the rest were not smothered with dust." But that nothing of this nature happened, will appear probable from a different construction that may be put upon the words in the original. For it may be observed with relation to the words of St. Mark, ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην ὅπου

* "When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a *battlement* (מעקה) for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man all from thence," Deut. xxii. 8. עקה inde מעקה, quod, secundum Rabbi David in libro Radicum, erat ædificium quod faciebant in circuitu tecti (*i. e.* partis superioris domus quæ erat plana) ne quis inde caderet: et erat altitudinis decem שמחים (*i. e.* palmarum) quæ est mensura quatuor digitorum super se positorum vel amplius. Vid. Pagn. Lex.

† "And it came to pass in an evening tide, that David rose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the King's house," 2 Sam. xi. 2. "So they spread Absalom a tent upon the top of the house," *Ibid.* xvi. 22. "Samuel communed with Saul upon the top of the house," 1 Sam. ix. 25. "Samuel called Saul to the top of the house," ver. 26.

‡ "They that worship the host of heaven upon the house top," Zeph. i. 5. "On the tops of the houses of Moab shall be howling," Isa. xv. 3. "Peter went up upon the house top to pray," Acts x. 9. &c.

§ Vid. Woolston's four Disc. p. 57.

ην, και εξορυξαντες, &c. that as στεγη (no leſs perhaps than *Tatlilo* *, the correſpondent word in the Syriac verſion) will denote, with propriety enough, any kind of *covering*, the veil which I have mentioned, as well as a roof or cieling properly ſo called; ſo, for the ſame reaſon, αποστεγειν may ſignify the undoing or the removal only of ſuch *covering*. Εξορυξαντες, which we render *breaking up*, is omitted in the Cambridge MS. and not regarded in the Syriac and ſome other verſions; the tranſlators perhaps either not rightly comprehending the meaning of it, or finding the context clear without it. In St. Jerom's tranſlation, the correſpondent word is *patefacientes*, as if εξορυξαντες was further explanatory of απεστεγασαν· the ſame in the Perſian verſion is expreſſed by *quatuor angulis lecti totidem funibus annexis*; as if εξορυξαντες related either to the letting down of the bed, or, preparatory thereto, to the making holes in it for the cords to paſs through. According to this explication, therefore, the context may run thus: *When they could not come at Jeſus for the preſs, they got upon the roof of the houſe, and drew back the veil where he was*; or they laid open and uncovered that part of it eſpecially which was ſpread over the place (ὁπου ην) *where he was* ſitting, and *having* removed, and *plucked away* (according to St. Jerom), whatever might incommode them in their intended good office, or *having tied* (according to the Perſian verſion) the four corners of the *bed* or bed-ſtead with cords, *where the ſick of the palſy lay, they let it down before Jeſus*.

For that there was not the leaſt force or violence offered to the roof, and conſequently that εξορυξαντες, no leſs than απεστεγασαν, will admit of ſome other interpretations than what have been given to them in our verſion, appears from the parallel place in St. Luke, where δια των κεραμων καθηκαν αυτον, *per tegulas demiſerunt illum*, (which we tranſlate, *they let him down through the tiling*, as if *that* had actually been broken up already), ſhould be rendered, *they let him down over, along the ſide*, or *by the way of the roof*. For as κεραμοι, or *tegulæ*, which originally perhaps denoted a roof of tiles, like thoſe of the northern nations, were afterwards applied to the *tectum* † or δωμα in general, of what nature or ſtructure ſoever they were, ſo the meaning of letting down a perſon into the houſe, *per tegulas*, or δια των κεραμων, can depend only upon the uſe of the prepoſition δια. Now, both in Acts ix. 26, καθηκαν [αυτον] δια της τειχους, and 2 Cor. xi. 33. εχαλασθην δια της τειχους, where the like phraſeology is obſerved as in St. Luke, δια is rendered in both places *by*, that is, *along the ſide*, or *by the way of the wall*. By interpreting therefore δια in this ſenſe, δια των κεραμου καθηκαν αυτον will be rendered, as above, *they let him down over*, or *by the way of, the wall*, juſt as we may ſuppoſe M. Anthony to have been, agreeable to a noted paſſage in Tully ‡. An action of the ſame nature ſeems to be likewiſe implied in what is related of Jupiter §, where he is ſaid *ſeſe in hominem convertiſſe, atque* per alienas tegulas *veniſſe clanculum per impluvium*.

* Sc. a Heb. טלל, Arab. *Zilla, he* or *it ſhaded*, texit, obumbravit; unde Arab. *Zil, a ſhade, canopy*, &c. umbra et tectum, laqueare, tabulatum, umbraculum. Vid. Car. Schaaf Lex. Syriac. p. 214, 215. et Caſtell. Lex. p. 1503. "They lifted up the roof," according to the import of the Syriac verſion, *i. e.* as Dionyſius Syrus interprets it, "By art they found out a way to lift up the roof of the houſe, and eaſily to let down the bed in ſuch a manner, that neither the timber nor duſt might fall upon them, as many in theſe days have the cunning to do the ſame." Loftus' Tranſlation, p. 17.

† Quemque in tegulis videritis alienum — videritis hominem in noſtris tegulis, &c. Plaut. Mil. ii. 2. De tegulis modo neſcio quis inſpectavit voſtrarum familiarium per noſtrum impluvium intus apud nos Philocomaſium, atque hoſpitem oſculantis. Plaut. Mil. ii. 2. v. 7. Vinctum, ſi ædes ejus [Flaminis Dialis] introierit, ſolvi neceſſum eſt; et vincula per impluvium in tegulas ſubduci, atque inde foras in viam dimitti. Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. x. 15. Quum tamen tu nocte ſocia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede, per tegulas demitterere. Cic. 2 Phil. 45. Αυτο δε το τεγος, ᾧ μονον οι νυν κεραμον ονομαζουσιν, αλλα, &c. Jul. Poll. Onom. lib. vii. c. 33.

‡ Vid. not. ut ſupra.

§ Ter. Eun. iii. 5. 37.

vium. And of the ſnake which we learn *, *per impluvium decidiſſe de tegulis.* What Dr. Lightfoot alſo obſerves out of the Talmud, upon Mark ii. 4. will, by an alteration only of the prepoſition which anſwers to δια, further vouch for this interpretation. For, as it is there cited, "*when Rabh Honna was dead, and his bier could not be carried out through the door, which was too ſtrait and narrow, therefore*" (in order, we may ſupply, to bury it) "[מביר שלשילי] *they thought good to let it down*" [נניח ברכ] (i. e. *not through the roof, or through the way of the roof*, as the Doctor renders it, but) as in δια των κεραμων, or δια τῆ τειχος, *by the way*, or *over the roof, viz.* by taking it upon the terrace, and letting it down by the wall that way into the ſtreet. We have a paſſage in Aulus Gellius † exactly of the ſame purport, where it is ſaid, that if, "any perſon in chains ſhould make his eſcape into the houſe of the Flamen Dialis, he ſhould be forthwith looſed; and that his fetters ſhould be drawn up through the *impluvium*, upon the roof or terrace, and from thence be let down into the highway or the ſtreet."

When the uſe then of theſe phraſes, and the faſhion of theſe houſes are rightly conſidered, there will be no reaſon to ſuppoſe that any breach was actually made in the *tegulæ*, or κεραμοι; ſince all that was to be done in the caſe of the paralytic, was to carry him up to the top of the houſe, either by forcing their way through the crowd up the ſtair-caſe, or elſe by conveying him over ſome of the neighbouring terraces, and there, after they had drawn away the στεγη, or *veil, to let him down*, along the ſide of the roof, (through the opening, or *impluvium*) *into the midſt* (of the court) *before Jeſus.*

To moſt of theſe houſes there is a ſmaller one annexed, which ſometimes riſes one ſtory higher than the houſe; at other times it conſiſts of one or two rooms only and a terrace; whilſt others that are built, as they frequently are, over the porch or gate-way, have, if we except the ground-floor, which they have not, all the conveniences that belong to the houſe, properly ſo called. There is a door of communication from them into the gallery of the houſe, kept open or ſhut at the diſcretion of the maſter of the family; beſides another door, which opens immediately, from a privy ſtairs, down into the porch or ſtreet, without giving the leaſt diſturbance to the houſe. Theſe back-houſes, as we may call them, are known by the name of alee or oleah, for the houſe properly ſo called is dar or beet; and in them ſtrangers are uſually lodged and entertained; in them the ſons of the family are permitted to keep their concubines; whither likewiſe the men are wont to retire from the hurry and noiſe of their families, to be more at leiſure for meditation or diverſions; beſides the uſe they are at other times put to, in ſerving for wardrobes and magazines.

The עליה of the Scriptures being literally the ſame appellation with *Aulich* (Arab.) is accordingly ſo rendered in the Arabic verſion. We may ſuppoſe it then to have been a ſtructure of the like contrivance. The little chamber ‡ conſequently that was built by the Shunamite for Eliſha, whither, as the text inſtructs us, he retired at his pleaſure, without breaking in upon the private affairs of the family, or being in his turn interrupted by them in his devotions; the ſummer-chamber of Eglon §, which, in the ſame manner with theſe, ſeems to have had privy ſtairs belonging to it, through

* Ter. Phorm. iv. 4. 47. † Vid. Aul. Gell. ut ſupra.

‡ "Let us make a little chamber, I pray thee, on the wall; and let us ſet for him there a bed, and a table, and a ſtool, and a candleſtick: and it ſhall be, when he cometh to us, that he ſhall turn in thither," 2 Kings iv. 10.

§ "And Ehud came unto him (Eglon), and was ſitting in a ſummer parlour, which he had for himſelf alone—then Ehud went forth through the porch," Judg. iii. 20—23.

which

which Ehud escaped after he had revenged Israel upon that King of Moab; the chamber over the gate*, whither, for the greater privacy, David withdrew himself to weep for Absalom; the upper chamber, upon whose terrace Ahaz, for the same reason, erected his altars†; the inner chamber likewise, or, as it is better expressed in the original, *a chamber within a chamber*, where the young man, the prophet, anointed Jehu ‡—seem to have been all of them structures of the like nature and contrivance with these olees.

Besides, as עליה or עלית in the Hebrew text, and *Aulich* in the Arabic version, is expressed by ὑπερῷον in the LXXII; it may be presumed that the same word ὑπερῷον, where it occurs in the New Testament, implies the same thing. The upper chamber, therefore, or ὑπερῷον, where Tabitha was laid after her death §, and where Eutychus ‖ also fell down from the third loft, where so many back houses or olees, as they are indeed so called in the Arabic version.

That ὑπερῷον denotes such a private apartment as one of these olees, (for garrets, from the flatness of these roofs, are not known in these climates,) seems likewise probable from the use of the word among the classic authors. For the ὑπερῷον, where Mercury and Mars carried on their amours ¶, and where Penelope kept herself ** with the young virgins††, at a distance from the solicitations of their wooers, appear to carry along with them circumstances of greater privacy and retirement than are consistent with chambers in any other situation.

Nay, further; that עליה, *Aulich*, or ὑπερῷον could not barely signify a single chamber, *cœnaculum*, or dining room, but one of these contiguous or back houses, divided into several apartments, seems to appear from the circumstance of the altars which Ahaz erected upon the top of his עליה. For, besides the supposed privacy of his idolatry, which, upon account of the perpetual view and observation of the family, could not have been carried on undiscovered in any apartment of the house; I say, if this his עליה had been only one single chamber of the בת house, the roof of it would have been ascribed to the בת, and not to the עליה; which, upon this supposition, could only make one chamber of it. A circumstance of the like nature may probably be collected from the Arabic version of ὑπερῷον, Acts ix. 39. where it is not rendered *Aulich*, as in ver. 37. but *Girfat*; intimating perhaps *that* particular chamber of the *Aulich* where the damsel was laid. The falling likewise of Eutychus from the third loft (as the context seems to imply) of the ὑπερῷον, there being no mention made of an house, may likewise be received as a further proof of what I have been endeavouring to explain. For it has been already observed, that these olees are built in the same manner and with the like conveniences as the house itself; consequently what position soever the ὑπερῷον may be supposed to have from the seeming etymology of the name, will be applicable to the olee as well as to the house.

The word ὑπερῷον will likewise admit of another interpretation in our favour; inasmuch as it denoteth not so much a chamber remarkable for the high situation of it, (as Eustathius ‡‡, and others after him give into,) but such a building as is erected upon

* "And the King was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept," 2 Sam. xviii. 33.

† "And the altars that were upon the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the Kings of Judah had made," 2 Kings xxiii. 12. ‡ 2 Kings ix. 2. § Acts ix. 36.

‖ Acts xx. 8, 9. &c. ¶ Hom. Il. II. ver. 184. B. ver. 514. ** Hom. Odyss. o. ver. 515-16.

†† Athen. Deip. lib. ii. cap. 16. Eustath. in ver. 184. Il. II. p. 1054. et in Il. II. ver. 514. p. 272.

‡‡ Vid. note §, ut supra.

or beyond the walls or borders of another*; just as these olees are actually contrived with regard to the בת or *house*. Neither will this interpretation interfere with the high situation that ὑπέρωον may be supposed to have, in being frequently joined with the words αναβαινειν or καταβαινειν. Because the going in or out of the בת or *house*, whose ground-floor lies upon the same level with the street, could not be expressed by words of such import; whereas the olees, being usually situated over the porch or gate-way, a small stair-case is to be previously mounted before we can be said properly to enter them; and consequently αναβαινειν and καταβαινειν are more applicable to structures in such a situation than to the house properly so called.

This method of building may further assist us in accounting for the particular structure of the temple or house of Dagon, Judg. xvi. and the great number of people that were buried in the ruins of it, by pulling down the two principal pillars that supported it. We read (ver. 27.) that about *three thousand persons were upon the roof, to behold while Sampson made sport, viz.* to the scoffing and deriding Philistines. Sampson therefore must have been in a court or area below; and consequently the temple will be of the same kind with the ancient τεμενη, or *sacred inclosures*, which were only surrounded either in part or on all sides with some plain or cloistered buildings. Several palaces and *dou-wânas*, as the courts of justice are called in these countries, are built in this fashion, where, upon their public festivals and rejoicings, a great quantity of sand is strewed upon the area for the pellowans or *wrestlers* to fall upon†; whilst the roofs of these cloisters are crowded with spectators, to admire their strength and activity. I have often seen numbers of people diverted in this manner, upon the roof of the dey's palace at Algiers; which, like many more of the same quality and denomination, has an advanced cloister, *over against the gate of the palace*, (Esth. v. 1.) made in the fashion of a large pent-house, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else in the centre. In such open structures as these,

* Υπερωον pro ὑπερωιον, contracte et Attice dicitur, ut πατρωον pro πατρωιον. Dictio componitur ab ὑπερ et ωιον, quod fimbriam significat et extremitatem. Primam vero hujus vocis originem ducunt a nomine οις εκλασει τυ ο εις ω. atque ideo pro limbo accipi: ὁτι οἱ αρχαιοι προβατων δεσματα ενεβαλλον τους πων ἱματιων κραπασπεδος, *i. e.* quod antiqui aliquid, de pellibus ovium extremis vestibus adjicerent. Hinc factum, ut pro quacunque extremitate, ima, summa, aut alia quavis accipiatur. Car. Gerardi Annot. in Plutum Aristophanis, p. 83.

† It appears probable from the following circumstances, that the exercise of *wrestling*, as it is now performed by the Turks, is the very same that was anciently used in the Olympic games. For, besides the previous covering of the palæstra with sand, that the combatants might fall with more safety, they have their pellowan bashee, or *master-wrestler*, who, like the Αγωνοθετης of old, is to observe, and superintend over the jura palæstræ, and to be the umpire in all disputes. The combatants, after they are anointed all over with oil, to render their naked bodies the more slippery, and less easily to be taken hold of, first of all look one another stedfastly in the face, as Diomede or Ulysses does the palladium upon antique gems; then they run up to and retire from each other several times, using all the while a variety of antic and other postures, such as are commonly used in the course of the ensuing conflict. After this prelude, they draw nearer together, and challenge each other, by clapping the palms of their hands, first upon their own knees or thighs, then upon each other, and afterwards upon the palms of their respective antagonists. The challenge being thus given, they immediately close in and struggle with each other, striving with all their strength, art, and dexterity, which are often very extraordinary, who shall give his antagonist a fall, and become the conqueror. During these contests, I have often seen their arms, and legs, and thighs, so twisted and linked together, (*catenatæ palæstræ*, as Propertius calls it), that they have both fallen down together, and left the victory dubious; too difficult sometimes for the pellowan bashee to decide. ΠΑΛΑΙCΤΗC ΑΠΤΩΤΟC *a wrestler not to be thrown*, occurs in ancient inscriptions, Murat. tom. ii. p. 627. The παλη therefore being thus acted in all the parts of it with open hands, might very properly, in contradistinction to the cestus, or boxing, receive its name, απο τυ παλαιστυ, from struggling with open hands. We have a most lively picture of this ancient gymnastic exercise upon an antique urn, in Patin's *Imp. Roman. Numismata*, p. 122. and likewise upon a coin of Trebonianus Gallus, the figure whereof is exhibited in *Vaill. Numism. Imper. Græc.*

the

the baſhaws, kadees, and other great officers, diſtribute juſtice, and tranſact the public affairs of their provinces. Here likewiſe they have their public entertainments, as the lords and others of the Philiſtines had in the houſe of Dagon. Upon a ſuppoſition therefore that in the houſe of Dagon there was a cloiſtered building of this kind, the pulling down the front or centre pillars which ſupported it, would alone be attended with the like cataſtrophe that happened to the Philiſtines.

Their moſques and ſepulchres are other ſtructures, which ſtill remain undeſcribed. The firſt, which they pronounce Meſg-jid *, are built exactly in the faſhion of our churches, particularly of the Gothic taſte †; where, inſtead of ſuch ſeats and benches as we make uſe of, they only ſtrew the floor with mats, upon which they perform the ſeveral ſtations, ſittings, and proſtrations that are enjoined in the ceremonies of their religion. Near the middle, particularly of the principal moſque of each city, there is erected a large pulpit, balluſtraded round, with a few ſteps leading up to it. Upon theſe, (for I am told none are permitted to enter the pulpit itſelf,) the mufti, or one of the im-ams, places himſelf every Friday, *the day of the congregation* ‡, as they call it, and from thence either explains ſome part or other of the Koran, or elſe exhorts the people to piety and good works. The wall of theſe moſques, which regards Mecca, and to which they direct themſelves throughout the whole of their devotions, is called the Kiblah §, or the το αντικειμενον, and in this wall there is commonly a nich, repreſenting the preſence, and at the ſame time the inviſibility of the Deity ‖. There is uſually a minoret or ſquare tower erected upon the oppoſite end of the moſque, with a flag-ſtaff fixed upon the top of it; whither the muedin or *cryer* aſcends at the appointed times of prayer, and after diſplaying a ſmall flag, advertiſes the people thereof with a loud voice from each ſide of it. Theſe minorets, and this method of calling the people to prayer, (for bells have been always an abomination to the Mahometans) are of great antiquity, and took place, as I am informed, as early as the 65th year of the hejira. Theſe places of the Mahometan worſhip, the ſanctuaries of their marabbutts, the mufties, the im-ams ¶, and other perſons reſpectively belonging to them, are maintained out of certain revenues ** ariſing from the rents of lands and houſes, which have been either left by will or ſet apart by the public for thoſe uſes.

When a funeral is ſolemnized, it is uſual to bring the corpſe, at the afternoon prayers, to one or other of theſe moſques; from whence it is accompanied by the greateſt part of the congregation to the grave. Upon theſe occaſions their proceſſions are not ſlow and ſolemn, as in moſt parts of Chriſtendom; the whole company making what haſte

* i. e. *The place of humiliation*, from Sajada, *he proſtrated himſelf*, [Heb. סָגַד] humiliavit ſe, procubuit: *pec.* reverentiæ ergo. *ſpec.* frontem imponens terræ, ad commonſtrandam ſupplicis animi dejectionem atque abnegationem ſui. Vid. Gol. in voce.

† The Goths, perhaps, when maſters of Spain, might have learnt this method of building from the Moors; and from thence have communicated it in their conqueſts or migrations over moſt parts of Europe.

‡ i. e *The church or place where the people meet together*, ſo called from Jumaa, *he gathered together*, collegit, congregavit, &c. When there are ſeveral moſques in one city, the largeſt is called the Jimmah, and, ſometimes El jimmah kibeerah, *the great* or *mother church*, in which their public devotions, &c. are uſually performed on Fridays.

§ From Kuble, *oppoſito*, e regione oppoſitus fuit, &c. Vid. Gol. & note, p. 32. The temple of Jeruſalem was the Jewiſh Kiblah, as we are informed from theſe expreſſions, 1 Kings viii. 38. 42. 44. 48. of *ſtretching out their hands towards that houſe*, and of *praying towards that houſe*, and of Daniel's *praying towards Jeruſalem*, vi. 10.

‖ Vid Maund. Trav. to Jeruſalem, p. 15. edit. Oxon.

¶ *I-mim, em-am*, or *im-am* præſes, anteceſſor, quem alii ſectantur ac imitantur: peculiariter qui præit populo ſacros ritus et ſacrorum antiſtes. Vid. Gol. in voce.

** Theſe they call Hab-ouſe, i. e. *Things ſet apart for pious uſes.*

they

they can, and ſinging, as they go along, ſome ſelect verſes of their Koran. That abſolute ſubmiſſion which they pay to the will of God, allows them not to uſe any conſolatory words upon theſe ſolemnities; no loſs or misfortune is to be regretted. Inſtead likewiſe of ſuch expreſſions of ſorrow and condolence as may regard the deceaſed, the compliments turn upon the perſon who is the moſt nearly related, Berka fe raſſick, ſay his friends; i. e. *A bleſſing be upon your head.*

If we except a few perſons, who are buried within the precincts of the ſanctuaries of their marabbutts, the reſt are carried out at a ſmall diſtance from their cities and villages, where a great extent of ground is allotted for that purpoſe. Each family has a proper portion of it, walled in like a garden, where the bones of their anceſtors have remained undiſturbed for many generations. For in theſe incloſures *, the graves are all diſtinct and ſeparate; each of them having a ſtone placed upright, both at the head and feet, inſcribed with the name or title, (2 Kings xxiii. 17.) of the deceaſed; whilſt the intermediate ſpace is either planted with flowers, bordered round with ſtone, or paved with tiles. The graves of the principal citizens are further diſtinguiſhed, by having cupolas, or vaulted chambers, of three, four, or more yards ſquare built over them; and as theſe very frequently lie open, and occaſionally ſhelter us from the inclemency of the weather, the demoniac (Mark i. 3.) might with propriety enough have *had his dwelling among tombs;* as others are ſaid, Iſa. lxv. 4. *to remain among the graves, and to lodge in the monuments.* And as all theſe different ſorts of tombs and ſepulchres, with the very walls likewiſe of their reſpective cupolas and incloſures, are conſtantly kept clean, white-waſhed, and beautified, they continue to illuſtrate thoſe expreſſions of our Saviour, where he mentions the garniſhing of the ſepulchres, Mat. xxiii. 29. and (ver. 27.) where he compares the Scribes, Phariſees, and hypocrites, *to whited ſepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and all uncleanneſs.* After the funeral is over, the female † relations, during the ſpace of two or three months, go once a week to weep over the grave and perform their parentalia ‡.

§ 6.—*Of the Habitations of the Bedoween Arabs and Kabyles.*

HAVING thus deſcribed the ſeveral buildings peculiar to the cities and towns of this country, let us now take a view of the habitations of the Bedoweens and Kabyles. Now, the Bedoweens, as their great anceſtors, the Arabians, did before them, Iſa. xiii. 20. live in tents called hhymas §, from the ſhelter which they afford the inhabitants; and beet el ſhaar, i. e. *houſes of hair,* from the materials or webs of goats hair, whereof they are made. They are the very ſame which the ancients called mapalia ‖; and being then, as they are to this day, ſecured from the weather by a covering only

* Theſe ſeem to be the ſame with the περιβολοι of the ancients. Thus Euripides Troad. ver. 1141.

Αλλ' αντι κεδρου περιβολων τε λαινων
Εν τηδε θαλαμοις παιδα.

† Notatum fuit in omnibus ſacris, fœminini generis victimas eſſe potiores. Vid. Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l. iii. c. 12. De parentalibus ſ. cœnis ferialibus.

‡ Convivia quæ in parentum aut propinquorum funere fieri conſueverunt. Vid. Alex. ab Alex. ut ſupra. Lex. Petiſc.

§ Sc. a Khama, *he pitched a tent,* operuit locum umbræ captandæ ergo, &c. Vid. Gol. in voce.

‖ Qualia Maurus amat diſperſa mapalia Paſtor. *Sil. Ital.* lib. xvii. 90.
Et ſolitus vacuis errare mapalibus Afer
Venator. *Lucan.* l. iv. 684.
Familiæ aliquot (Numidarum) cum mapalibus pecoribuſque ſuis (ea pecunia illis eſt) perſecuti ſunt regem. Liv. l. xxix. § 31. Numidas poſitis mapalibus conſediſſe. Tac. Ann. l. iv. § 25.

of ſuch hair-cloth as our coal ſacks are made of, might very juſtly be deſcribed by Virgil to have, rara tecta, *thin roofs*. The colour of them is beautifully alluded to, Cant. i. 5. "I am black, but comely like the tents of Kedar." For nothing certainly can afford a more delightful proſpect, than a large extenſive plain, whether in its verdure, or even ſcorched up by the ſun-beams, than thoſe moveable habitations pitched in circles upon them. When we find any number of theſe tents together, (and I have ſeen from three to three hundred), then, as it has been already taken notice of in the *Preface*, they are uſually placed in a circle, and conſtitute a douwar. The faſhion of each tent is of an oblong figure, not unlike the bottom of a ſhip turned upſide down, as Salluſt * has long ago deſcribed them. However, they differ in bigneſs, according to the number of people who live in them; and are accordingly ſupported, ſome with one pillar, others with two or three, whilſt a curtain or carpet let down upon occaſion from each of theſe diviſions, turns the whole into ſo many ſeparate apartments. Theſe tents are kept firm and ſteady, by bracing or ſtretching down their eves with cords, tied to hooked wooded pins, well pointed, which they drive into the ground with a mallet; one of theſe pins anſwering to the *nail*, as the mallet does to the *hammer*, which Jael uſed in *faſtening to the ground the temples of Siſera*, Judg. iv. 21. The pillars which I have mentioned are ſtraight poles, eight or ten feet high, and three or four inches in thickneſs; ſerving not only to ſupport the tent itſelf, but being full of hooks fixed there for the purpoſe, the Arabs hang upon them their clothes, baſkets, ſaddles, and accoutrements of war. Holofernes, as we read in Judith, xiii. 16. made the like uſe of the pillar of his tent, by hanging his fauchion upon it; where it is called *the pillar of the bed*, from the cuſtom perhaps that has always prevailed in theſe countries, of having the upper end of the carpet, mattreſs, or whatever elſe they lie upon, turned from the ſkirts of the tent towards the centre of it. But *the* [κωνωπειον] *canopy*, as we render it, ver. 9. ſhould, I preſume, be rather called *the gnat*, or *muſkeeta net*, which is a cloſe curtain of gauze or fine linen, uſed all over the eaſt, by people of better faſhion, to keep out the flies. But the Arabs have nothing of this kind, who, in taking their reſt, lie ſtretched out upon the ground, without bed, mattreſs, or pillow, wrapping themſelves up only in their hykes, and lying, as they find room, upon a mat or carpet, in the middle or in the corner of the tent. Thoſe indeed who are married, have each of them a portion of the tent to themſelves, cantoned off with a curtain; the reſt accommodate themſelves as conveniently as they can, in the manner I have deſcribed. The deſcription which Mela † and Virgil have left us of the manner of living, and of the decampments among the Libyan ſhepherds, even to the circumſtance of carrying along with them their faithful domeſtic animals, are as juſtly drawn up, as if they had made their obſervations at this time.

Quid tibi paſtores Libyæ, quid paſcua verſu
Proſequar, et raris habitata mapalia tectis?
Sæpe diem noctemque et totum ex ordine menſem
Paſcitur, itque pecus longa in deſerta ſine ullis
Hoſpitiis: tantum campi jacet: omnia ſecum
Armentarius Afer agit, tectumque, laremque
Armaque, Amyclæumque canem, Cræſſamque pharetram.
Georg. iii. ver. 339.

From the dou-wars of the Bedoweens, who live chiefly in the plains, we are to aſcend to the mountainous daſhkrahs of the Kabyles, which conſiſt of a number of

* Ædificia Numidarum, quæ mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quaſi navium carinæ eſſent. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 21.

† Vid. *Excerpta* ex P. Mela.

gurbies,

gurbies *, as the dou-wars do of hhymas. Theſe gurbies are generally raiſed either with hurdles, daubed over with mud, or elſe they are built out of the materials of ſome adjacent ruins, or elſe with ſquare cakes of clay, baked in the ſun. The roofs are covered with ſtraw or turf, ſupported by reeds or branches of trees. There is rarely more than one chamber in the largeſt of them, which ſerves for a kitchen, dining-room, and bed-chamber; beſides one corner of it that is reſerved, as I ſhould have mentioned alſo in the hhymas, for their foles, calves, and kids. As theſe hovels are always fixed and immoveable, they are undoubtedly what the ancients called magalia †; and therefore Carthage itſelf, before the time of Dido, was nothing more than one of theſe daſhkras ‡.

The Kabyles, from their ſituation § and language, (for all the reſt of the country ſpeak the Arabic tongue) ſeem to be the only people of theſe kingdoms who can bear the leaſt relation to the ancient Africans. For notwithſtanding the great variety of conqueſts, to which the low and cultivated parts of this country have been ſo often ſubject, yet it is more than probable, that all or the greater part of the mountainous diſtricts were, from their rugged ſituation, in a great meaſure left free and unmoleſted. Whilſt the Nomades therefore of the plains, and the inhabitants of ſuch cities and villages as were of eaſy acceſs, ſubmitted by degrees to the loſs of their old language, and to the introduction of ſuch new laws and cuſtoms as were conſequent upon theſe invaſions; thoſe who retired to the mountains, and there formed themſelves into kabyleah, i. e. *clans*, may be ſuppoſed to have been the leaſt acquainted with thoſe novelties. It may be farther urged, that as they would be hereby obliged to converſe chiefly among themſelves, ſo, for the ſame reaſon, they would continue to be much the ſame people, and in all probability preſerve their original language, without any conſiderable alteration. But what this was, he muſt be a very bold conjecturer, who can, at this diſtance of time, pretend to aſcertain. The Carthaginians, no doubt, who poſſeſſed all this country ‖, muſt, in conſequence of their many conqueſts and colonies, have in ſome meaſure introduced their own language; a ſpecimen whereof is ſtill preſerved in the Pœnulus of Plautus ¶. Other and greater changes and alterations likewiſe muſt have been introduced, by the ſucceſſive invaſions of the Romans, Vandals, Arabs, and Turks. However, the following, which may be preſumed to be ſome of the primitive words in the Showiah **, as the language of the Kabyles is called at preſent, do not ſeem to have the leaſt affinity with thoſe words, which convey the ſame meaning in the Hebrew and Arabic tongues. For, among many others, *thamurt*, *arghaz*, *thamtuth*, *tigarum*, *akſum*, &c. their names for *earth*, *man*, *woman*, *bread*, *fleſh*, &c. will ſcarce be found to be derivations from thoſe languages, notwithſtanding the learned authors of the *Univerſal Hiſtory* are of another opinion. But the reader is referred to the vocabulary of this language, as it is inſerted among the *Collectanea*.

* Gellio Doxius cœli filius, lutei ædificii inventor, placet exemplo ſumpto ab hirundinum nidis. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. vii. c. 56.

† Magalia dicta quaſi magaria, quod magar Punici novam villam dicunt. Iſidor. Orig. l. xv. c. 12. Vid. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Magalia quæ a vallo caſtrorum Magar vel Magul inſtar villarum fixæ erant, &c. Vid. cl. Waſſæi not. in Sall. Bell. Jug. p. 285.

‡ Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam. *Æn.* i. 425.

§ Vid. p. 5. 59. 59, &c. ‖ Vid. Boch. Chan. in Præfat. ¶ Ibid. l. ii. c. 1.

** The language of the mountaineers in S. W. Barbary is called Shillah, differing in ſome words from the Showiah; but the meaning of the names I could never learn, unleſs perhaps they were called after ſome conſiderable clans, who were either the authors or conſervators of them.

§ 7. *Of their Manufactures, Dreſs, or Habits.*

AFTER this deſcription of the different habitations of the Arabs and Kabyles, we may now take notice of their reſpective employments therein, by giving an account of their manufactures; which indeed, like their oil, hides, wool, and wax, are chiefly conſumed at home, and rarely permitted to be exported to foreign markets. Carpets, which are much coarſer than thoſe from Turkey, are made here in great numbers, and of all ſizes. At Algiers and Tunis, there are looms for velvets, taffitees, and different ſorts of wrought ſilks. Coarſe linen is likewiſe made in moſt of the cities and villages, though Suſa is noted for producing the fineſt. Yet both the ſilks and linen are ſo inconſiderable in quantity, that the deficiencies are often to be ſupplied from the Levant and Europe. But the chief branch of their manufactories, is, the making of *hykes* *, or blankets, as we ſhould call them. The women alone are employed in this work, (as Andromache and Penelope were of old), who do not uſe the ſhuttle, but conduct every thread of the woof with their fingers. Theſe hykes are of different ſizes, and of different qualities and fineneſs. The uſual ſize of them is ſix yards long, and five or ſix feet broad, ſerving the Kabyle and Arab for a complete dreſs in the day, and, *as they ſleep in their raiment*, as the Iſraelites did of old, Deut. xxiv. 13. it ſerves likewiſe for his bed and covering by night. It is a looſe, but troubleſome garment, being frequently diſconcerted and falling upon the ground; ſo that the perſon who wears it, is every moment obliged to tuck it up, and fold it anew about his body.' This ſhews the great uſe there is of a girdle, whenever they are concerned in any active employment; and in conſequence thereof, the force of the Scripture injunction, alluding thereunto, *of having our loins girded* †, in order to ſet about it. The method of wearing theſe garments ‡, with the uſe they are at other times put to, in ſerving for coverlids to their beds, ſhould induce us to take the finer ſorts of them at leaſt, ſuch as are worn by the ladies and perſons of diſtinction, to be the peplus of the ancients. Ruth's veil, which held ſix meaſures of barley, (Ruth iii. 15.) might be of the like faſhion, and have ſerved extraordinarily for the ſame uſe; as were alſo the clothes (τα ἱματια, *the upper garments*) of the Iſraelites, Exod. xii. 13. wherein they folded up their kneading-troughs; as the Moors, Arabs, and Kabyles do to this day things of the like burden and incumbrance in their hykes. Their burnooſes alſo are often uſed upon theſe occa-

* Probably derived from Howk, *texuit*.

† Thus περιζωννυμι is uſed, Luke xvii. 8. Acts xii. 8. Eph. vi. 14. Rev. i. 13. and xv. 6. And αναζωννυμι, 1 Pet. i. 13. 2 Kings iv 29. and ix. 1. &c. Ευπεριστατος joined with ἁμαρτια, Heb. xii. 1. i. e. *Sin, which is ſo well fitted to gird us in*, is alſo well illuſtrated by the faſhion and manner of wearing theſe garments.

‡ J. Pollux (l. vii. c. 13.) deſcribes the uſe of the πεπλος to be ενδυμαι τε και επιβαλλεσθαι, *ad induendum et inſternendum*: and in the latter of theſe ſignifications it is uſed by Homer, Il. ε. ver. 194.

——— Αμφι δε πεπλοι
Πεπτανται.

The ſcholiaſt upon Il. ε. ver. 734. makes the peplus to be a garment that was fitted to the body by a fibula, juſt as the hyke is, ον (ſays he) ουκ ενεδυοντο αλλ' επεξονωντο: and ſo Callimach. in Lavacr. Pallad. ver. 70.

Δη ποτε γαρ πεπλον λυσαμενα πεξονας.

Lutatius upon Statius' Thebais, ver. 101. calls it *veſtis candida*. That it was alſo a large garment, hanging down to the feet, &c. appears from the following epithets that are given to it by the ancients. Thus Euripides (in Bacch. ver. 40.) calls them πεπλοι ποδηρεις. Æſchylus (in Choeph. ver. 1000.) ποδιηρεις πεπλους. Homer (in *Il.* z. ver. 442.) ἑλκεσιπεπλους; and again, *Od.* Δ. ver. 305. ταναυπεπλον.

ſions. It is very probable likewiſe, that the looſe folding garment, the toga * of the Romans, was of this kind. For if the drapery of their ſtatues is to inſtruct us, this is actually no other than the dreſs of the Arabs, when they appear in their hykes. The plaid of the Highlanders in Scotland is the very ſame.

Inſtead of the fibula, that was uſed by the Romans, the Arabs join together with thread or with a wooden bodkin, the two upper corners of this garment; and after having placed them firſt over one of their ſhoulders, they then fold the reſt of it about their bodies. The outer fold ſerves them frequently inſtead of an apron; wherein they carry herbs, loaves, corn, &c. and may illuſtrate ſeveral alluſions made thereto in Scripture; as *gathering the lap full of wild gourds*, 2 Kings iv. 39. *rendering ſeven fold, giving good meaſure into the boſom.* Pſal. lxxix. 12. Luke vi. 38. *ſhaking the lap.* Neh. v. 13. &c.

The burnooſe, which anſwers to our cloak, is often, for warmth, worn over theſe hykes. This too is another great branch of their woollen manufactory. It is wove in one piece, and ſhaped exactly like the garment of the little god Teleſphorus; *viz.* ſtrait about the neck, with a cape or Hippocrates' ſleeve, for a cover to the head, and wide below like a cloak. Some of them likewiſe are fringed round the bottom, like Parthenaſpa's and Trajan's garment upon the baſſo relievo's of Conſtantine's arch †. The burnooſe, without the cape, ſeems to anſwer to the Roman pallium ‡; and with it, to the bardocucullus §.

If we except the cape of the burnooſe, which is only occaſionally uſed during a ſhower of rain, or in very cold weather, ſeveral Arabs and Kabyles go bare-headed all the year long, as Maſſiniſſa did of old ‖, binding their temples only with a narrow fillet, to prevent their locks from being troubleſome. As the ancient diadema ¶ might originally ſerve for this purpoſe, ſo it appears, from buſts and medals, to have been of no other faſhion. But the Moors and Turks, with ſome of the principal Arabs, wear upon the crown of the head, a ſmall hemiſpherical cap of ſcarlet cloth, another great branch of their woollen manufactory. The turbant, as they call a long narrow web of linen, ſilk or muſlin, is folded round the bottom of theſe caps, and very properly diſtinguiſhes, by the number and faſhion of the folds, the ſeveral orders and degrees of ſoldiers, and ſometimes of citizens, one from another. We find the ſame dreſs and ornament of the head, the tiara as it was called, upon a number of medals, ſtatues, and baſſo relievos of the ancients **.

Under

* Toga dicta, quod velamento ſui corpus tegat atque operiat. Eſt autem pallium purum forma rotunda et fuſiore, et, quaſi inundante ſinu et ſub dextro veniens ſuper humerum ſiniſtrum ponitur: cujus ſimilitudinem in operimentis ſimulachrorum vel picturarum aſpicimus, eaſque ſtatuas Togatas vocamus. Menſura togæ juſtæ, ſi ſex ulnas habeat. Iſid. Orig. l. xix. c. 24.

† Vid. Veteres Arcus Auguſtorum, &c. antiquis nummis, notiſque Jo. Petri Bellorii illuſtrati, &c. Rom. 1690. tab. xxiv. xxviii. xxxviii. &c.

‡ Pallium (ἱμάτιον) quia palam geſtetur: quod palam ſit et foris: ſub eo enim Tunica ſumebatur, &c. Vid. Steph. Theſ. Ling. Lat.

§ Penulæ Gallicæ genus, quæ cucullum habet. Hinc Martial. l. xiv. 178.

Gallia Santonico veſtit te bardocucullo.

Vid. Raynaud. de Pil. p. 15. Ferrar. de Re Veſt. ii. 1. 21. Salm. Exercit. Plin. p. 392. Voſſii Lex. Etym. vel Lex Pitiſc.

‖ Arbitror te audire, Scipio, hoſpes tuus avitus Maſiniſſa, quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus: cum ingreſſus iter pedibus ſit, non equum omnino non aſcendere: cum equo, ex equo non deſcendere: nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto, &c. Cic. de Senectute.

¶ Diadema erat faſcia candida, quæ regum capitibus obligabatur. Cœl. l. xxiv. c. 6.

** Quartum genus veſtimenti eſt rotundum pileolum, quale pictum in Ulyſſeo conſpicimus quaſi, ſphæra media ſit diviſa; et pars una ponatur in capite: hoc Græci et noſtri πίλον, nonnulli Galerum vocat, Hebræi

Under the hyke, ſome wear a cloſe-bodied frock or tunic (a jillebba they call it), with or without ſleeves, which differs little from the Roman tunica, or habit in which the conſtellation *Boötes* is uſually painted. The χιτων, or coat of our Saviour, which *was woven without ſeam from top throughout*, John xix. 23. might be of the like faſhion. This too, no leſs than the hyke is to be girded about their bodies, eſpecially when they are engaged in any labour, exerciſe, or employment; at which times they uſually throw off their burnooſes and hykes, and remain only in theſe tunics. And of this kind probably was the habit wherewith our Saviour might ſtill be cloathed, when he is ſaid *to lay aſide his garments*, (ἱματια *pallium ſc. et peplum*, or *burnooſe* and *hyke*, John xiii. 4.) *and to take a towel and gird himſelf;* as was likewiſe the *fiſher's coat* * (John xxi. 7.) which St. Peter *girded about him*, when he is ſaid to *be naked;* or what the ſame perſon, at the command of the angel, (Acts xii. 8.) *might have girded upon him*, before he is enjoined *to caſt his garment* (ἱματιον) *about him*. Now, the hyke, or burnooſe, or both, being probably at that time (ἱματιον or ἱματια) the proper dreſs, cloathing or habit of the eaſtern nations, as they ſtill continue to be of the Kabyles and Arabs, when they laid them aſide, or appeared without one or the other, they might very probably be ſaid to be undreſſed, or naked †, according to the eaſtern manner of expreſſion. This ſame convenient and uniform ſhape of theſe garments, that are made to fit all perſons, may well illuſtrate a variety of expreſſions and occurrences in Scripture, which, to ignorant perſons, too much miſled by our own faſhions, may ſeem difficult to account for. Thus, among many other inſtances, we read that *the goodly raiment of Eſau was put upon Jacob;* that *Jonathan ſtripped himſelf of his garments;* and *the beſt robe was brought out, and put upon the prodigal ſon;* and that *raiment*, and *changes of raiment*, are often given, and immediately put on, (as they ſtill continue to be in theſe eaſtern nations), without ſuch previous and occaſional alterations, as would be required amongſt us in the like diſtribution or exchange of garments.

The girdles, which have been occaſionally mentioned before, are uſually of worſted, very artfully woven into a variety of figures, ſuch as the *rich girdles* of the *virtuous virgins* may be ſuppoſed to have been, Prov. xxxi. 24. They are made to fold ſeveral times about the body; one end of which being doubled back, and ſewn along the edges, ſerves them for a purſe, agreeable to the acceptation of the ζωνη ‡ in the Scriptures. The Turks make a further uſe of theſe girdles, by fixing therein their knives and poinards §; whilſt the hojias, i. e. *the writers* and *ſecretaries*, ſuſpend in the ſame their inkhorns ‖; a cuſtom as old as the prophet Ezekiel, (ix. 2.) who mentions a *perſon clothed in white linen, with an inkhorn upon his loins.*

It

Hebræi מזנפת *Miznepheth.* Non habet acumen in ſummo, nec totum uſque ad comam caput tegit, ſed tertiam partem a fronte inopertam relinquit, &c. Hieronym. de Veſte Sacerdot. ad Fabiolam.

* The original word is επενδυτης, which the Vulgate renders *tunica:* others, *amiculum, inducium, ſupercilicium*, &c. from επενδυομαι, *ſuperinduor.* Vid. Leigh's Critica Sacra, p. 149.

† To be *naked*, is the ſame as to be *ill-cloathed*, according to Seneca; 'Qui male veſtitum et pannoſum vidit, nudum ſe vidiſſe dicit,' ſays he, De Benef. l. v. 13. What P. Mela alſo ſays of the Germans, 'Plerumque nudos egiſſe;' the ſame is expreſſed by Tacitus, by 'Rejecta veſte ſuperiore;' i. e. the ἱματιον, or what anſwers to the *hyke* or *burnooſe* above deſcribed. David alſo (2 Sam. vi. 14. 20,) is ſaid to be *naked*, when he had on a linen ephod.

‡ Which in Matt. x. 9. and Mark vi. 8. we render a *purſe.*

§ The poinard of the Arab is made crooked, like the copis or harp of the ancients. Q. Curt. l. iii. de Reb. Alex. 'Copidas vocant gladios leviter curvatos falcibus ſimiles.' Bonarotæ Præf. in Dempſt. Hetrur. Regal. 'Brevis gladius in arcum curvatus harpe dictus.'

‖ That part of theſe inkhorns (if an inſtrument of braſs may be ſo called) which paſſes betwixt the girdle and the tunic, and holds their pens, is long and flat; but the veſſel for the ink, which reſts upon

It is cuſtomary for the Turks and Moors to wear ſhirts of linen, or cotton, or gauze, underneath the tunic; but the Arabs wear nothing but woollen. There is a ceremony indeed in ſome dou-wars, which obliges the bridegroom and the bride to wear each of them a ſhirt at the celebration of their nuptials; but then, out of a ſtrange kind of ſuperſtition, they are not afterwards to waſh them, or put them off, whilſt one piece hangs to another. The ſleeves of theſe ſhirts are wide and open, without folds at the neck or wriſt, as ours have; thereby preventing the flea and the louſe from being commodiouſly lodged: thoſe, particularly of the women, are oftentimes of the richeſt gauze, adorned with different coloured ribbands, interchangeably ſewed to each other.

Neither are the Bedoweens accuſtomed to wear drawers; a habit notwithſtanding which the citizens of both ſexes conſtantly appear in, eſpecially when they go abroad or receive viſits. The virgins are diſtinguiſhed from the matrons, in having their drawers made of needle-work, ſtriped ſilk or linen, juſt as Tamar's garment is deſcribed, 2 Sam. xiii. 18. But when the women are at home and in private, then their hykes are laid aſide, and ſometimes their tunics; and inſtead of drawers, they bind only a towel * about their loins. A Barbary matron, in her undreſs, appears like Silanus in the Admiranda †.

When theſe ladies appear in public, they always fold themſelves up ſo cloſely in theſe hykes, that even without their veils, we could diſcover very little of their faces. But, in the ſummer months, when they retire to their country-ſeats, they walk abroad with leſs caution; though, even then, upon the approach of a ſtranger, they always drop their veils, as Rebekah did upon the ſight of Iſaac, Gen. xxiv. 65. They all affect to have their hair, the *inſtrument of their pride*, (Iſa. xxii. 12.) hang down to the ground, which, after they have collected into one lock, they bind and plait it with ribbands; a piece of finery diſapproved of by the apoſtle, 1 Pet. iii. 3. Where nature has been leſs liberal in this ornament, there the defect is ſupplied by art, and foreign hair is procured to be interwoven with the natural. Abſalom's hair, *which was ſold* (2 Sam. xiv. 26.) *for two hundred ſhekels*, might have been applied to this uſe. After the hair is thus plaited, they proceed to dreſs their heads, by tying above the lock I have deſcribed, a triangular piece of linen, adorned with various figures in needle-work. This, among perſons of better faſhion, is covered with a *ſarmah*, as they call it, (of the like ſound with השחרנים, Iſa. iii. 18.) which is made in the ſame triangular ſhape, of thin flexible plates of gold or ſilver, artfully cut through, and engraven in imitation of lace, and might therefore anſwer to the *moon-like ornament* mentioned above. A handkerchief of crape, gauze, ſilk, or painted linen, bound cloſe over the ſarmah, and falling afterwards careleſsly upon the favourite lock of hair, completes the head-dreſs of the Mooriſh ladies.

But none of theſe ladies think themſelves completely dreſſed, till they have tinged their eyelids with Al-ka-hol ‡, i. e. *the powder of lead ore*. And as this is performed by

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the girdle, is ſquare, with a lid to claſp over it. They make no uſe of quills, but of ſmall reeds (*calami*), which they cut into the ſame ſhape with our pens; and, in the country villages, no leſs than among the Kabyles and Arabs, where galls, copperas, &c. are not to be procured, they make ink of wool calcined into powder, which they mix afterwards with water.

* This is called both in Barbary and the Levant, a *footah*, which Camus (in Golius) makes to be a Perſian word, denoting *genus veſtis ſtriatæ*, ex Sindia deportari *ſolitum*. pec. *præcinctorium*.

† Vid. Admirand. Roman. Antiq. tab. XLIV.

‡ This word is rendered by Golius, and others, *ſtibium*, antimonii ſpecies, and ſometimes *collyrium*. The Heb. (כחל) *cahhol* hath the ſame interpretation; and the verb כחלת joined with עיניך, Ezek. xxiii.

by firſt dipping into this powder a ſmall wooden bodkin, of the thickneſs of a quill, and then drawing it afterwards through the eye-lids, over the ball of the eye, we have a lively image of what the prophet (Jer. iv. 30.) may be ſuppoſed to mean *by renting the eyes* (not, as we render it, with *painting*, but) *with* פוך *lead ore.* The ſooty colour which is thus communicated to the eyes, is thought to add a wonderful gracefulneſs to perſons of all complexions. The practice of it, no doubt, is of the greateſt antiquity; for, beſides the inſtance already taken notice of, we find that when Jezebel is ſaid (2 Kings ix. 30.) *to have painted her face*, the original words are כפוך עינוה תשם, i. e. *ſhe adjuſted* (or *ſet off*) *her eyes with the powder of pouk*, or *lead ore.* So likewiſe Ezekiel xxiii. 40. is to be underſtood. Karan happuc, i. e. the horn of *pouk* or *lead ore*, the name of Job's youngeſt daughter, was relative to this cuſtom and practice. The Latin appellation, *fucus*, is a derivative alſo from the ſame. Neither was this cuſtom uſed by other eaſtern nations only *, but by the Greeks alſo and Romans †. Among other curioſities likewiſe that were taken out of the catacombs at Sahara, relating to the Egyptian women, I ſaw a joint of the common reed, or *donax*, which contained one of theſe bodkins, and an ounce or more of this powder, agreeable to the faſhion and practice of theſe times.

§ 8.—*Of their Proviſions and Cookery.*

PROVISIONS of all kinds are very cheap. A large piece of bread, a bundle of turnips, and a ſmall baſket of fruit, may each of them be purchaſed for an aſper, i. e. for the ſix hundred and ninety-ſixth part of a dollar; which is not the quarter of one of our farthings. Fowls are frequently bought for a penny or three-halfpence a piece, a full grown ſheep for three ſhillings and ſixpence, and a cow and a calf for a guinea. A buſhel of the beſt wheat likewiſe is uſually ſold for fifteen, ſeldom ſo dear as eighteen-pence; which is a great bleſſing and advantage, inaſmuch as they, no leſs than the eaſtern nations in general, are great eaters of bread ‡; it being computed that three perſons in four live entirely upon it, or elſe upon ſuch compoſitions § as are

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xxiii. 40. is rendered, *Thou paintedſt thy eyes.* פוך is taken in the like ſignification, being rendered *antimonium, ſtibium*, quo ad tingenda nigrore cilia, ſeu ad venuſtandos oculos, peculiariter utebantur, color ſubniger *ex pulveribus ſtibii* confectus. Schindl Lex. St Jerom likewiſe, upon theſe words, אבניך בפוך, Iſa. liv. 11. which we render, (*I will lay*) *thy ſtones with fair colours*, takes notice, Quod omnes præter LXX. ſimiliter tranſtulerunt: viz. (*ſternam*) *in ſtibio lapides tuos*, in ſimilitudinem comptæ mulieris, quæ *oculos pingit ſtibio* ut pulchritudinem ſignificet civitatis. פוך therefore, כחל, and *Kuheel*, denoting the ſame mineral ſubſtance or *collyrium*, it may be preſumed, that what is called to this day *Ka-hol*, (which is a rich lead ore, pounded into an impalpable powder), was the mineral which they always made uſe of.

* Οξαν δε (Cyrus) αυτον (Aſtyagem) κεκοσμημενον και ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩΝ ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ, και χρωματος εντριψει, και κομαις προσθετοις, &c. Xenoph. de Cyr. Inſt. l. i. § 11. Ταυτη μοι δοκουσιν αι χρυσοφορουσαι γυναικες, των πλοκαμων τας ενθλισμους ασκησαι, χρισματα τε παρειων και ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩΝ, και βαφας μετιουσαι τριχων, &c. Cl. Alex. Pæd. l. iii. c. 2.

† Vis Stibii principalis circa oculos; namque ideo etiam plerique Platyophthalmon id appellavere (Dioſcorid. l. iii. c. 99.) quoniam in calliblepharis mulierum dilatet oculos. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 6.

‡ Αιγυπτιους δ' Εκαταιος ΑΡΤΟΦΑΓΟΥΣ φησιν ειναι, κυλλησιας εσθιοντας. Athen. Deip. l. x. p. 418. ed Dalechamp. Maſiniſſa likewiſe, agreeable no doubt to the cuſtom of the Numidians at that time is mentioned by Polybius (Frag. p. 1000. ed. Caſaub.) as eating (συπαρον αρτον) *brown bread* very ſavourily at his tent door.

§ Cuſcaſſowe, i. e. the chiefeſt of theſe compoſitions, is well deſcribed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 254. and in Lowth. Abridg. vol. iii. p. 626. When the grains of cuſcaſſow are large, then the compoſition is called hamza. What they call doweeda, is the ſame with vermezelli; as their bag-reah differs not much from our pancakes, only that inſtead of rubbing the ta-jen, or pan wherein they fry them with butter, they here rub it with ſoap to make them honey-comb.

made of barley or wheat flour. Frequent mention is made of this ſimple diet in the Holy Scriptures *, where the fleſh of animals, though ſometimes indeed it may be included in the *eating of bread*, or making a meal, is not often recorded.

In cities and villages, where there are public ovens, the bread is uſually leavened; but among the Bedoweens and Kabyles, as ſoon as the dough is kneaded, it is made into thin cakes, either to be baked immediately upon the coals, or elſe in a tajen †. Such were *the unleavened cakes* which we ſo often read of in Scripture; ſuch likewiſe were *the cakes* which *Sarah made quickly upon the hearth*, Gen. xviii. 6.

Moſt families grind their wheat and barley at home, having two portable mill-ſtones for that purpoſe; the uppermoſt whereof is turned round by a ſmall handle of wood or iron that is placed in the rim. When this ſtone is large, or expedition is required, then a ſecond perſon is called in to aſſiſt; and as it is uſual for the women alone to be concerned in this employment, who ſeat themſelves over againſt each other, with the mill-ſtones between them, we may ſee not only the propriety of the expreſſion, Exod. xi. 5. of ſitting *behind the mill*, but the force of another, Matt. xxiv. 40. that *two women ſhall be grinding at the mill, the one ſhall be taken and the other left.* The cuſtom which theſe women have of ſinging, during the time they are thus employed, is the ſame with what is related in an expreſſion of Ariſtophanes, viz. των πλισσασων αλλη τις ωδη, as it is preſerved by Athenæus ‡.

Beſides ſeveral different ſorts of fricaſees, and of roaſted, boiled, and forced meats, (the firſt and laſt of which are always high-ſeaſoned, and very ſavoury, Gen. xxvii. 4.) the richer part of the Turks and Moors, mix up a variety of diſhes with almonds, dates, ſweetmeats, milk, and honey, which it would be too tedious to enumerate. I have ſeen at ſome of their feſtivals, more than two hundred diſhes, whereof forty at leaſt were of different kinds. But among the Bedoweens and Kabyles, there are neither utenſils nor conveniences for ſuch entertainments; two or three wooden bowls, with a pot and a kettle, being the whole kitchen furniture of the greateſt prince or *emeer*.

All the ſeveral orders and degrees of theſe people, from the Bedoween to the Baſhaw, eat in the ſame manner; firſt waſhing their hands, and then ſitting themſelves down croſs-legged §, their uſual poſture of ſitting, round about a mat, (Pſal. cxxviii. 3. 1 Sam. xvi. 11.) or a low table, where their diſhes are placed. No uſe is made of a table-cloth; each perſon contenting himſelf with the ſhare of a long towel that is careleſsly laid round about the mat or table. Knives and ſpoons likewiſe are of little ſervice; for their animal food, being always well roaſted or boiled, requires no carving. The cuſcaſſowe, pilloe, and other diſhes alſo, which we ſhould reckon among ſpoon-meats, are ſerved up, in the ſame manner, in a degree of heat little

* Gen. xviii. 5. and 1 Sam. xxviii. 22. "I will fetch a morſel of bread." Ch. xxi. 14. "And Abraham took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar." Chap. xxxvii. 25. "They ſat down to eat bread." Chap. xliii. 31. "And Joſeph ſaid, Set on bread." Exod. ii. 20. "Call him, that he may eat bread." Ch. xvi. 3. "We did eat bread to the full." Deut. ix. 9. "I neither did eat bread, nor drink water." 1 Sam. xxviii. 20. "Saul had eaten no bread all the day," &c.

† This is a ſhallow earthen veſſel, like a frying-pan, made uſe of not only for this, but other purpoſes. What is baked therein, is called *ta-jen*, after the name of the veſſel; juſt as τηγανον (*Heſych.* ταγηνον) a word of the ſame ſound and import, is taken by the Greeks: ταγηνον appellant το εν τηγανω εψηθεν. Steph. Theſ. p. 1460-1. "If thy oblation (Lev. ii. 5.) be a meat-offering, *baken* in a pan (απο ταγανω), it ſhall be of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil."

‡ Deipn. p. 619. edit. Caſaub.

§ Γονυ καμψειν or the *bending of the knee*, Hom. Il. Η. 118. was the very ſame action among the Greeks; explained by Euſtathius by καθεσθηναι, *to ſit down*, viz. as the eaſtern people ſtill continue to do, *croſs-legged*. Æſchylus in Prometheus, has the ſame expreſſion for *ſitting down*.

better

better than lukewarm; whereby the whole company eat of it greedily, without the leaſt danger of burning or ſcalding their fingers. The fleſh they tear into morſels, and the cuſcaſſowe they make into pellets, ſqueezing as much of them both together as will make a mouthful. When their food is of a more liquid nature, ſuch as oil and vinegar, robb, hatted milk, honey, &c. then, after they have broken their bread or cakes into little bits (ψωμια, or *ſops*), they fall on as before, *dipping their hands and their morſels together* therein, Matt. xxvi. 23. Ruth ii. 14. John xiii. 26. At all theſe meals, they feed themſelves with their right hand, the left being reſerved for more ignoble uſes.

As ſoon as any perſon is ſatisfied, he riſes up and waſhes his hands, his arms, and his beard, without taking the leaſt notice of the remaining part of the company, whilſt another takes inſtantly his place; the ſervant ſometimes, for there is no diſtinction of tables, ſucceeding his maſter.

At all theſe feſtivals and entertainments, the men are treated in ſeparate apartments from the women, Eſth. i. 9.; not the leaſt intercourſe or communication being ever allowed betwixt the two ſexes.

When they ſit down to theſe meals, or when they eat or drink at other times, and indeed when they enter upon their daily employments, or any other action, they always uſe the the word Biſmillah*, i. e. *In the name of God;* with the like ſerioufneſs and reverence alſo they pronounce the word Alhandillah, i. e. *God be praiſed,* when nature is ſatisfied, or when their affairs are attended with ſucceſs.

§ 9. — *Of their Employments and Diverſions.*

THE Turks and Moors are early riſers, and drink their ſhorbah, as they call a meſs of pottage, before the dawning of the day; at which time they conſtantly attend the public devotions, after their muezzims, or *cryers*, have firſt called out thrice from the tops of their moſques, *Come to prayers; it is better to pray than to ſleep.* The ſeveral ſtations, proſtrations, and other ceremonies enjoined upon theſe occaſions, as they have been already well deſcribed by Reland and other authors, ſo they need not be here repeated. After they have performed this ſhort though neceſſary duty, as they account it, and *as ſoon as the morning is light*, Gen. xliv. 9. *the men are ſent away* to their proper trades and occupations, till ten in the morning, the uſual time of dining; after which, they return again to their employment till aſa, or the *afternoon* prayers, when all kind of work ceaſes and their ſhops are ſhut up. The ſupper commonly follows the prayers of magreb, or *ſun-ſet;* and their devotions being repeated at the ſetting of the watch, or when it begins to be dark, they take their reſt immediately afterwards. In the intervals of theſe ſtated hours of public prayer, or when no buſineſs is to be tranſacted, the graver and more elderly perſons are frequently taken up in counting over their beads; repeating Staffar-allah† at each of them. Sometimes likewiſe, inſtead of ſitting croſs-legged, or jointly upon their heels and knees, their uſual poſture upon theſe devotional occaſions, as being the readier for their proſtrations, they ſit down with their knees placed upright before them, (as *in covering their feet*, Judges iii. 24. 1 Sam. xxiv. 3. i. e. *in alvo exonerando*) and putting their faces betwixt them, as Elijah did, (1 Kings xviii. 42.) offer up, in a more private and retired manner, their ejaculations and prayers. Others again there are, who

* Biſmillah is the ſame in effect with the Jewiſh אם יהפיץ האל, i. e. אי"ה, *if God will*, or *if God be pleaſed*, or *if the Lord will*; 1 Cor. iv. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 17.

† Staffar-allah, i. e. *God forgive me.*

mutter over by heart, moving their bodies too and fro all the time, ſuch portions of their Koran as are then pitched upon for their meditation. Several of their thalebs, or *ſcribes*, are ſo well converſant with the Koran, that they can correctly tranſcribe it by memory from one end to another.

Thoſe who are not ſo ſeriouſly and religiouſly diſpoſed, ſpend the day either in converſing with one another at the haf-effs *, in the Bazar, or at the coffee-houſes, where they drink coffee † or ſherbet, and play at cheſs, wherein they are very dextrous, and ſometimes are ſo well matched as to continue the ſame game by adjournment for ſeveral days before it is finiſhed. The conqueror is as highly pleaſed with having a feather, as the cuſtom is, ſtuck in his turban, as our gameſters would be in having won a great ſum.

But there are ſeveral Turkiſh and Mooriſh youths, and no ſmall part likewiſe of the unmarried ſoldiers, who attend their concubines, with wine and muſic, into the fields, or elſe make themſelves merry at the tavern; a practice indeed expreſsly prohibited by their religion, but what the neceſſity of the times, and the uncontroulable paſſions of the tranſgreſſors, oblige theſe governments to diſpenſe with.

The Arab follows no regular trade or employment. His life is one continued round of idleneſs or diverſion. When no paſtime nor hunting-match calls him abroad, he does nothing all the day long, but loiter at home, ſmoke his pipe ‡, and repoſe himſelf under ſome neighbouring ſhade. He has no reliſh at all for domeſtic amuſements, and is rarely known to converſe with his wife, or play with his children. What he values above all is his horſe, wherein he places his higheſt ſatisfaction; being ſeldom well pleaſed or in good humour but when he is far from home, riding at full ſpeed or hunting.

The Arabs, and indeed the eaſtern nations in general, are very dextrous at theſe exerciſes. I ſaw ſeveral perſons at Cairo, who, at full ſpeed, and upon horſes ſixteen hands high, would take up from the ground a jerrid §, as they called the naked ſtalk of a palm branch, that had been dropped by themſelves or by their antagoniſts. Few there are who cannot quickly hunt down a wild boar; the repreſentation of which ſport, as it is performed to this day, is beautifully deſigned upon one of the medallions in Conſtantine's arch ‖.

The method is this: After they have roufed the beaſt from his retirement, and purſued it into ſome adjacent plain, (the ἱππασιμα χωρια, as Xenophon calls it), their firſt endeavour is, by frequently overtaking and turning it, to tire and perplex it; and then watching an opportunity, they either throw their lance at it, at ſome diſtance, or elſe coming cloſe by its ſide, which is the moſt valiant way, they lodge their ſpears in its body. At the hunting of the lion a whole diſtrict is ſummoned to appear; who, forming themſelves firſt into a circle, encloſe a ſpace of three, four, or five

* The holding converſations at the haf-effs, i. e. *the barber's ſhop*, ſeems to be of great antiquity; for Theophraſtus, as we read in Plutarch, (Sympos. l. v. q. 5.) calls them αοινα συμποσια, *banquets without wine*.

† Coffee, or cowah, as they pronounce it, and ſherbet, are both of them eaſtern words; the firſt of Perſian, the latter of Arabic extraction, denoting *drink*, or the το *drinkable*.

‡ This the Arabs call, ſhrob el douhhan, *drinking of ſmoke*, i. e. *tobacco*, the Arabic and our name being the ſame, according to what Hernandez relateth, 'Plantam, quam Mexicenſes *Pycielt* ſeu *Yelt* vocant, ab Haitinis appellatur *Tobaco*, a quibus non ad Indos ſolum, ſed ad Hiſpanos id defluxit nomen, eo quod *ſuffumigiis* admiſceretur,' quæ *Tobacos* etiam nuncupare conſueverunt, a Braſilianis Petum, ab aliis Herba ſacra, a nonnullis Nicotiana dicitur.' Hiſt. Mexican. l. v. c. 51.

§ Some authors have derived the name of *Biledulgerid* from theſe branches; but without foundation. Vid. p. 34. & 260.

‖ Vid. Vet. Arcus Auguſtorum, &c. Tab. xxxvi.

miles

miles in compaſs, according to the number of the people, and the quality of the ground that is pitched upon for the ſcene of action. The footmen advance firſt, ruſhing into the thickets, with their dogs and ſpears, to put up the game; whilſt the horſemen, keeping a little behind, are always ready to charge, upon the firſt ſally of the wild beaſt. In this manner they proceed, ſtill contracting their circle, till they all at laſt either cloſe in together, or meet with ſome other game to divert them. The accidental paſtime upon theſe occaſions is ſometimes very entertaining; for the ſeveral different ſorts of animals that lie within this compaſs, being thus driven together, or frighted from their abodes, they rarely fail of having a variety of agreeable chaſes after hares, jackalls, hyænas, and other wild beaſts. We have in the following lines, a beautiful deſcription of the like diverſion:

Si curva feras indago latentes
Claudit, et admotis paulatim caſſibus arctat.
Illæ ignem ſonitumque pavent, diffuſaque linquunt
Avia, miranturque ſuum decreſcere montem,
Donec in anguſtam ceciderunt undique vallem,
Neque vicem ſtupuere greges, ſocioque timore
Manſuefcunt: ſimul hirtus aper, ſimul urſa, lupuſque
Cogitur, et captos contemnit cerva leones.
Stat. Achil. l. i. 459.

It it commonly obſerved, that when the lion perceives himſelf in danger, nay, ſometimes the very moment he is rouſed, he will ſeize directly upon the perſon who is the neareſt to him, and rather than quit his hold will ſuffer himſelf to be cut to pieces.

Hawking is one of the chiefeſt diverſions among the Arabs and gentry of the kingdom of Tunis. Their woods afford them a beautiful variety of hawks and falcons, for which this kingdom was remarkable two centuries ago *. With their falconetti, one of the ſmalleſt ſpecies, they uſually hunt on foot, eſpecially in the quail ſeaſon, at the autumnal equinox, which affords them high diverſion and pleaſure.

Thoſe who delight in fowling, do not ſpring the game as we do, with dogs; but ſhading themſelves with an oblong piece of canvaſs, ſtretched over a couple of reeds or ſticks, like a door, they walk with it through the ſeveral brakes and avenues, where they expect to find game. This canvaſs is uſually ſpotted or painted with the figure of a leopard; and a little below the top of it there is one or more holes for the fowler to look through, and obſerve what paſſes before him. The rhaad, the kitawiah, partridge, and other gregarious birds, will, upon the approach of the canvaſs, covey together, though they were feeding before at ſome diſtance from each other. The woodcock, quail, and ſuch birds likewiſe as do not commonly feed in flocks, will, upon ſight of this extended canvaſs, ſtand ſtill and look aſtoniſhed; which gives the ſportſman an opportunity of coming very near them; and then, reſting the canvaſs upon the ground, and directing the muzzle of his piece through one of the holes, he will ſometimes ſhoot a whole covey at a time. The Arabs have another, though a more laborious method of catching theſe birds; for obſerving that they become languid and fatigued, after they have been haſtily put up twice or thrice, they immediately run in upon them, and knock them down with their zer-

* Reges Tunctenſes Cæſareæ majeſtati ejuſque ſucceſſoribus Hiſpaniæ regibus, ſingulis annis in æquum, ſex equos Mauros, eoſque exquiſitiſſimos, ac duodecim eximios falcones, in æviternam beneficiorum ab ejus majeſtate acceptorum memoriam danto et offerunto. Etrob. Diar. Iers l. Tunet. a Carolo V. Imp. MDXXXV.

wattys * or *bludgeons*, as we ſhould call them. They are likewiſe well acquainted with that method of catching partridges, which is called *tunnelling;* and, to make the capture the greater, they will ſometimes place behind the net a cage, with ſome tame ones within it, which, by their perpetual chirping and calling, quickly bring down the coveys that are within hearing, and thereby decoy great numbers of them. This may lead us into the right interpretation of περδιξ δηρευτης εν καρταλλω, Ecclus. xi. 30. which we render *like as a partridge taken* [*and kept*] *in a cage, ſo is the heart of the proud;* but ſhould be, like a *decoy partridge in a cage* †, *ſo is*, &c.

§ 10. — *Of their Manners and Cuſtoms: and of the Mooriſh Women, their Lamentations, &c.*

THE Arabs retain a great many of thoſe manners and cuſtoms which we read of in ſacred as well as profane hiſtory. For if we except their religion, they are the very ſame people they were two or three thouſand years ago; without having ever embraced any of thoſe novelties in dreſs or behaviour, which have had ſo many periods and revolutions among the Turks and Moors. Upon meeting one another, they ſtill uſe the primitive ſalutation of Salem alekum ‡, i. e. *Peace be unto you;* though by their wit or ſuperſtition they have made it a religious compliment §, as if they ſaid, *Be in a ſtate of ſalvation.* Before the Mahometan conqueſts, the expreſſion was, Allah heekha, or, *God prolong your life;* the ſame with Havo adoni, the Punic compliment in Plautus. Inferiors, out of deference and reſpect, kiſs the feet, the knees, or the garments of their ſuperiors; but children, and the neareſt relations, kiſs the head only. The poſture they obſerve in giving one another the aſslem-mah ‖, is to lay their right hand upon their breaſt; whilſt others, who are more intimately acquainted, or are of equal age and dignity, mutually kiſs the hand, the head, or ſhoulder, of each other ¶. At the feaſt of their byram, and upon other great ſolemnities, the wife compliments her huſband by kiſſing his hand.

It is here no diſgrace for perſons of the higheſt character to buſy themſelves in what we ſhould reckon menial employments. The greateſt prince, like Gideon and Araunah of old, aſſiſts in the moſt laborious actions of huſbandry; neither is he aſhamed to fetch a lamb from his herd ** and kill it ††, whilſt the princeſs his wife is impatient till ſhe

* Theſe are ſhort ſticks, ſuch probably as the ancient σκυτεα were, which being bound round the end with iron, or inlaid with pewter or braſs, ſerve thoſe Arabs who are not maſters of a gun, for an offenſive and defenſive weapon.

† Vid. Boch. Hieroz. part. poſt. l. i. c. 13.

‡ *And he* (Joſeph) ſaid שלום לכם, the ſame with the Arab. Salamunlikum, *Peace be unto you*, Gen. xliii. 23. Judges vi. 23. and xix. 20. 1 Sam. xxv. 6. &c. John xx. 19. *Peace be unto you*, &c.

§ The Mahometans love to call their religion I-ſlamiſme, from the Arab. Salama, which in the 4th conj. is Aſlama, to enter into the ſtate of ſalvation; hence Eſlam, *the ſaving religion*, and Muſlemon, or, as we call it, Muſleman, or Muſolem, *he that believeth therein.* Prid. Life of Mahomet, p. 11.

‖ In Gen. xxxvii. 4. it is ſaid, "When Joſeph's brethren ſaw that their father loved him more than all his brethren, that they hated him, and *could not ſpeak peaceably to him;*" whereas theſe laſt words ſhould be rendered thus, *they would not give him the aſslem-mah*, or the *compliment of peace.*

¶ Salutations of this kind are often mentioned in Homer, as practiſed by the Greeks.

Κυσσε δε μιν κεφαλην τε και αμφω φαεα κηλα,	
Χειρας τ' αμφοτερας.	*Odyſs.* l. xvi. ver. 15.
Και κυμεον — ωμως.	*Ibid.* xxi. ver. 224.
κεφαλας και χειρας εκυσσε.	*Ibid.* ver. 225.

** Thus we read, Gen. xviii. 7. that Abraham *ran to the herd and fetcht a calf*, upon the arrival of the three angels.

†† In this manner, we find Achilles and Patroculus employed, Hom. Il. ix. 205, &c.

Achilles at the genial feaſt preſides;
The parts tranſfixes, and with ſkill divides.
Meanwhile Patroclus ſweats the fire to raiſe. POPE.

has

has prepared her fire and her kettle to ſeeth and dreſs it. The cuſtom that ſtill continues of walking either bare-foot *, or with ſlippers, requires the ancient compliment of bringing water upon the arrival of a ſtranger, to waſh his feet †. And who is the perſon that preſents himſelf firſt to do this office, and to give the mar-habbar, or *welcome*, but the maſter himſelf of the family? who always diſtinguiſhes himſelf by being the moſt officious; and after his entertainment is prepared, accounts it a breach of reſpect to ſit down with his gueſts, but ſtands up all the time, and ſerves them. Thus Abraham, as we read, Gen. xviii. 8. "took butter and milk, and the calf which he had dreſſed, and ſet it before the angels, and he ſtood by them under the tree, and they did eat."

Yet this outward behaviour of the Arab is frequently the very reverſe of his inward temper and inclination, for he is naturally falſe, thieviſh, and treacherous ‡; and it ſometimes happens, that thoſe very perſons are overtaken and pillaged in the morning, who were entertained the night before with the greateſt hoſpitality. The prophet Jeremiah has well deſcribed them: "In the ways," ſays he, (iii. 2.) "haſt thou ſat for them, as the Arabian in the wilderneſs."

Neither are they to be accuſed of plundering ſtrangers only, or whomſoever they may find unarmed or defenceleſs; but for thoſe many implacable and hereditary animoſities which continually ſubſiſt among themſelves, literally fulfilling to this day the prophecy of the angel to Hagar, Gen. xvi. 12. that "Iſhmael ſhould be a wild man: his hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt his." The greateſt as well as the ſmalleſt tribes are perpetually at variance with one another, frequently occaſioned upon the moſt trivial account, as if they were, from the very days of their great anceſtor, naturally prone to diſcord and contention. Even under the Turkiſh governments, where they have ſo often ſuffered by their untimely revolts, yet, upon the leaſt diſturbance or proſpect of a revolution, they are the firſt in arms, in hopes of getting rid of their dependency; though they are ſure that, in the end, their chains are thereby to be more ſtrongly riveted.

However, it muſt be mentioned to the honour of the weſtern Moors, that they ſtill continue to carry on a trade with ſome barbarous nations bordering upon the river Niger, without ſeeing § the perſons they trade with, or without having once broke through that original charter of commerce, which, from time immemorial, has been ſettled between them. The method is this: At a certain time of the year, (in the winter, if I am not miſtaken), they make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glaſs beads, bracelets of horn, knives, ſciſſars, and ſuch like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on ſuch a day of the

* The feet being thus unguarded, were every moment liable to be hurt and injured: and from thence, perhaps, the danger, without the Divine aſſiſtance, which even protects us from the ſmalleſt misfortunes, of *daſhing them againſt a ſtone*, Pſal. xci. 12. which perhaps may further illuſtrate that difficult text, Job. v. 23. of *being in league with the ſtones of the field*. By attending ſo often as I have done to this cuſtom of walking bare-foot, I am induced to imagine, that רגלך לא בצקה, Deut. viii. 4. which we render. *thy foot did not ſwell*, ſhould rather be, *thy foot did not wear away*, (*attritus*, Hieron.) by the exerciſing of it in Arabia Petræa for forty years.

† Thus Gen. xviii. 4. "Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and waſh your feet." Judg. xix. 21. Luke. vii. 44. "I entered into thine houſe, thou gaveſt me no water for my feet; but ſhe hath waſhed my feet with tears."

‡ Like their predeceſſors the Carthaginians, who are called by Tully, Orat. ii. contra Rull. *fraudulenti et mendaces*.

§ In like manner, the Seres are ſaid never to ſee or ſpeak with the people they traded with. Euſtathius, likewiſe, upon the faith of Herodotus, relates, that the Carthaginians traded after the ſame manner with ſome people beyond Hercules' pillars. Vid. Arbuthnott on Coins, p. 230.

moon, they find in the evening ſeveral different heaps of gold duſt, lying at a ſmall diſtance from each other, againſt which the Moors place ſo many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians, the next morning, approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets, and leave the gold duſt, or elſe make ſome deductions from the latter, &c. And in this manner tranſact their exchange, without ſeeing one another, or without the leaſt inſtance of diſhoneſty or perfidiouſneſs on either ſide.

The cuſtom of the Naſamones *, of plighting their troth, by drinking out of each other's hands, is, at this time, the only ceremony which the Algerines uſe in marriage. But the contract is previouſly made betwixt the parents, wherein expreſs mention is made not only of the *ſaddock*, as they call that particular ſum of money which the bridegroom ſettles upon the bride, but likewiſe, as it was in the time of Abraham †, of the ſeveral changes of raiment, the quantity of jewels, and the number of ſlaves that the bride is to be attended with when ſhe firſt waits upon her huſband. Theſe likewiſe are her property ever afterwards. The parties never ſee one another, till the marriage is to be conſummated; at which time, the relations being withdrawn, the bridegroom proceeds firſt to unveil his bride ‡, and then (*zonam ſolvere*) to undreſs her. Upon forfeiture of the *ſaddock*, the huſband may put away his wife when he pleaſes; though he cannot take her again, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt ſolicitations, till ſhe is married and bedded to another.

The civility and reſpect which the politer nations of Europe pay to the weaker ſex, are looked upon here as extravagancies, and as ſo many infringements of that law of nature which aſſigns to man the pre-eminence. For the matrons of this country, though they are conſidered as ſervants indeed of better faſhion, yet they have the greateſt ſhare of toil and buſineſs upon their hands. Whilſt the lazy huſband repoſes himſelf under ſome neighbouring ſhade, and the young men and the maidens, as we read of Rachel §, attend the flocks; the wives are all the day taken up, as the cuſtom was likewiſe in ancient Greece, either in attending their looms ‖, or in grinding at the

* Πιστοι δε τοισι χρεωνται· εκ της χειρος διδοι πιων, και αυτος εκ της τω ετερω πινει. Herod. Melpom. § 172.

† A gold and ſilver ſarmah, one or two ſetts of ear-rings, bracelets, and ſhekels, a gold chain to hang over their breaſts, with half a dozen veſts, ſome of brocade, others of rich ſilk, are uſually the wedding clothes of a lady of faſhion. Habits and ornaments of the like kind were given to the bride in the time of Abraham. Thus a *golden ear-ring of half a ſhekel weight* was given to *Rebekah*, *and two bracelets for her hands, of ten ſhekels weight of gold*, Gen. xxiv. 22. Abraham's *ſervant* alſo *brought forth jewels of ſilver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebekah*, ver. 53. Beſides, every woman that is married, has at leaſt one female ſlave (who is uſually a *black*) to attend her; whilſt others have two or more, according to their rank and quality. In this manner, we find that Hagar was Sarah's handmaid; that Rebekah, when ſhe was betrothed to Iſaac, was attended by *her nurſe* (Gen. xiv. 59.) *and her damſels*, ver. 61.; that Laban, (Gen. xxiv. 24.) *gave unto his daughter, Leah*, when ſhe was married to Jacob, *Zilphah, his maid, for a handmaid*; and unto Rachel, (ver. 29.) upon the like occaſion, *Bilhah, his handmaid, to be her maid*. David, inſtead of ſettling any ſaddock or *dowry* upon Saul's daughter, was, inſtead of it, to bring an hundred foreſkins of the Philiſtines, 1 Sam. xviii. 25.

‡ Thus Leah, by retaining her veil, through her own artifice, (as Tamar did afterwards, Gen. xxxviii. 14.) or by the ſubtlety and contrivance of her father Laban, might have paſſed for her ſiſter Rachel, Gen. xxix. 25. Though the night alone, the undiſtinguiſhing ſeaſon, when ſhe was brought to Jacob, ver. 23. may otherwiſe account for the miſtake. And thus it is ſaid of Ruth, (iii. 14.) that *ſhe roſe up in the morning, before one could know another*; and of the harlot, 1 Kings iii. 20, 21. *When I had conſidered the child in the morning*, that *was laid in my boſom at midnight, behold*, ſays ſhe, *it was not my ſon*.

§ It is cuſtomary, even to this day, for the children of the greateſt emeer to attend their flocks; as we find, Gen. xxix. 9. *Rachel kept the ſheep of her father Laban*. The ſame is related of the ſeven children of the Kings of Thebes, Hom. Il. vi. ver. 424.; of Antiphus, the ſon of Priam, Il. xi. ver. 106.; of Anchiſes, Æneas' mother, Il. i. ver. 313.

‖ Like Andromache, Il. vi. ver. 491. or Penelope, Odyſs. i. ver. 357.

mill

mill *, or in making of bread, *cuſcaſſowe*, *dweeda*, and ſuch like farinaceous food; ſo far correſponding with the γυναικες σιτοποιεισαι or σιτοποιοι. Neither is this all; for, to finiſh the day, *at the time of the evening, even the time that women go out* (ὑδρευεσθαι, Hom. Od. x. ver. 105.) *to draw water*, Gen. xxiv. 11. they are ſtill to fit themſelves out with a pitcher or a goat's ſkin †, and, tying their ſucking children behind them, trudge it in this manner two or three miles to fetch water. Yet, in the midſt of all theſe labours and incumbrances, not one of theſe country ladies, in imitation no doubt of thoſe of better faſhion in cities, will lay aſide any of their ornaments; neither their noſe-jewels, (Iſa. iii. 22. Ezek. xvi. 10.) uſed ſtill by the Levant Arabs; neither their bracelets or their ſhackles, *the tinkling ornaments of their feet*, Iſa. iii. 16.; neither their ear-rings, or looking-glaſſes ‡, which they hang upon their breaſts; neither the tinging their eye-lids with lead-ore; ſo prevalent is cuſtom, even in the moſt uncivilized parts of Barbary; and ſo very zealous are theſe homely creatures to appear in the mode and faſhion.

The Arabian women are ſwarthy, and rarely well-favoured; but the greateſt part of the Mooriſh women would be reckoned beauties, even in Great Britain. Their children certainly have the fineſt complexions of any nation whatſoever. We have a wrong notion of the Moors §, in taking them for a ſwarthy people. The men indeed, by wearing only the *tiara*, or a ſcull-cap, are expoſed ſo much to the ſun, that they quickly attain the ſwarthineſs of the Arab; but the women, keeping more at home, preſerve their beauty till they are thirty; at which age they begin to be wrinkled, and are uſually paſt child-bearing. It ſometimes happens, that one of theſe girls is a mother at eleven, and a grandmother at two-and-twenty; and as their lives are uſually of the ſame length with thoſe of the Europeans, ſeveral of theſe matrons have lived to ſee their children of many generations.

At all their principal entertainments, and to ſhew mirth and gladneſs upon other occaſions, the women welcome the arrival of each gueſt, by ſqualling out for ſeveral times together, *loo*, *loo*, *loo* ‖. At their funerals alſo, and upon other melancholy occaſions, they repeat the ſame noiſe ¶, only they make it more deep and hollow **, and end each period with ſome ventriloquous ſighs. The αλαλαζοντας πολλα, or *wail-*

* Hom. Odyſs. vii. ver. 105. Simonid. de Mulieribus. Mat. xxiv. 41. Herod. l. vii. c. 187. Thucyd. l. ii.

† There is frequent mention made of thoſe ſkins in the Holy Scriptures. Thus חמת, Gen. xxi. 14, 15. & 19. נאד or נאוד, Joſh. ix. 4. Judg. iv. 19. 1 Sath. xvi. 19. Pſal. lvi. 8. and cxix. 83. נבל, 1 Sam. i. 24. and x. 3. Jer. xiii. 12. and ασκος, Matt. ix. 17. Mark ii. 22. Luke v. 37. which ſhould be rendered *ſkins*, are improperly interpreted *bottles*.

‡ Theſe were of poliſhed braſs among the Hebrew women, as we learn from Exod. xxxviii. 8.

§ The word *Moor* is generally ſuppoſed to convey the idea of a perſon of a dark and ſwarthy complexion; whereas, it only denotes the ſituation of their country. For מעבר ſignifies a *ferry* or *narrow part of the ſea — fretum trajectus*, &c. מעברי, *Maw'ri*, conſequently will be the ſame as (*trajectaneus* ſeu *ad trajectum vivens*) a perſon who lives near ſuch a place; juſt as the Moors are ſituated with reſpect to the Straits of Gibraltar, the Fretum Gaditanum or Herculeum of the ancients. Vid. Peritſol. Coſm. edit. T. Hyde, p. 48. But Bochart deduceth the word from another original. מוחרין, *Mauri*, quaſi *poſtremi* vel *occidentales* dicti, ab אחור quod et *poſterius* et *occidentem* ſonat. Plene ſcriberetur *Mauharin*, ſed gutturales paſſim elidi nemo eſt qui neſciat. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

‖ A corruption, as it ſeems to be, of הללויה, *Hallelujah*. Αλαλη, a word of the like ſound was uſed by an army, either before they gave the onſet, or when they had obtained the victory. Vid. Pol. Synops. vol. iv. p. 790. & Mint. Lex in voce Αλαλαζω. The Turks to this day call out *Allah*, *Allah*, *Allah*, upon the like occaſion.

¶ As if the word was related to the Heb. ילל, *ejulari*, (Mic. i. 8.) from whence perhaps our Engliſh word *to howl*.

** Plutarch informs us, that *Eleleu*, *iou*, *iou*, were uſed in this manner. Επιφωνειν δε ταις απονδαις, ελελευ, ἰω, ἰω ὡν το μεν απευδοντες αντιφωνειν και παιωνιζοντες ᾠδασι, το δε εκπληξεις και ταραχης εστι. Plutarch in Theſeo.

ing

ing greatly, as our verſion expreſſes it, Mark v. 38. upon the death of Jairus' daughter, was probably performed in this manner. For there are ſeveral women hired to act upon theſe lugubrious occaſions; who, like the Præficæ *, or *mourning women* †, of old, are *ſkilful in lamentation*, (Amos v. 16.) and great miſtreſſes of theſe melancholy expreſſions; and indeed they perform their parts with ſuch proper ſounds, geſtures and commotions, that they rarely fail to work up the aſſembly into ſome extraordinary pitch of thoughtfulneſs and ſorrow. The Britiſh factory has often been very ſenſibly touched with theſe lamentations, whenever they were made in the neighbouring houſes.

No nation in the world is ſo much given to ſuperſtition as the Arabs, or even as the Mahometans in general. They hang ‡ about their children's necks the figure of an open hand, uſually the right, which the Turks and Moors paint likewiſe upon their ſhips and houſes, as a counter-charm to an evil eye; for five is with them an unlucky number, and *five* (meaning their fingers) *in your eyes*, is their proverb of curſing and defiance. Thoſe of riper years carry with them ſome paragraphs of their Koran, which, as the Jews did their phylacteries, Exod. xiii. 16. Numb. xv. 38. they place upon their breaſt, or ſew under their caps, to prevent faſcination and witchcraft, and to ſecure themſelves from ſickneſs and misfortunes. The virtue of theſe ſcrolls and charms is ſuppoſed likewiſe to be ſo far univerſal, that they ſuſpend them, even upon the necks of their cattle, horſes, and other beaſts of burthen. They place great faith and confidence in magicians and ſorcerers §, as the Egyptians and Moabites ‖ did, who in old time were their neighbours; and upon ſome extraordinary occaſions, particularly in a lingering diſtemper, they uſe ſeveral ſuperſtitious ceremonies in the ſacrificing of a cock, a ſheep, or a goat, by burying the whole carcaſe under ground, by drinking a

* Præficæ dicuntur mulieres ad lamentandum mortuum conductæ, quæ dant cæteris modum plangendi, quaſi in hoc ipſum præfectæ. Vid. P. Feſt. & Non. Marcell. in voce.

† "Call for the [מקוננות, from קון, *to lament*] mourning women, that they may come — and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eye-lids guſh out with water," Jer. ix. 17, 18. Such like extraordinary demonſtrations of ſorrow we have related, Pſal. vi. 6. "Every night waſh I my bed, (*or*) make I my bed to ſwim: I water my couch with my tears." Pſal. cxix. 136. "Rivers of waters run down my eyes." Jer. ix. 1. "O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears." And Lam. iii. 48. "Mine eye runneth down with rivers of waters." *The drawing of water at Mizpah*, (1 Sam. vii. 6.) *and pouring it out before the Lord, and faſting*, may likewiſe denote, in the eaſtern manner of expreſſion, ſome higher degree of grief and contrition. *Effuderunt cor ſuum in pœnitentia*, ut aquas *ante Deum*, as the Chaldee paraphraſe interprets it; or, as Vatablus, *Hauſerunt aquas a puteo cordis ſui, et abunde lacrymati ſunt coram Domino reſipiſcentes. Aqua effuſa lacrymas ſignificat*, ſays Grotius in locum.

‡ This cuſtom of hanging things about the neck to prevent miſchief, diſtempers, &c. ſeems to be of great antiquity, and was common to other nations. Thus Varro, de Ling. Lat. l. vi. *in fine*. 'Præbia a præbendo. ut ſit tutum: quod ſint remedia in collo puereis.' 'Faſcinum, collis nempe puerorum ſuſpenſum, *infantium cuſtodem* appellat Plinius,' l. xxviii. c. 4. The Bulla was worn upon the ſame account, as Macrobius tells us, Saturn. l. i. 'Bulla geſtamen erat triumphantium, incluſis intra eam remediis, quæ crederent adverſum invidiam valentiſſima.'

§ The ſeveral claſſes of which are enumerated in Deut. xviii. 10, 11.; *viz.* ſuch as *uſe divination, or is an obſerver of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a conſulter with familiar ſpirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer*. They pretend to have daily inſtances in theſe countries of the power and efficacy of one or other of theſe perſons, particularly in cauſing or taking away the influence of the *maleficium ligaminis*, or *vinculum Veneris*, which ſeems to have been well known in the time of Auguſtus:

Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarilli, colores,
Necte, Amarilli, nodos, et Veneris dic vincula necto.
Virg. Ecl. viii. 77.

‖ *Viz.* the Egyptians, (Vid. Auſon. Epiſt. xix. Joſeph's *divining cup*, Gen. xliv. 5.) Moabites, (Balaam *went not, as at other times, to ſeek for enchantments*, Num. xxiv. 1.) &c.

part

part of the blood, or by burning or diſperſing the feathers. For it is a prevailing opinion all over this country, that a great many diſeaſes proceed from ſome offence or other that has been given to the *jenoune*, a claſs of beings placed by them betwixt angels and devils. Theſe, like the fairies of our forefathers, are ſuppoſed to frequent ſhades and fountains; and to aſſume the bodies of toads, worms, and other little animals, which, being always in our way, are liable every moment to be hurt and moleſted by us. When any perſon therefore is lame or ſickly, he fancies that he has injured one or other of theſe beings; upon which the women, who, like the ancient *veneficæ*, are dextrous in theſe ceremonies, are ſent for immediately; and go, as I have ſeen them, upon a Wedneſday, with frankincenſe and other perfumes, to ſome neighbouring ſpring, where they ſacrifice a hen or a cock, an ewe or a ram, &c. according to the ſex * and quality of the patient, and the nature of the diſeaſe.

§ 11. — *Of their Superſtitions; with an Account of their Saints or Marabbutts, &c.*

THE Mahometans have a great veneration for their Marabbutts, who are generally perſons of a rigid and auſtere life, continually employing themſelves either in counting over their beads †, or elſe in meditation and prayer. This ſaintſhip goes by ſucceſſion; and the ſon is entitled to the ſame reverence and eſteem with the father, provided he can keep up and maintain the ſame gravity and decorum. Some of them alſo ſhare in the ſame reputation with their prophet, of receiving viſions, and converſing with the deity; whilſt others, who pretend to work miracles, are endowed with gifts, which Mahomet ‡ himſelf durſt not pretend to. When I was (*an.* 1732,) near the river Arhew with Seedy Muſtafa, the Kaleefa of the weſtern province, he told me, in the preſence of a number of Arabian Shekhs, who vouched for the fact, that Seedy ben Mukha-lah, a Marabbutt hard by, had a ſolid iron bar, which, upon command, would give the ſame noiſe with a cannon, and do the like execution; and that once the whole Algerine army, upon demanding too exorbitant a tax from the Arabs under his protection, were put to flight by the miracle. Yet notwithſtanding the frequency, as they pretended, of the experiment, notwithſtanding the merit I urged there would be of convincing a Chriſtian of the truth of it, beſides the ſolicitations and intreaties of the whole company that this Marabbutt ſhould be ſent for, Seedy ben Mukha-lah § had too much policy to appear and hazard his reputation. But I had better ſucceſs near Seteef, with Seedy Aſhoure, the Marabbutt of the Ammer; a perſon famous all over the eaſtern province for the vomiting of fire. This operation, as he performed it, I ſaw ſeveral times; the firſt inſtance whereof did indeed very much ſurpriſe me. For being in a mixed company, and little regarding him, I obſerved, all on a ſudden, his mouth in a blaze, and his whole body ſeemingly diſtorted with agonies. But by keeping my eye more carefully upon him, when the ſame was repeated a ſecond time, (for he had ſeveral of theſe pretended ecſtaſies,) I plainly diſcovered the whole cheat and contrivance. For during the time that his head and his hands lay concealed under

* *Viz.* A male being ſacrificed for the female ſex, *&c.*

† In touching each bead of their chaplet, conſiſting uſually of ninety-nine, they either ſay Alhamdillah, *God be praiſed;* Allah Kibeer, i. e. *God is great;* or, Iſtugfur Allah—Staffour Allah, *God forgive me.*

‡ Vid. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 18, 19.

§ This name, by interpretation, is, *the ſon of a gun;* ſeveral perſons in theſe countries having their *cognomina* from ſome quality or other for which they are remarkable. Of this quality, they are either called Abbon, i. e. *father*, or Ibn, ben, i. e. *ſon* of it. Thus a fat man is called Abbon kerſh, i. e. *the father of a belly*, &c.

his burnooſe, when he pretended to be converſing with the Deity, he was actually lighting the fire; and accordingly, when he was ready to diſplay it, ſuch a quantity of ſmoke attended his head and hands, in withdrawing them from under his burnooſe, there was ſo ſtrong a ſmell likewiſe of tow and ſulphur, beſides ſome threads of the former that were unfortunately engaged to his beard, that none but an ignorant and bigotted people could be deceived by the impoſture. This I took notice of to ſome Turks that were with me, who ſaw through the cheat; but the Arabs ſtill inſiſted upon the wonderful gift of Seedy Aſhoure, as the Epheſians did of their Diana; and that Ma kan ſhy kiff hoo, i. e. *There was none like him.*

Theſe people likewiſe are equally fooliſh and extravagant in their *Jaffar-eah*, as they call the pretenſions they make to the knowledge of future events and contingencies. They are not indeed hitherto agreed by what extraordinary means they come at theſe revelations; though the diſcoveries they would be believed to make are in ſuch general terms ſo falſe, for the moſt part, and at the beſt dubious, and never particularly circumſtantiated, that it ſcarce deſerves the gravity or attention to enquire after their original. However, none of them ever aſſerted that they were from divine inſpiration; though there are a number of enthuſiaſts in this religion, who pretend to be full of the Deity upon other occaſions. Some attribute them to *magareah*, for ſo they call witchcraft and enchantment, others to aſtrology or the doctrine of the ſtars, whilſt their thalebs pretend to have the prophecies of Aly, the ſon-in-law of their prophet; wherein they give out, that he has left them a general and chronological account of the moſt remarkable occurrences which have happened in the world ſince his time, or which are to fall out in future ages.

When I was at Tunis, in the ſpring of 1727, there were ſeveral prophecies handed about, partly, as was alleged, from this book, partly from their Jaffar-eah, that Haſſan ben Aly, the bey or king at that time, was to be immediately depoſed by his nephew, Aly Baſhaw. The myſtery of it was, that Haſſan ben Aly, otherwiſe a good and wiſe prince, had a mighty inclination to oppreſs the richeſt of his ſubjects; and, by a piece of ill-timed policy, had, ſince the beginning of his reign, neglected the natural born Turks, and placed his chief confidence in Moors and renegadoes; upon whom likewiſe he beſtowed the greateſt honours and preferments. On the other hand, Aly Baſhaw, while he acted under him as *aga* of the Janizaries, behaved himſelf with ſuch courteſy, generoſity, and juſtice, that he gained the affections of that body, and the good will of the whole kingdom. Aly Baſhaw therefore, being upon ſome miſunderſtanding with his uncle, fled to the mountains of Uſelett. He had there the hardineſs to proclaim himſelf bey; and to publiſh, at the ſame time, the great injuſtice and oppreſſion that Haſſan ben Aly had always exerciſed over his ſubjects. He further exclaimed againſt the unjuſt contempt and diſregard that had all along been paid to the Turks, the natural ſafeguards of the kingdom; adding further, that he himſelf would immediately apply proper methods for the eaſe and ſatisfaction of them all. Taking, I ſay, all theſe circumſtances together, there was probability enough, without the concurrence of a prophecy, that ſuch a revolution might then have been brought about. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe unfavourable circumſtances; notwithſtanding the very day and hour were confidently prefixed for Haſſan ben Aly's deſtruction, he proved too ſtrong for their *Jaffar-eah*; and, provided the Algerines had not a few years afterwards interpoſed, he would, in all probability, have left a peaceable poſſeſſion of that kingdom to his ſon.—

It would be too tedious to recount any more of their pretended prophecies; ſome of which, the event very obviouſly ſhewed to be falſe; whilſt others were, at the beſt,

uncertain gueſſes only, or probable conjectures. We are to wait therefore till time and futurity determine the truth of that very remarkable one, which promiſes to the Chriſtians a reſtoration of all thoſe kingdoms which they formerly loſt to the Turks and Saracens. Thus much may be obſerved of it already, that there is no part of the Mahometan dominions, extenſive as they are, where it is not univerſally received; and that, in conſequence thereof, the gates of their cities are carefully ſhut up every Friday, the day of their congregation, from ten till twelve o'clock in the morning, that being, as they ſay, the day and the time prefixed for this notable cataſtrophe.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1.— *Of the Government of theſe Kingdoms; particularly of Algiers.*

AS the Arabs have had no ſmall ſhare in the foregoing obſervations, it may be expected that ſomething ſhould be ſaid of the form of government that ſubſiſts among them. Now, though the greateſt part of theſe tribes have been under the Turkiſh yoke for many ages, yet they are rarely interrupted, either in what may concern the courſe of juſtice, or in the ſucceſſion to thoſe few offices and dignities that belong properly to themſelves. For, provided they live peaceably, pay regularly the eighth part of the produce of their lands, together with a ſmall poll-tax that is annually demanded by the Turks, they are left in full poſſeſſion of all their private laws, privileges and cuſtoms. Every dou-war therefore may be looked upon as a little principality; where the family that is of the greateſt name, ſubſtance and reputation, uſually preſides. However this honour does not always lineally deſcend from father to ſon; but, as it was among their predeceſſors, the Numidians *, when the heir is too young, or ſubject to any infirmity, then they make choice of the uncle, or ſome other relation, who, for prudence and wiſdom, is judged to be the beſt qualified. Yet, notwithſtanding a deſpotic power is lodged in this perſon, all grievances and diſputes are accommodated, by calling in to his aſſiſtance one or two perſons out of each tent. And as the offender is conſidered as a brother, the ſentence is always given on the favourable ſide; and, even in the moſt enormous crimes, rarely any other puniſhment is inflicted than baniſhment. When this perſon has the ſuperintendence over a ſingle dou-war, he is commonly called the Shekh †; but when his authority reaches over ſeveral, then he has the title either of Shek el Kibeer, *great Lord* or *Elder*, or elſe of the Emeer ‡, *Prince*. As few or none either of theſe Shekhs, or of the Turkiſh and eaſtern kings, princes or baſhaws, know to write their own names, all their letters and decrees are ſtamped with their proper rings, ſeals, or ſignets, (2 King xx. 2. Eſt. iii. 12. Dan. vi. 7. &c.) which are uſually of ſilver or cornelian, with their reſpective names engraved upon them on one ſide, and the name of their kingdom or principality, or elſe ſome ſentence of their Koran, on the other.

The government of the Algerines, which differs little from that of Tunis, conſiſts of the dey, who is to be conſidered as the ſtadtholder, and of a dou-wanne, or *common council*. The dou-wanne, (the ſame with divan, as it is erroneouſly though commonly written) is principally compoſed of the thirty Yiah Baſhees; though the mufti, the

* Militante Maſiniſſa pro Carthaginienſibus in Hiſpania, pater ejus moritur: Galæ nomen erat. Regnum ad fratrem regis Oeſalcem, pergrandem natu (mos ita apud Numidas eſt) pervenit. Liv. l. xxix. § 29.

† *Sheikh, ſenex, ſenior, doctor:* aut authoritate, principatu, pietate, et arte conſpicuus. Vid. Gol. in voce.

‡ *Ameer* from *Amara, he commanded,* mandavit, juſſit, præcepit. *Idem.*

kaddy, and the whole army, of what degree ſoever, are ſometimes called in to aſſiſt. All affairs of moment ought to be agreed upon by this aſſembly, before they paſs into laws, and before the dey is entruſted with putting them in execution. But for ſome years paſt, there has been little account made of this venerable body; which continues indeed to be very formally convened, but then it is only with the ſame formality to conſent to ſuch propoſitions as have been before hand concerted betwixt the dey and his favourites; ſo that, in effect, the whole power is lodged in one perſon.

This perſon, who at Algiers is called the Dey, and at Tunis the Bey, is choſen out of the army; each order, even the moſt inferior, having an equal right and title to that dignity with the higheſt. Every bold and aſpiring ſoldier, though taken yeſterday from the plough, may be conſidered (particularly at Algiers) as the heir apparent to the throne; and with this further advantage, that he lies under no neceſſity to wait till ſickneſs or old age have removed the preſent ruler. It is enough that he can protect himſelf with the ſame ſcymiter, which he has had the hardineſs to ſheath in the breaſt of his predeceſſor. The chief command here, as it was in the declenſion of the Roman empire, lies open and expoſed to every bold pretender; who, if he has the reſolution only to attempt, will rarely fail to carry it. To the truth whereof, we need only appeal to that quick ſucceſſion, which, till very lately, has been among the Deys of Algiers; rarely one in ten having had the fortune to die in his bed, *i. e.* without a muſket ball or a ſcymiter. Even thoſe few, who have thus peaceably departed, cannot attribute it to any ſuperior regard and eſteem which the army had for them in particular; but rather to their own ſuperior good fortune, in preventing an inſurrection, by cutting off the conſpirators before they could put their deſigns in execution. This bloody and cruel method of ſucceeding to the deyſhip, and of continuing peaceably in it afterwards, will appear ſtrange and ſurpriſing to us, who have been long accuſtomed to regular ſucceſſions and civilized governments; yet it is what may be very well accounted for here, where a ſtrict and regular diſcipline has been a long time wanting; where even a private ſoldier, after a ſmall exerciſe and trial under theſe colours, has the ambition to think himſelf conſiderable enough either to puſh for the kaftan himſelf, or to contribute at leaſt in the promotion of another to it. However, by the many ſeaſonable executions that have been lately made of theſe aſpiring members, this factious and diſcontented humour ſeems, at preſent, to be ſomewhat purged and allayed; though, in ſuch an ungovernable conſtitution as this, there will always remain ſome ſeeds of their old tumultuous principles, which, upon the leaſt favourable opportunity, may break out afreſh in rebellion and aſſaſſination.

§ 2. — *Of their Forces and Revenues, with their Method of Fighting and raiſing Recruits.*

THE whole force of Algiers, in Turks and Cologlies, is computed at preſent to be no more than ſix thouſand five hundred; two thouſand whereof are ſuppoſed to be *emeriti*, old and excuſed from duty; and of the four thouſand five hundred that remain, one thouſand are annually employed in relieving their garriſons, whilſt the reſt either go out with their cruiſing veſſels, or elſe form the three flying camps, which every ſummer attend the provincial viceroys. To the Turkiſh troops we may join about two thouſand *zwowah*, as the Mooriſh horſe and footmen are called, yet, notwithſtanding theſe are kept in conſtant pay, and may be ſuppoſed to augment their number, yet, being all of them hereditary enemies to the Turks, they are little conſidered in the real ſafeguard and defence of the government. The method therefore of keeping this large and populous kingdom in obedience, is not ſo much by force of arms as by

diligently obſerving the old political maxim, *Divide and command.* For the provincial viceroys are very watchful over the motions of the Arabian tribes, who appertain to their ſeveral diſtricts and juriſdictions; and as theſe are in continual jealouſies and diſputes with one another, the beys have nothing more to do than to keep up the ferment, and throw in, at proper times, new matter for diſcord and contention. There are ſeveral clans, both of Arabs and Kabyles, who, in caſe their neighbours ſhould obſerve a neutrality, would be too hard for the whole army of Algiers; notwithſtanding each Turk values himſelf in being a match for twenty of them. When therefore there is any miſunderſtanding of this kind, the viceroys play one tribe againſt another; and, provided the quarrel proves equal, a few of the Turkiſh infantry ſeaſonably thrown in, (the Arabian cavalry being never able to withſtand them *) will be more than a balance for the enemy. By thus continually fomenting the diviſions which always ſubſiſt among the Arabian princes, and exaſperating one family againſt another, theſe four or five thouſand Turks maintain their ground againſt all oppoſition, and lay even their neighbours the Tuniſeens, and Weſtern Moors under great obligations for not extending their conqueſts among them.

In their ſeveral battles and engagements, the ſpahees, or *cavalry*, as I have before hinted, are of little ſervice; the Arabs in this reſpect being more numerous, and often victorious. It is the infantry that does the execution; which the Arabs, as never fighting on foot, are not able to withſtand, which, as we have obſerved, was the caſe of their predeceſſors. When the cavalry alone are concerned, as when one Arabian tribe is at variance with another, then each party draws itſelf up in the figure of a half moon. But as the whole army rarely falls on together, or comes to cloſe fighting, they ſeldom put the diſpute to a deciſive battle. Their fighting is always at a diſtance, as if they were running of races; ſmall parties (or platoons, as we ſhould call them) continually advancing at full career, from the main body; and, after they have diſcharged their fire-arms, or their javelins, againſt their reſpective antagoniſts, they as ſpeedily retreat to their main bodies, where others are ready for the onſet; in ſo much, that a few perſons killed on a ſide, is reckoned a bloody battle.

Skirmiſhes of the like nature, though attended with more execution, ſeem to have been practiſed by the Hebrew infantry of old, *when they looked one another in the face*; as in 2 Sam. ii. 14. where we read of *twelve Benjamites pertaining to Iſhboſheth, playing* with the like number of *David's ſervants*, in ſight of both armies. What is alſo recorded, 2 Sam. i. 23. of Saul and Jonathan, that *they were ſwifter than eagles;* and of Aſahel, 2 Sam. ii. 18. that *he was as light of foot as a wild roe;* and of the Gadites, 1 Chron. xii. 8. that *they were men of might, as ſwift as the roes upon the mountains;* not to mention the epithets of ποδαρκης, ποδας ωκυς, &c. given to the Grecian heroes; may all relate to theſe decurſory rencounters, and to this method of juſting or fighting at random.

To make up the deficiencies in the army, their cruiſing veſſels are uſually ſent out once in every five or ſix years to the Levant for recruits; which generally conſiſt of ſhepherds, outlaws, and perſons of the loweſt rank and condititon. Mahomet Baſhaw, who was the day when I arrived (1720) at Algiers, and was ſhot dead in the ſtreets a little afterwards by a party of ſoldiers, was not aſhamed to own his extraction, in a notable diſpute which he had once with the deputy conſul of the French nation: *My mother*, ſays he, *ſold ſheep's feet, and my father ſold neats' tongues; but they would have*

* Numidæ peditum aciem ferre nequeunt; according to an obſervation of Tacitus (lib. iv. 24.) which holds good to this day.

been aſhamed to expoſe to ſale ſo worthleſs a tongue as thine. Yet theſe recruits, after they have been a little inſtructed by their fellow-ſoldiers, and have got caps to their heads, ſhoes to their feet, and a pair of knives to their girdle, quickly begin to affect grandeur and majeſty; expect to be ſaluted with the title of Effendi, or *Your Grace;* and look upon the moſt conſiderable citizens as their ſlaves, and the conſuls of the allied nations as their footmen.

But beſides theſe Levant Turks, the Dey may, at his pleaſure, and eſpecially upon any emergency, enrol the *cologlies*, as they call the ſons of ſuch ſoldiers, who have been permitted to marry at Algiers. Though, ſince the latter made an unſucceſsful attempt upon the government, by endeavouring to ſeize upon the caſſaubah, or *citadel*, they have not been much encouraged; and when they are, they are always excluded from the honour of being Dey, Aga of the Janizaries, and other conſiderable offices and employments.

The officers that command this ſmall army, (and it would be the ſame if it amounted to its former complement of twelve thouſand) are the Aga, or general, thirty Yiah Baſhees, or colonels, eight hundred Bulluck Baſhees, or captains, and about half that number of Oda Baſhees, or lieutenants. The method of arriving at theſe poſts, is not by money and intereſt, but by age and ſeniority; the oldeſt ſoldier being advanced upon the death of his lieutenant, and the lieutenant upon the death of a captain, &c. though, by the Dey's permiſſion, a younger ſoldier may purchaſe the rank of an older, the latter degrading himſelf in return. There is another method alſo of haſtening theſe promotions; for the Aga is removed as often as the ſoldiers are paid, which is every two months, being ſucceeded by the Chiah, who is the eldeſt of the Yiah Baſhees; whereby a ſeat becomes vacant in the Dou-wanne, which is immediately filled up by the eldeſt Bulluck Baſhee; as he again is by the eldeſt Oda Baſhee, &c. The Aga, after having thus paſſed through the whole courſe of his duty, is from thenceforward conſidered as *mazoule, emeritus*, or ſuperannuated, quietly enjoying his pay, and, according to the old poet Ennius,

Senio confectu' quieſcit.

The yearly taxes of this great and fertile kingdom bring uſually into the treaſury three hundred thouſand dollars; though it is computed that the eighth part of prizes, the effects of perſons dying without children, the contributions from the diſtricts, independent of the viceroys, together with the frequent *avar-eas* and oppreſſions of the ſubjects, may bring in the like ſum. To compenſate this ſmallneſs in their revenues, the pay of the army is very ſmall, the youngeſt ſoldier receiving only four hundred and ſix aſpers every two months, and the eldeſt, or thoſe in full pay, no more than five thouſand eight hundred; whereof ſix hundred and ninety-ſix (as was before obſerved) make a dollar *. Now, as a great number of years are required before they arrive at full pay, (the young ſoldiers receiving an augmentation only of an hundred and ſixteen aſpers † every year) the whole army, with regard to their demands upon the government, may be reduced to about three thouſand five hundred; whereby a ſum leſs than two hundred thouſand dollars, *i. e.* betwixt thirty and forty thouſand pounds of our money,

* Sive Thalero, qui Germanis ſic dicitur a Thale ſeu Dale, *i. e.* Vallis; under Thaler ſeu Daler, q. d. Vallenſis nummus, a valle ſancti Joachimi ubi primo cuſi ſunt. Hinc factum ut tandem ſcutati omnes (quos nummos Imperiales vocamus) Thaleri hodie vocantur. Vid. Hyd. Annot. in Bobovii liturgiam Turcarum, p. 10. Vid. p. 414.

† Iſte nummulus, Turcice dicitur *Albulus*; unde a Græcis ſua lingua hodierna vocatur Ασπρος, i. e. *Albus*, &c. Ασπρον pecuniam albam in genere notat. *Id. ibid.*

will

will defray the expence. Beſides the pay, ſuch Yiah and Bulluck Baſhees as are unmarried have each of them eight loaves of bread a day, and the Oda Baſhees and private ſoldiers, who are in the ſame condition, have four; each loaf being about five ounces in weight, and three aſpers in value.

§ 3.—*Of their Courts of Judicature and their Puniſhments.*

IN the ordinary diſtribution of juſtice, there is in this, as in all other Turkiſh governments, an officer whom they call the Kaddy, who for the moſt part has been educated in the ſeminaries of Stamboule * or Grand Cairo, where the Roman codes and pandects, tranſlated into the Arabic language, are taught and explained, as in the univerſities of Europe. The Kaddy is obliged to attend at the court of juſtice once or twice a day, where he hears and determines the ſeveral ſuits and complaints that are brought before him. But as bribery is too often, and juſtly enough, charged upon the Kaddy, all affairs of moment are laid before the Dey, or elſe, when he is abſent, or otherwiſe employed, they are heard by the treaſurer, by the maſter of the horſe, or by other principal officers of the regency, who ſit in the gate † of the palace for that purpoſe. At all theſe tribunals, the cauſe is quickly decided, nothing more being required than the proof of what is alleged; in ſo much, that a matter of debt, or treſpaſs, or of the higheſt crime, will be finally decided, and the ſentence put in execution, in leſs than an hour.

In caſes of debt, the debtor is uſually detained in priſon till the chouſes or *bailiffs* have ſeized upon his effects, and ſold them. If the ſale amounts to more than the debt, the overplus is returned to the priſoner; if it comes ſhort, he is notwithſtanding releaſed, and no future demands are to be made upon him. Leſſer offences are puniſhed with *baſtinado* ‡, *i. e.* with little ſticks of the bigneſs of one's finger; which, like the Roman faſces, are brought in bundles to the place of puniſhment, where the offender receives upon his buttocks, or the ſoles of his feet, from fifty to a thouſand ſtrokes, according to the nature and atrocity of his crime. But for unnatural luſt, not only the parts above mentioned are chaſtiſed, but the belly likewiſe, a puniſhment generally attended with death. For clipping or débaſing the public coin, the old Egyptian puniſhment §, *viz.* the cutting off the hands of the tranſgreſſor, is inflicted. When a Jew, or a Chriſtian ſlave, or ſubject, is guilty of murder, or any other capital crime, he is carried without the gates of the city, and burnt alive; but the Moors and Arabs are either impaled for the ſame crime, or elſe they are hung up by the neck, over the battlements of the city walls, or elſe they are thrown upon the chingan, or *hooks* ‖, that are fixed all over the walls below, where ſometimes they break from one hook to another, and hang in the moſt exquiſite torments thirty or forty hours. The Turks

* Conſtantinople is called all over the Levant, Stamboule, or Stanpole, which ſeems rather to be the corruption or contraction of the ancient name, as Jambol is of Joannopolis, than of εις την πολιν, as ſome authors give into. Vid. Hyd. Not. in Coſmogr. Perits. p. 52. Sir George Wheeler's Trav. p. 178.

† Thus we read of the *elders in the gate*, (Deut. xxii. 15. and xxv. 7.) and (Iſa. xxix. 21. Amos v. 10.) of *him that reproveth* and *reſuketh in the gate*, and (Dan. ii. 49.) that *he ſat in the gate of the king*. The Ottoman court likewiſe ſeems to have been called *the port*, from the diſtribution of juſtice, and the diſpatch of public buſineſs that is carried on in the gates of it.

‡ It was in this manner probably that St. Paul was *thrice beaten with rods*, τρις ἐῤῥαβδισθην, ſays he, 2 Cor. xi. 25. The chouſes, likewiſe, whoſe office it is to inflict this puniſhment, appear to be no other than ſo many Roman lictors, armed out with their faſces.

§ Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 50.

‖ The faſtening of the body of Saul to the walls of Bethſham, (1 Sam. xxxi. 10.) might be the fixing it only to, or hanging it upon, ſuch hooks as were placed there for the execution of criminals.

are not publicly puniſhed, like other offenders. Out of reſpect to their characters, they are always ſent to the houſe of the Aga, where, according to the quality of the miſdemeanor, they are baſtinadoed or ſtrangled. When the women offend, they are not, out of modeſty to the ſex, expoſed to the populace, but ſent to ſome private houſe of correction; or, if the crime is capital, as when they are taken in adultery, &c. they are then tied up in a ſack, carried out into the ſea, and drowned *. The weſtern Moors uſe the barbarous puniſhment of ſawing the body of the criminal in two; expreſſive probably of διχοτομειν, Matt. xxiv. 51. Luke xii. 46. which we render *cutting aſunder*, or *cutting off;* no leſs than of πριειν, Heb. xi. 37. which is tranſlated, *ſawing aſunder*. For which purpoſe they prepare two boards of a proper length and breadth, and having tied the criminal betwixt them, they proceed to the execution, by beginning at the head. Kardinaſh, a perſon of the firſt rank in that country, who not long ago had been ambaſſador at the Britiſh court, was put to death in this manner. For it may be very juſtly obſerved, with regard to the puniſhments of theſe countries, that there is little or no regard had to the quality of the offender, but to the nature of the offence. Sometimes indeed, a pecuniary mulct will ſtop the courſe of juſtice; but if the crime is flagrant, no atonement is to be made for it, the tranſgreſſor immediately ſuffering the puniſhment which he is thought to deſerve.

§ 4. — *Of their naval Force; together with their Intereſts and Alliances with Chriſtian Princes:*

THE naval force of this regency, which, for the two laſt centuries, has been, at one time or other, a terror to the trading nations of Chriſtendom, is, at preſent, in a declining condition. If we except their row-boats and brigantines, they had only (A. D. 1732,) half a dozen capital ſhips, from thirty-ſix to fifty guns; and, at the ſame time, had not half that number of brave and experienced captains. A general peace with the three trading nations, and the impoſſibility of keeping up a ſuitable diſcipline, where every private ſoldier diſputes authority with his officer, are ſome of the principal reaſons why ſo ſmall a number of veſſels are fitted out, and why ſo few perſons of merit are afterwards willing to command them. Their want likewiſe of experience, with the few engagements they have been lately concerned in at ſea, have equally contributed to this diminution of their naval character. However, if by proper diſcipline and encouragement they ſhould once more aſſume their wonted courage and bravery, they have always in readineſs ſuch a quantity of naval ſtores as will put them in a capacity of making conſiderable augmentations to their fleet; though even at preſent, under all theſe diſadvantages, we find them troubleſome enough to the trade of Europe.

With relation to the princes of Europe, this government has alliance with us, with the French, the Dutch, and the Swedes, and lately with the Danes. Great application has been often made by the Port, in behalf of the Emperor's ſubjects; yet all their interceſſions have hitherto proved ineffectual, notwithſtanding the Algerines acknowledge themſelves to be the vaſſals of the Grand Senior, and, as ſuch, ought to be

* Tacitus (*de Morib. Germ.*) takes notice of this as a puniſhment among the Germans. "Diſtinctio pœnarum, ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus ſuſpendunt, ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames, cœno ac *palude*, injecta inſuper crate." The like puniſhment is mentioned by Plautus. "Coqui abſtulerunt; comprehendite, vincite, verberate, in *puteum condite*." Aulul. Act. ii. Sc. ver. 21. "Furca et Foſſa, (Ang. Pytte and Gallowes) in antiquis privilegiis ſignificat juriſdictionem puniendi fures: ſc. viros ſuſpendio, *fœminas ſubmerſione* — quod et in Scotia hodie obſervatum intelligo." See Spelman's Gloſſary in the word FURCA, &c. where he quotes an inſtance of this puniſhment out of the monuments of the church of Rocheſter.

entirely

entirely devoted to his orders and commands. The Swedes purchaſed peace at the price of 70,000 dollars; and, as theſe cruiſers rarely meet with veſſels of that nation, it has been hitherto diſcourſed of as a great myſtery. But the great increaſe lately in their commerce ſeems now ſufficiently to explain it. The ſucceſs of the Dutch, during a war of twelve years, in deſtroying a few of their veſſels; the magnificent preſent of naval ſtores that was made, upon ratifying the peace; together with the natural timoroufneſs of the Dey, leſt by further loſſes he ſhould be reckoned *unfortunate* *, (a dangerous character in this country for a commander); were the chief and concurring reaſons for extending their friendſhip to that nation. It is certain the greateſt part of the ſoldiers, and the ſea officers in general, very ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it; urging, that it would be in vain to arm their veſſels, when they had peace with all the three trading nations; that their loſs was inconſiderable, when compared with the riches they had obtained by the war; concluding with a very expreſſive Arabian proverb, that thoſe *ought never to ſow who are afraid of the ſparrows*. As the younger ſoldiers cannot well ſubſiſt without the money they gain from their ſhares in prizes, there has been no ſmall murmuring at the little ſucceſs which they have lately met with. And it is very probable (as a little time perhaps will diſcover) that, the very moment any conſiderable addition is made to their fleet, nay, perhaps without any further augmentation, the preſent Dey will be obliged to leſſen the number of his alliances, from thoſe very principles which a few years ago engaged his predeceſſor to increaſe them.

The Algerines have certainly a great eſteem and friendſhip for the Britiſh nation; and, provided there could be any ſecurity in a government that is guided more by chance and humour, than by counſel and mature deliberation, it is very probable, that which of the trading nations ſoever they may think fit to quarrel with, we have little to apprehend. The Dutch and the Swedes, and lately the Danes, are very induſtrious in cultivating a good underſtanding with them, by making annual preſents, a method hitherto very prevalent and ſucceſsful; whilſt, on the other hand, the French may perhaps influence them as much, by putting them in mind of the execution which their bombs did formerly to this city, and of a later inſtance of their reſentment at Tripoly. But as there is prudence in uſing high words and menaces at Algiers, it is certain, provided the Algerines are to be ſwayed with fear, that we have as much intereſt in Sir Edward Sprag's expedition at Bou-jeiah, as the French can have in that of the Marquis d'Eſtrees at Algiers. Notwithſtanding likewiſe all the arguments that may be urged in behalf of Marſeilles and Toulon, theſe people are not to be perſuaded, but that Minorca and Gibraltar are in a more convenient ſituation to give them diſturbance. But reaſon and argument will not always be good politics at this court, where the cook † is the firſt miniſter, and where an inſolent ſoldiery have too often the command. In critical conjunctures, therefore, the ground is to be maintained by the nice management and addreſs of our conſuls; by knowing how to make proper application to the particular paſſions of thoſe who have the Dey's ear; by flattering one, placing confidence in another, and eſpecially by making a proper uſe of thoſe invincible arguments, money, kaf-tans, and gold watches. For according to an old and infallible

* Moſt of the Roman Emperors affected the appellation of FELIX. The patriarch Joſeph, Gen. xxix. 2. has the character of being a *proſperous man*; and that whatſoever he did *the Lord made it to proſper*, ver. 23.

† Livy (l. xxxix. c. 6.) has an obſervation very applicable to the great eſteem which is paid to the cooks by theſe regencies. "Tum coquus, viliſſimum antiquis mancipium et æſtimations et uſu, in pretio eſſe; et quod miniſterium fuerat, ars haberi cœpta."

obſervation

obſervation, "Give a Turk money with one hand, and he will permit his eyes to be plucked out by the other."

Such was the political ſtate and condition of this regency, when I left it, A.D. 1732. How long it may continue ſo, will be hard to determine; becauſe what little there is here of juſtice, honeſty, or public faith, proceeds rather from fear and compulſion, than from choice and free election. For the anſwer that was once made by the Dey to Conſul Cole, on his complaining of the injuries which the Britiſh veſſels had met with from his cruiſers, muſt always be looked upon as fair and ingenuous: "The Algerines," ſays he, "are a company of rogues, and I am their captain." *

* The ſecond part, relative to Egypt and Syria, is omitted, as other accounts are ſuperior.

A

TOUR FROM GIBRALTAR

TO

TANGIER, SALLEE, MOGODORE, SANTA CRUZ, TARUDANT;

AND THENCE

OVER MOUNT ATLAS, TO MOROCCO:

Including a particular Account of the Royal Harem, &c.

By WILLIAM LEMPRIERE, Surgeon.*

CHAP. I. — *Motives of the Author for undertaking this Tour. — Sails from Gibraltar. — Arrival at Tangier. — Deſcription of that Place. — Departure for Tarudant. — Inſtance of Tyranny exerciſed upon a Jew. — State of the Country and Roads. — Mode of living on theſe Journies. — Deſcription of Arzilla. — Mooriſh Luxury. — Application from a Variety of Patients. — Arrival at Larache.*

IN the month of September 1789 a requeſt was forwarded through Mr. Matra, the the Britiſh conſul general at Tangier, to His Excellency General O'Hara at Gibraltar, from Muley Abſulem, the late Emperor of Morocco's favourite ſon, the purport of which was, to intreat His Excellency to ſend a medical gentleman from the garriſon to attend the prince, whoſe health was at that time in a dangerous and declining ſtate.

As the term Muley will frequently occur in the ſucceeding pages, it may not be improper to ſtate in this place, that it is a title of honour, which is confined to the royal family of Morocco, and is equivalent to that of lord, or rather prince, in our language.

The promiſes of Muley Abſulem to the conſul were ſplendid and encouraging. The perſon who was to be ſent on this expedition was to be protected from every indignity, and to be treated with the utmoſt reſpect. He was to receive a liberal reward for his profeſſional exertions; his expences during his journey, and while he ſtaid in the country, were to be punctually defrayed; and he was to be ſent back without delay, whenever his preſence ſhould be required at the garriſon. But the moſt flattering circumſtance which attended this requiſition of the Mooriſh prince was, the releaſe of certain Chriſtian captives who were at that period detained in ſlavery. Theſe unfortunate perſons conſiſted of the maſter of an Engliſh veſſel

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trading to Africa, and nine ſeamen, who had been wrecked upon that part of the coaſt which is inhabited by the wild Arabs, and were carried into ſlavery by that ſavage and mercileſs people.

How far theſe brilliant aſſurances were fulfilled will appear in the courſe of the following narrative. It is ſufficient for the preſent to obſerve, that, influenced by the faith which the inhabitants of Europe are accuſtomed to place in the profeſſions of perſons of rank and dignity, and ſtill more impelled by that impetuous curioſity which is natural to youth, I was eaſily perſuaded to embrace the opportunity of viſiting a region ſo little known to European travellers, and to undertake this ſingular, and (as it was generally regarded) extremely hazardous ſervice.

However diſappointed I may have been in my hopes of pecuniary advantage and emolument, ſtill I cannot at this moment regret my raſhneſs, as it was conſidered by many. In the courſe of my viſit I had opportunities which no European had ever enjoyed of becoming acquainted with the manners, policy, cuſtoms, and character of this ſingular people. The ſanctity of the royal harem itſelf was laid open to my inſpection. Even the dangers which I encountered, and the anxious apprehenſions which I occaſionally experienced, I can now reflect upon with a degree of emotion which is not unpleaſant. The notes which I made upon the ſpot I had the great pleaſure to find proved intereſting and entertaining to a number of my friends. By their perſuations I have been encouraged to lay them before the public; and my only and earneſt wiſh is, that the reader may not find his curioſity diſappointed, his attention wearied, or his judgment diſguſted, by the adventures and obſervations which, with the moſt perfect conſciouſneſs of my own inability as a writer, I ſubmit to his inſpection.

The neceſſary preliminaries being ſettled, and the baggage of a ſoldier requiring no great preparation, I embarked at Gibraltar the 14th of September 1789, on board a ſmall veſſel, and in ſix hours arrived at Tangier, where I immediately waited on Mr. Matra, whoſe polite reception and kind offices, during the ſix months that I ſpent in Barbary, claim, and ever will command, my warmeſt acknowledgments.

I ſoon learned that my intended patient was, by his father's command, at the time of my arrival, at the head of an army in the mountains between Morocco and Tarudant, which obliged me to remain at Tangier till we received certain intelligence of the prince's return to Tarudant, his uſual place of reſidence.

It would be difficult to determine whether ſurprize or regret was moſt predominant in my mind upon my arrival in this country. The diſtance is ſo trifling, and the tranſition ſo ſudden, that I at firſt could ſcarcely perſuade myſelf that I was out of Europe, till I was convinced to the contrary by the wonderful difference of people and manners which immediately preſented itſelf on my entering Tangier. Civilization in moſt other countries owes its origin to a commercial intercourſe with foreign nations; and there are few parts of the world, however diſtant or uninformed, whoſe inhabitants have not, in ſome way or other, fallen into the manners of thoſe foreigners by whom they are viſited. But here this circumſtance ſeems to have had not the ſmalleſt effect; for though ſituated only eight leagues from Europe, in the habit of a conſtant communication with its inhabitants, and enjoying the advantage of a number of foreigners reſiding in the place, yet the people of Tangier ſtill retain the ſame uncultivated manners, the ſame averſion to every kind of mental improvement by which the Moors have for ages paſt been ſo juſtly characterized.

It is well known that the town and fortreſs of Tangier formerly conſtituted a part of the foreign dominions of Great Britain. While in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh it

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was a place of conſiderable ſtrength, but when it was evacuated by the orders of Charles II. the fortifications were demoliſhed, and only the veſtiges of them are now viſible. There is at preſent only a ſmall fort in tolerable repair, which is ſituated at the northern extremity of the town, and a battery of a few guns which fronts the bay. From theſe circumſtances it is evident that it could make only a very weak reſiſtance againſt any powerful attack.

The town, which occupies a very ſmall ſpace of ground, and affords nothing remarkable, is built upon an eminence which appears to riſe out of the ſea, and is ſurrounded with a wall. The land for a ſmall diſtance round it is laid out into vineyards, orchards, and corn-fields, beyond which are tracts of ſand, with lofty and barren hills. The ſituation is therefore far from beautiful or agreeable. The houſes are in general mean and ill furniſhed, the roofs are quite flat, and both theſe and the walls are entirely whitened over: the apartments are all on the ground floor, as there is no ſecond ſtory.

Contrary to the uſual cuſtom in Barbary, the Moors and Jews live intermixed at Tangier, and maintain a more friendly intercourſe than elſewhere in this quarter of the globe. The Jews alſo, inſtead of going bare-footed by compulſion, as at Morocco, Tarudant, and many other places, are only required to do it when paſſing a ſtreet where there is a moſque or a ſanctuary.

The foreign conſuls (except the French, who has a houſe at Sallee) reſide at Tangier. Before the reign of the late Emperor Sidi Mahomet, they were allowed to live at Tetuan, a town greatly preferable to Tangier, as well on account of the inhabitants being more civilized, as of the beauty of the adjacent country. A ſingular circumſtance occaſioned the expulſion of the Chriſtians from that pleaſant retreat:—an European gentleman was amuſing himſelf with ſhooting at ſome birds in the vicinity of the town, and accidently wounded an old Mooriſh woman, who unfortunately happened to be within reach of the ſhot. Upon this accident the late Emperor ſwore by his beard that no Chriſtian ſhould ever again enter the town of Tetuan. It may be neceſſary to inform the reader that this oath (by the beard) is held by the Moors in ſuch ſolemn eſtimation, that they are rarely obſerved to violate it, nor was the late Emperor ever known to diſregard it in a ſingle inſtance.

The ſituation of conſuls, indeed, in this diſtant and uncivilized country, is by no means to be envied; and the recompence which ſhould induce men of liberal education to ſacrifice their native comforts and advantages, to ſuch a ſyſtem of life as is required here, ought not to be trifling. They can form no ſociety but among themſelves; and even the univerſally-allowed law of nations is frequently inſufficient to protect their perſons from inſult. Subject to the caprice of an Emperor whoſe conduct is regulated by no law, and whoſe mind is governed by no fixed principle, they are often ordered up to court, and after experiencing a very tedious, fatiguing, and expenſive journey, they are frequently ſent back again without having effected the ſmalleſt point to the advantage of their own country, ſometimes indeed without even being informed of the purpoſe of the journey.

As an alleviation to ſo unſociable a life, the Engliſh, Swediſh, and Daniſh conſuls have erected country houſes at a ſmall diſtance from Tangier, where they occaſionally retire, and enjoy thoſe amuſements which the country affords. Theſe are chiefly gardening, fiſhing, and hunting. From the plenty of game of every kind with which the country abounds, and a total freedom from any reſtriction, with reſpect to it, (for there are no game laws in this empire) they give a full ſcope to the pleaſures of the

field, and endeavour by thoſe means to procure a ſubſtitute for the want of friendly and cheerful ſociety.

On the northern ſide of Tangier is the caſtle, which, though very extenſive, lies half in ruins. It has a royal treaſury, and is the reſidence of the governor. Near the water-ſide are ſtorehouſes for the refitting of veſſels, and at this port many of the Emperor's row-gallies are built. A number of them alſo are generally laid up here, when not engaged in actual ſervice. Indeed, from its convenient ſituation with reſpect to the Straits, this is the beſt ſea-port that he has for employing to advantage theſe ſmall veſſels.

The bay is ſufficiently ſpacious, but it is dangerous for ſhipping in a ſtrong eaſterly wind. The moſt ſecure place of anchorage is on the eaſtern part of the bay, about half a mile from ſhore, in a line with the round tower and the Spaniſh conſul's houſe, which makes a very conſpicuous appearance from the bay.

On the ſouthern ſide of the bay is the river, where, before it was choaked up with ſand-banks, the Emperor uſed to winter his large ſhips, which he is now obliged to ſend to Larache. Moſt of the rivers in the Emperor's dominions, which were formerly navigable, and well calculated for the fitting out of veſſels, and for the laying of them up in ſafety, have now their mouth ſo continually filling with ſand, that in a courſe of years ſmall fiſhing-boats only will be able to enter them. It has often occurred to me, that an enquiry into the ſtate of the Emperor's navy, and in particular into the inconvenience of his harbours, might be an object of ſome conſequence to the different European powers, who now condeſcend to pay a moſt diſgraceful tribute to this ſhadow of imperial dignity.

Over the river of Tangier are the ruins of an ancient bridge, ſuppoſed to have been erected by the Romans. The centre of it only is deſtroyed, and that does not ſeem to be the effect of time. It more probably was pulled down by the Moors, for the purpoſe of permitting their veſſels to enter the river. The remainder of it is entire, and by its thickneſs and ſolidity it evinces the excellence of the ancient architects, and ſhews that ſtrength, as well as beauty, made a conſiderable part of their ſtudy.

As I propoſe in a future part of this narrative to deſcribe very particularly the architecture, houſes, furniture, &c. in this country, I ſhall conclude my account of Tangier by obſerving, that in time of peace it carries on a ſmall trade with Gibraltar and the neighbouring coaſt of Spain, by ſupplying thoſe places with proviſions, and receiving in return European commodities of almoſt every kind.

In a fortnight after my arrival at Tangier the conſul received a letter from the prince, informing him of his return to Tarudant, and of his wiſh that the Engliſh ſurgeon might be diſpatched to him immediately. Previous to my departure, however, it became neceſſary to conſider what was required for the journey.

Two horſemen of the Black or Negro cavalry, armed with long muſkets and ſabres, were diſpatched by the prince to eſcort me, and had been waiting for that purpoſe for ſome time. The governor of the town had orders to ſupply me with a tent, mules, and an interpreter. But it was not without much difficulty that a perſon could be found in Tangier who could ſpeak the Engliſh and Arabic languages ſufficiently well to perform that office; and it was owing to an accident that I at length was enabled to obtain one.

After ſearching the whole town in vain, the governor ordered, during the Jewiſh hour of prayer, that enquiries ſhould be made among all the ſynagogues for a perſon who underſtood both languages. An unfortunate Jew, whoſe occupation was that of ſelling fruit about the ſtreets of Gibraltar, and who had come to Tangier merely to

ſpend a few days with his wife and family during a Jewiſh feſtival, being unacquainted with the intent of the enquiry, unguardedly anſwered in the affirmative. Without further ceremony the poor man was dragged away from his friends and home, and conſtrained by force to accompany me.

Of the mode in this deſpotic government of ſeizing perſons at the arbitrary pleaſure of a governor, an Engliſhman can ſcarcely form an idea. Three or four luſty Moors, with large clubs in their hands, graſp the wretched and defenceleſs victim with as much energy as if he was an Hercules, from whom they expected the moſt formidable reſiſtance, and half ſhake him to death before they deliver him up to the ſuperior power. — Such was exactly the ſituation of my unfortunate interpreter.

From the ſudden and abrupt manner in which he was hurried away, in the midſt of his devotions, the women immediately took the alarm, flew in a body to the houſe of the conſul, and with ſhrieks and lamentations endeavoured to prevail on him to get the man excuſed from his journey. The immenſe diſtance, and the ill treatment which they knew was offered to Jews by the Moors, when not under ſome civilized controul, were certainly ſufficient motives for this alarm on the part of the women. Upon the conſul's aſſuring them, however, that the wife ſhould be taken care of, and the huſband ſent back without any expence to him on our arrival at Mogodore, where I was to be furniſhed with another interpreter, and upon my promiſing to protect the Jew from inſult, and, if he behaved well, to reward him for his trouble, the women immediately diſperſed, and returned home apparently ſatisfied.

When this buſineſs was completed, the conſul furniſhed me with a proper quantity of liquors, two days proviſions, a bedſtead formed by three folding ſtools, for the conveniency of packing it on the mules, with proper cooking utenſils, and an oil-ſkin caſe to carry my bedding. The whole of my equipage, therefore, conſiſted of two Negro ſoldiers, a Jewiſh interpreter, one ſaddle-mule for myſelf, and another for him, two baggage-mules, and a Mooriſh muleteer on foot to take care of them.

On the 30th of September, at three in the afternoon, we ſet out on our journey; and at ſix the ſame evening arrived at a ſmall village about eight miles from Tangier, named Hyn Dalia, where we ſlept that night. The country through which we paſſed, after quitting the neighbourhood of Tangier, was barren and mountainous, with ſcarcely any inhabitants; and it continued ſo the whole way to Larache, only a few miſerable hamlets preſenting themſelves occaſionally to our view. The villages throughout this empire conſiſt of huts rudely conſtructed of ſtones, earth, and canes, covered with thatch, and encloſed with thick and high hedges. This deſcription exactly applies to that which received us on the firſt evening of our expedition.

So careful had the governor of Tangier been in executing his commiſſion, and ſo attentive to the accommodation of the perſon who was to reſtore health to his royal maſter's favourite ſon, that upon examining my tent it was found ſo full of holes, and in every reſpect ſo out of order, that I was obliged to place my bed under a hedge, and make uſe of my tattered tent as a ſide covering.

After ſpending the night in this ſingular ſituation, we proceeded on our journey at half paſt ſeven in the morning, and in an hour after croſſed the river Marha, which was nearly dry; though I was informed that after the heavy rains it is deep and dangerous to be forded. In a wet ſeaſon, when the rivers are ſwelled, travellers are frequently detained for ſeveral days upon their banks. There are in fact but few bridges in this country, ſo that, except at the ſea-ports, where they have

no method of paſſing ſtreams which are too deep to be forded, except by ſwimming, or by the uſe of rafts.

At ten we entered a thick and extenſive foreſt, named Rabe a Clow. From its ſituation on a high mountain, from the rocky and difficult aſcent, and from the diſtant view of the ocean through the openings of the trees, this foreſt preſented to us an uncommonly wild, romantic, and, I may with truth ſay, a ſublime appearance. From this proſpect, however, our attention was in a great meaſure diverted by the miſerable road over which we now found we were to paſs, extending for the moſt part over ſteep mountains and craggy rocks. On this account we were obliged to ride very ſlow, and with the greateſt caution.

At eleven we croſſed another river, called Machira la Chef, running at the bottom of this elevated foreſt, which, though the ſeaſon was dry, was rather deep. Here the eye was agreeably refreſhed by a fine champaign country, and a good road before us. On this we continued until we arrived at a rivulet with ſome trees growing at a ſmall diſtance from its margin. At noon I fixed upon the moſt ſhady ſpot I could find, and, agreeably to the Mooriſh faſhion, ſat down croſs-legged on the graſs and dined.

As the dreſſing of victuals would have retarded us too much on our journey, I always made a point of having ſomething prepared the night before to eat cold the following day. Such repaſts in freſco were agreeable enough, when wholeſome and palatable water could be procured; but very frequently that was far from being the caſe. In many places it was ſo muddy and offenſive, that, though extremely thirſty, I could not drink it unleſs corrected with wine.

Except in the large towns, no proviſions could be procured but fowls and eggs; with theſe, which I had been before accuſtomed to eſteem as delicacies, I now began to be ſatiated and diſguſted. My uſual ſupper upon my route was a cup of ſtrong coffee and a toaſt, which I found much more refreſhing than animal food. Every morning I breakfaſted upon the ſame, and experienced the invigorating effects of this beverage, by its enabling me to ſupport the fatigues of the day.

After purſuing our courſe for about two hours, we arrived at the river Lorifa, where we were detained an hour by the height of the tide. The uncertainty and unevenneſs of the bottom, and the number of large ſtones which lie in the channel of this river, render it at all times unſafe to be paſſed. This circumſtance we very ſenſibly experienced; for when the tide permitted us to make the attempt, though we had men on foot for the purpoſe of guiding our beaſts, ſtill, by their ſtriking againſt the ſtones, and by their ſudden plunges into deep holes, we were continually thrown forward upon their necks.

Hardineſs and dexterity are, perhaps, the firſt among the few advantages which uncivilized nations enjoy. It was amuſing in this place to obſerve a number of Moors, who were travelling on foot, pull off their cloaths, place them commodiouſly on their heads, and immediately ſwim acroſs the ſtream.

In the evening we reached Arzilla, where, in conſequence of the ſervice in which I was engaged, application was made by the ſoldiers to the alcaide, or governor of the town, to procure me a lodging. Arzilla is eleven hours journey, or about 30 miles diſtant from Tangier: for the Moors compute diſtances by hours; and as the pace of their mules is at the rate of three miles an hour, the length of a journey is generally calculated in this way with ſufficient accuracy.

The apartment aſſigned me was a miſerable room in the caſtle, without any windows, and receiving light from a door-way (for there was no door), and from three holes in the wall about ſix inches ſquare. This caſtle covers a large ſpace of ground; and

though it is now in a very ruinous condition, appears to have been a building erected formerly in a ſuperior ſtyle of Mooriſh grandeur.

The town is a ſmall ſea-port upon the Atlantic ocean. It was once in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, and was at that time a place of ſtrength; but through the indolence and caprice of the Mooriſh princes its fortifications have been ſince neglected, and its walls are rapidly decaying in almoſt every part. The houſes have a miſerable appearance, and the inhabitants, who conſiſt of a few Moors and Jews, live in a ſtate of the moſt perfect poverty.

The reader may form ſome idea of the manners of this country, by imagining me and my interpreter at one end of the room, as above deſcribed, drinking coffee; and at the other, the muleteer and the ſoldiers enjoying themſelves over a large bowl of cuſcaſou, which they were devouring with all the fervour of an excellent appetite, and in the primitive faſhion, that is, with their fingers. This ſpecies of food is very common among the Moors, who have a tradition that it was invented by their prophet Mahomet, at a time when he could obtain neither ſleep nor ſubſiſtence. It is their principal treat to all foreign miniſters, and travellers of diſtinction who viſit the country. It conſiſts of bits of paſte about the ſize of rice, crumbled into an earthen colander, and cooked by the ſteam of boiled meat and vegetables. The whole is then put into an earthen diſh, and butter and ſpices added to it. The diſh is ſerved up in a wooden tray, with a cover of palmetto leaves plaited together.

About an hour after my arrival, the governor, and ſeveral of the principal Moors, paid me a viſit, and brought me, in compliment to my royal patient, a preſent of fruit, eggs, and fowls. After a converſation of about half an hour, during which many compliments paſſed on both ſides, my viſitors took their leave, and we all retired to reſt.

As the report was rapidly and extenſively circulated that a Chriſtian ſurgeon was arrived in the town, I found myſelf viſited very early in the morning by a number of patients, whoſe caſes were in general truly deplorable. Many of theſe objects were afflicted with total blindneſs, white ſwellings, inveterate chronical rheumatiſms, and dropſies. It was in vain to aſſure theſe unfortunate and ignorant people that their complaints were beyond the reach of medicine. All I could allege gained not the ſmalleſt credit; a Chriſtian doctor, they aſſerted, could cure every malady, and repeatedly offered me their hands to feel their pulſe; for diſeaſes of every kind in this country, it ſeems, are to be diſcovered merely by an application to the pulſe.

From the urgent importunities of my patients, who all wiſhed to be attended to at the ſame time, I was at firſt at a loſs how to proceed; however, I found myſelf under the neceſſity of ordering my guards to keep off the crowd, and permit one only to conſult me at a time. It was truly diſtreſſing to obſerve ſo many objects of real miſery before me, without having it in my power to adminiſter that relief for which they appeared ſo anxious, and which they were ſo confident of obtaining. Though moſt of their complaints appeared to be incurable, yet had my time permitted I ſhould have experienced the moſt heart-felt pleaſure in exerting every means in my power to alleviate their ſufferings. Circumſtanced as I was, I could only recommend them medicines which would have but a temporary effect, and which ſerved rather to ſend them away ſatisfied than to afford a permanent relief.

In the mean time the governor had been paying attention to the bad condition of my tent, and by ordering the worſt parts to be cut out, and the reſt to be patched, had reduced it ſo much in ſize, that he had ſcarcely left room for myſelf and interpreter with difficulty to creep into it.

At

At eight o'clock the ſame morning, October 2d, we began our route for the city of Larache, about 22 miles from Arzilla, and arrived there the ſame day about four in the afternoon. Our journey thither was principally on the beach, ſo that but little occurred which was worthy of obſervation. Before we could enter the town, we were ferried over the river Luccos, which in this part is about half a mile in breadth, and after many beautiful meanders falls into the ocean at Larache.

CHAP. II. — *Deſcription of Larache.* — *Application from a Number of Patients.* — *Diſeaſes of the Country.* — *State of Medical Science in Morocco.* — *Curious Ruin.* — *Beautiful Country.* — *Encampments of the Arabs.* — *Manners and Cuſtoms of this ſingular People.* — *Oppreſſion of the People.* — *Inſtances.* — *Mode of fiſhing in the Lakes.* — *Sanctuaries.* — *Mooriſh Saints.* — *Anecdotes illuſtrative of this Subject.* — *Journey from Mamora to Sallee.*

IMMEDIATELY on my arrival at Larache I was introduced to the alcaide or governor, whom I found to be a very handſome black. He ſhewed me great attention, and placed me in a very decent apartment in the caſtle, which is in a ſtate totally different from that of Arzilla.

Larache formerly belonged to the Spaniards: it has tolerably neat buildings, and is of a moderate extent. This city is ſituated at the mouth of the river Luccos, upon an eaſy deſcent to the ſea. The agreeable windings of the river, the cluſters of date and various other trees irregularly diſpoſed, and the gentle riſings of the ground, have a moſt picturesque effect; which, aided by the reflection that you are contemplating the pure works of nature, unaſſiſted or undeformed by art, cannot fail to inſpire the moſt pleaſing ſenſations.

The town, though not regularly fortified, poſſeſſes one fort and two batteries in good repair. The ſtreets are paved, and there is a decent market-place with ſtone piazzas. This city indeed, on the whole, exhibits a much cleaner and neater appearance than any town which I viſited in Barbary, Mogodore excepted.

At the port veſſels are refitted and ſupplied with ſtores, though there are no docks nor conveniencies for building large ſhips. From the depth and ſecurity of the river the Emperor is induced to lay up his large veſſels at Larache during the winter ſeaſon. It indeed is the only port which he poſſeſſes that can anſwer that purpoſe. It is, however, probable, that this river in proceſs of time will be ſubject to the ſame inconvenience as that of Tangier, owing to the accumulation of ſand, which already has produced a bar at its entrance, of which the annual increaſe is very perceptible.

As one of my mules had fallen lame, I continued the whole of the following day at Larache, with a view of exchanging him; but to my great mortification was not able to ſucceed in the attempt. During a great part of the day my room was ſo filled with patients that it might with great propriety be compared to an infirmary, and that not one of the leaſt conſiderable.

The diſeaſes that I obſerved to be moſt prevalent, were the hydrocele; violent inflammations in the eyes, very frequently terminating in blindneſs; the itch, combined with inveterate leprous affections; dropſies, and white ſwellings. I alſo obſerved a few intermittent and bilious fevers, and frequently complaints of the ſtomach, ariſing from indigeſtion. Though this country has in a few inſtances been viſited by the plague, yet that diſeaſe by no means is ſo prevalent here as in the eaſtern parts of Barbary, which are more contiguous to Turkey, whence it is ſuppoſed uſually to proceed.

The

The cauſe of the hydrocele ſo frequently occurring in this country ſeems to be in a great meaſure the looſe dreſs of the Moors, and the great relaxation which is induced by the warmth of the climate*. The ophthalmy, or inflammation of the eyes, is evidently occaſioned by their being expoſed to the reflection of the ſun from the houſes, which are univerſally whitened over. To this inconvenience the Moors are more particularly ſubject, from their dreſs not being calculated to keep off the rays of the ſun, and from no perſon being allowed the uſe of an umbrella except the Emperor.

The leprous affection appears to be hereditary, for I was informed that it has been frequently traced back from one family to another for ſeveral generations, and it has all the appearance of being the true leproſy of the ancients. It breaks out in great blotches over the whole body, in ſome few forming one continual ſore, which frequently heals up, and at ſtated times breaks out afreſh, but is never thoroughly cured. During my reſidence at Morocco, I had frequent opportunities of trying a variety of remedies for this complaint, but I never ſucceeded further than a temporary cure, for upon diſcontinuing the medicines the diſeaſe was certain to return. The white ſwellings and dropſies probably ariſe from poor living; three parts of the people ſeldom having any other kind of proviſion than coarſe bread, fruit, and vegetables.

With reſpect to the ſtate of medical and chirurgical knowledge in this country, it is very limited indeed. They have, however, their practitioners in phyſic, both Moors and Jews, who have gone through the form of fitting themſelves for the profeſſion, which chiefly conſiſts in ſelecting from the ancient Arabic manuſcripts that remain in the country ſome ſimple remedies, which they afterwards apply, as well as they are able, to various diſtempers.

Their methods of treating diſorders are, bleeding, cupping, ſcarifying, fomentations, and giving internally decoctions of herbs. Some are bold enough in the hydrocele to let out the water with a lancet; and there are thoſe who even couch for the cataract. I never had an opportunity of ſeeing the operation of couching performed in Barbary, but I was introduced to a Moor at the city of Morocco, who told me that he had performed it, and ſhewed me the inſtrument which he uſed for the purpoſe. This was a piece of thick braſs wire, terminating gradually at one end in a point not very ſharp.

The Moors chiefly depend upon topical remedies, and ſeldom make uſe of internal medicines. Being ſtrangers to the manner in which they are to operate, they ſeem to entertain no favourable opinion of their efficacy. It is indeed almoſt impoſſible to perſuade them that a medicine received into the ſtomach can relieve complaints in the head or extremities. It is but juſtice, however, to add, that I never knew them object to any thing that I adminiſtered, provided I clearly explained to them the manner in which they were to be benefited by it. From theſe obſervations, and from the frequent recourſe which the Mahometans have to charms and amulets, it appears that, notwithſtanding their belief in predeſtination, they are not averſe to the uſe of means for the removal of diſorders.

Of the number who applied to me for relief at Larache, none appeared to exhibit the leaſt ſenſe of gratitude except one; the reſt behaved as if they thought they did me a greater favour by aſking my advice, than I conferred on them by giving it. The

* The medical reader will probably ſee a further cauſe for the frequency of this complaint, in the great indulgence which the Moors allow themſelves in certain pleaſures, and the application of the warm bath immediately after.

perſon to whom I allude, as being ſo different in his conduct from the reſt, was an old Moor of ſome diſtinction in the place, who deſired me to come to his houſe and viſit a ſick friend, with which requeſt I immediately complied. The man for this trifling attention was ſo uncommonly grateful, that reflecting on the place where I was, and on the treatment I had already experienced, I was aſtoniſhed and gratified beyond expreſſion. After ſending to my apartment a large ſupply of poultry and fruit, the uſual preſent of the country, he waited on me himſelf, and aſſured me, that while he lived he ſhould never forget the favour which I had done him; at the ſame time inſiſting upon my making uſe of his houſe as my own upon my return. As this was the principal inſtance of this very ſingular virtue among the Moors, which I experienced during my whole tour in Barbary, I have thought it my duty to be particular in mentioning the circumſtance.

On the 4th of October, at ſix in the morning, we left Larache, and at ten paſſed the river Clough, a ſmall ſtream. At four in the afternoon we came to the ruins of a large caſtle, ſaid to have been built ſome hundred years ago, by a Moor of diſtinction, named Dar Coreſy, who was put to death by the then reigning Emperor, and his caſtle deſtroyed. Moſt of the caſtles and other public buildings indeed, which I ſaw in this empire, afforded ſtrong marks of having ſuffered more from the hands of the tyrant, than from the injuries of time.

I have already mentioned the beautiful proſpects in the country adjacent to Larache: thoſe in the road from that city to Mamora were not leſs delightful. We travelled among trees of various kinds, ſo agreeably arranged that the place had more the appearance of a park than of an uncultivated country. We croſſed over plains which, without the aid of the huſbandman, were rich in verdure; and we had a view of lakes which extended many miles in length, the ſides of which were lined with Arab encampments, and their ſurfaces covered with innumerable water-fowl. The fineneſs of the day greatly added to the pleaſure I received from theſe variegated ſcenes, which are not unworthy the pencil of the ableſt artiſt.

At half paſt four in the afternoon we arrived at the firſt of theſe lakes, and pitched our tent in the centre of one of the encampments.

Theſe encampments are generally at a very conſiderable diſtance from the cities and towns; the villages, on the other hand, are commonly quite in the vicinity of ſome town. The encampment conſiſts of broad tents, conſtructed either of the leaves of the palmetto, or of camels hair. Some of them are ſupported by canes, and others are fixed by pegs. The form of an Arab tent is in ſome degree ſimilar to a tomb, or the keel of a ſhip reverſed. They are dyed black, are broad, and very low. The tent of the ſhaik or governor is conſiderably larger than any of the others, and is placed in a conſpicuous part of the camp. Theſe camps are named by the Arabs douhars, and the number of tents in them vary according to the proportion of people in the tribe or family. Some of the douhars contain only four or five, while others conſiſt of near a hundred. The camp forms either a complete circle or an oblong ſquare, but the firſt is more common. The cattle, which are left to graze at large in the day, are carefully ſecured within the boundaries at night.

In all the camps the tents are cloſed on the north ſide, and are quite open on the ſouth, by which means they eſcape the cold northerly winds, ſo prevalent in this country during the winter ſeaſon.

The Arabs who inhabit theſe encampments are in many reſpects a very different race of people from the Moors who inhabit the towns. The latter, from being in general more affluent, from their intercourſe with Europeans, and from their different education,

cation, have introduced luxuries, and imbibed ideas, of which the others are entirely ignorant. From their ſtrong family attachments indeed, as well as from their inveterate prejudices in favour of ancient cuſtoms, theſe tribes of Arabs appear to be at a vaſt diſtance from a ſtate of civilization. As this ſingular people aſſociate continually in tribes, their marriages are confined to their own family; and ſo ſtrict are they in the obſervance of this attachment, that they will not permit a perſon who is not in ſome degree related to them to inhabit the ſame camp with themſelves.

The huſband, wife, and children all ſleep in the ſame tent, commonly on a pallet of ſheep-ſkins, but ſometimes on the bare ground. The children remain with their parents till they marry, when the friends of each party are obliged to provide them with a tent, a ſtone hand-mill to grind their corn, a baſket, a wooden bowl, and two earthen diſhes, which conſtitute the whole of their furniture. Beſides theſe they have however a marriage portion, which conſiſts of a certain number of camels, horſes, cows, ſheep, and goats, with a proportionable quantity of wheat and barley: and by grazing and cultivating the neighbouring ground they gradually increaſe their ſtock. The Arabs have ſeldom more than one wife. Their women, who are in general the very oppoſite to every idea of beauty, do not, like thoſe who inhabit the towns, conceal their faces in the preſence of ſtrangers.

Each camp is under the direction of a ſhaik, to whom the reſt apply for redreſs whenever they feel themſelves aggrieved. This governor is inveſted with the power of inflicting any puniſhment which he may think proper, ſhort of death. He is appointed by the Emperor, and is in general the Arab who poſſeſſes the greateſt property.

As they are generally at a diſtance from any moſque where they can exerciſe their religion, an empty tent is allotted for the purpoſes of worſhip, which is placed in the centre of the camp, and which at the ſame time ſerves for the nightly abode of any traveller who may paſs that way; and thoſe who take ſhelter in it are provided with a good ſupper at the expence of the whole aſſociation. Within this tent all the children aſſemble every morning an hour before day-break, before a large wood fire, which is made on the outſide, and learn their prayers, which are written in Arabic characters on boards, and are always hanging up in the tent. The learning to read the few prayers which are on theſe boards, and to commit them to memory, is the only education to which the Arabs in general ever attain.

The unſettled turn of theſe people has conferred upon them the appellation of wandering Arabs. As ſoon as the land which ſurrounds them becomes leſs productive, and their cattle have devoured all the paſture, they ſtrike their tents, and move on to ſome more fertile ſpot, till neceſſity again compels them to retire. I met one of theſe tribes upon their march, and obſerved that not only their camels, horſes, and mules, but alſo their bulls and cows, were laden with their tents, implements of agriculture, wives and children, &c.

In the empire of Morocco all landed property, except what is immediately connected with towns, belongs to the Emperor. The Arabs, therefore, when they wiſh to change their ſituation, are obliged to procure a licence from him, or at leaſt from the baſhaw of the province, allowing them to take poſſeſſion of any particular ſpot of ground; and in conſideration of this indulgence they pay the Emperor a proportion of its produce.

The treatment which I experienced from theſe people was kind and hoſpitable, betraying no ſigns of that inclination to impoſe upon ſtrangers, which ſo ſtrongly mark the character of the inhabitants of the towns. As ſoon as my tent was pitched, numbers flocked round it, but apparently more from curioſity than from any intention

of offending. On the contrary they appeared exceedingly desirous to do every thing in their power for my accommodation.

The dress of the men consists of a long coarse frock, made of undyed wool, which is girt about the waist, and is called a cashove. In addition to this they wear the haick, which is a piece of stuff several yards in length, made either of wool, or wool and cotton. This, when they go abroad, they use as a cloak, throwing it over the whole of the under dress in a careless manner, the upper part serving to cover their head. They wear their hair cut quite close, use no turban, cap, nor stockings, and seldom even wear slippers.

The dress of the women is nearly the same, differing only in the mode of putting on the cashove, which is so contrived as to form a bag on their backs, for the purpose of carrying their children; and this they are able to do, and perform all the drudgery of the family at the same time. Their hair, which is black, is worn in different plaits, and is covered with a handkerchief tied close to their head. They are very fond of gold and silver trinkets when they can obtain them, and none of them are without a number of bead necklaces. Their children go quite naked till the age of nine or ten, when they are initiated in the drudgery of their parents.

The mode of living amongst these people is much the same as that of the Moors in towns, cuscosou being their principal diet. Besides this, however, they eat camels and foxes flesh, and sometimes even cats have fallen victims to their voracity. They use barley bread, which is prepared without yeast or leaven, and baken in an earthen dish in the shape of a cake.

The complexion of the Arabs is a dark brown, or rather olive-colour. Their features, from their more active life, have stronger expression and fewer marks of effeminacy than those of the Moors in towns. Their eyes are black, and their teeth in general white and regular.

The ill effects of strong family prejudices, and of that narrow and exclusive disposition which accompanies them, is strongly marked in these little societies. Every camp beholds its neighbour with detestation or contempt. Perpetual feuds arise between the inhabitants of each, and too commonly are productive of bloodshed, and the most extravagant outrages. When one of these unfortunate contests proceeds to open acts of violence, it seldom terminates till the Emperor has taken a share in the dispute. Whoever is the author, he at least generally derives advantages from these dissensions; for, independent of the corporal punishment which he inflicts, he also imposes heavy fines upon the contending tribes, which proves the most effectual mode of pacifying the combatants.

Besides what the Emperor gains in this way, which is frequently considerable, he likewise receives annually the tenth of every article of consumption which is the produce of the country; he also sometimes exacts an extraordinary impost, answering in value to about the fortieth part of every article they possess, which is levied for the purpose of supporting his troops. Besides these levies, these unfortunate people are liable to any other exaction which his caprice may direct him to impose upon them, from a plea of pretended or real necessity. The first tax (the tenth) is paid either in corn and cattle, or in money. The other is always paid in corn and cattle.

The mode practised by the Emperor for extorting money from his subjects is very simple and expeditious. He sends orders to the bashaw or governor of the province to pay him the sum he wants within a limited time. The bashaw immediately collects it, and sometimes double the sum, as a reward to his own industry, from the alcaides of the towns and shaiks of the encampments in the province which he commands. The

example of the baſhaw is not loſt upon theſe officers, who take care to compenſate their own trouble with equal liberality from the pockets of the ſubjects; ſo that by means of this chain of deſpotiſm, which deſcends from the Emperor to the meaneſt officer, the wretched people generally pay about four times the taxes which the Emperor receives—ſo little gainers are arbitrary monarchs by the oppreſſion of the public! The exactions indeed have been ſometimes ſo ſevere, that the Arabs have poſitively refuſed to ſatisfy the Emperor's demands, and have obliged him to ſend a party of ſoldiers to enforce them. Whenever he is forced to this extremity, the ſoldiers never fail to give full ſcope to their love of plunder.

When a ſtranger ſleeps in one of theſe camps, he reſts in the moſt perfect ſafety; for if he loſes the leaſt article, or is in any reſpect injured, all the Arabs of the camp become anſwerable for it. So that a foreigner travels with much greater ſecurity under the protection of government in this empire, than among the nations of Europe which are more civilized.

The lakes in this part of the world furniſh great plenty of water-fowl and eels. The manner of catching the latter being in ſome degree curious, I ſhall treſpaſs upon the reader's patience while I endeavour to give ſome account of it.

A ſort of ſkiff, about ſix feet long and two broad, is formed of bundles of reeds and ruſhes, rudely joined together, leaving only ſufficient room to contain the man. The ſkiff gradually narrows off towards the head, where it terminates in a point which is bent upwards in a manner ſimilar to the turn of a ſcate. It is guided and managed entirely by one long pole, and from its lightneſs is capable of very quick motion. For the immediate purpoſe of taking the eels, a number of ſtrong canes are fixed together, with a barbed iron in each, and with this inſtrument, as ſoon as the eels are obſerved in the water, the man immediately ſtrikes at them with great dexterity, and generally with ſucceſs.

Almoſt the whole employment of the Arabs conſiſts in the tillage of the ground adjacent to their camps, and in the grazing of their cattle. The grounds at a diſtance from the lakes, by the burning of the ſtubble in the autumn, and a ſlight turning up of the earth with a wooden plough-ſhare, produce good crops of barley and wheat; and by theſe means the Arabs procure not only ſufficient for their conſumption, but are even enabled to bring a part for ſale to the neighbouring markets. Near the marſhes and lakes their flocks and herds find a very rich paſture, which, from the number of every ſpecies which I obſerved, added in no ſmall degree to the beauty of the romantic ſcene.

With reſpect to their markets, they have ſpots of ground fixed upon for that purpoſe within a few hours ride of their habitations, where once a week all the neighbouring Arabs tranſport their cattle, poultry, fruit, and corn to be diſpoſed of, and ſometimes meet with a good ſale from the Mooriſh merchants, who come from the town to purchaſe cattle and grain.

Were the Emperor to allow a free exportation of corn, with moderate duties, and to permit the people to enjoy what they earn, exacting only the tax allowed him by the Koran, of a tenth on each article, his ſubjects would ſoon become very rich, and his own revenue would be trebly increaſed. The ſoil is ſo fertile, that every grain is computed to produce an hundred fold; but, owing to the want of a greater demand for this article, the Arabs ſow little more than is neceſſary for their own uſe.

The only guards of theſe rude habitations, both againſt thieves and wild beaſts, are dogs of a very large and fierce ſpecies. If theſe animals perceive a ſtranger approach the camp, they furiouſly iſſue in a body againſt him, and would probably tear him to pieces,

pieces, were they not reſtrained, and called off by their owners. Through the whole of the night they keep up an inceſſant and melancholy barking and Lowling, which, though doubtleſs very uſeful, in keeping their maſters upon the watch, and frightening away wild beaſts, yet, when united to the lowing of the herds and neighing of the horſes which occupy the vacant ſpaces of the camp, certainly tends to depreſs the ſpirits, and impede that reſt which the fatigue attending thoſe journies naturally requires.

On the 5th of October, between five and ſix in the morning, we quitted the habitations of theſe hoſpitable Arabs, and travelled on to Mamora, where we arrived about ſix the ſame evening. The greater part of this day's journey afforded us a continuation of nearly the ſame appearances with that of the preceding day.

As we approached the town, we obſerved on each ſide of the lakes ſeveral ſanctuaries of Mooriſh ſaints. Theſe ſanctuaries are ſtone buildings of about ten yards ſquare, whitened over, with a cupola at the top, containing in them the body of the ſaint.

A veneration for perſons of eminent ſanctity has pervaded all nations and all religions of the world. The Mahometan religion appears as little favourable to this ſpecies of ſuperſtition as moſt with which we are acquainted, as it ſo tenaciouſly inſiſts on the unity of God, and ſo ſtrictly inhibits all creatures whatever from participating in the honours which are due only to the Deity. Some degree of idolatry, however, will prevail in every rude nation. When, therefore, a Mahometan ſaint dies, he is buried with the utmoſt ſolemnity, and a chapel is erected over his grave, which place afterwards becomes more ſacred than even the moſques themſelves.

If the moſt atrocious criminal takes refuge in one of theſe chapels, or ſanctuaries, his perſon is ſecure. The Emperor himſelf, who rarely ſcruples to employ any means whatever that may ſerve to accompliſh his purpoſe, ſeldom violates the privilege of theſe places. When a Moor is oppreſſed by any mental or bodily affliction, he applies to the neareſt ſanctuary, and afterwards returns home with his mind calm and comforted, expecting to derive ſome conſiderable benefit from the prayers which he has offered there: and in all deſperate caſes the ſanctuary is the laſt reſort.

Saints in Barbary are of two kinds. The firſt are thoſe who by frequent ablutions, prayers, and other acts of devotion, have acquired an extraordinary reputation for piety. Too many of theſe are artful hypocrites, who under the maſk of religion practiſe the moſt flagrant immoralities. There are, however, inſtances of ſome among them, whoſe practices accord in general with their profeſſion, and who make it their buſineſs to attend upon the ſick, and aſſiſt the neceſſitous and unhappy. From ſuch as theſe the ſevere ſpirit of philoſophy itſelf will ſcarcely withhold reſpect and veneration.

Idiots and madmen form the ſecond claſs of ſaints. In every ſtate of ſociety, indeed, an opinion has been prevalent, that perſons afflicted with theſe mental complaints were under the influence of ſuperior powers. The oracles and prophets of the heathen world derived their celebrity from this circumſtance; and even among the lower claſſes in our own country we frequently have to encounter a ſimilar prejudice. In conformity, therefore, with theſe notions, ſo natural to uncultivated man, the Moors conſider theſe unhappy perſons as being under the ſpecial protection of Heaven, and divinely inſpired. Superſtition here, as perhaps in ſome other inſtances, becomes admirably ſubſervient to humanity and charity. In conſequence of this prejudice, the moſt friendleſs and unprotected race of mortals find friends and protectors in the populace themſelves. They are fed and cloathed gratis wherever they wander, and are ſometimes loaded with preſents. A Moor might with as much ſafety offer an

inſult to the Emperor himſelf, as attempt by any ſeverity to reſtrain even the irregularities of theſe reputed prophets.

It muſt not however be diſſembled, that opinions which have not their baſis in reaſon and philoſophy are ſeldom found to operate uniformly for the advantage of ſociety. Independent of the wide ſcope which theſe ſuperſtitious notions afford to hypocriſy, numberleſs are the evils with which they are attended, ſince whatever miſchief theſe ſuppoſed miniſters of heaven may perpetrate, their perſons are always ſacred. It is not long ſince there was a ſaint at Morocco, whoſe conſtant amuſement was to wound and kill whatever perſons unfortunately fell in his way; yet, in ſpite of the many fatal conſequences from his inſanity, he was ſtill ſuffered to go at large. Such was the malignity of his diſpoſition, that while he was in the very act of prayer he would watch for an opportunity to throw his roſary round the neck of ſome perſon within his reach, with an intent to ſtrangle him. While I reſided at Morocco, I ſenſibly experienced the inconvenience of coming within the vicinity of theſe ſaints, as they ſeemed to take a particular pleaſure in inſulting and annoying Chriſtians.

Beſides theſe, I may mention under the head of ſaints or prophets, the marabouts, a claſs of impoſtors who pretend to ſkill in magic, and are highly eſteemed by the natives. They lead an indolent life, are the venders of ſpells and charms, and live by the credulity of the populace.

There is alſo among theſe people a ſet of itinerant mountaineers, who pretend to be the favourites of the prophet Mahomet, and that no kind of venomous creature can hurt them. But the moſt ſingular of this claſs are the ſidi naſir, or ſnake-eaters, who exhibit in public upon market-days, and entertain the crowd by eating live ſnakes, and performing juggling deceptions. I was once preſent at this ſtrange ſpecies of amuſement, and ſaw a man, in the courſe of two hours, eat a living ſerpent of four feet in length. He danced to the ſound of wild muſic, vocal and inſtrumental, with a variety of odd jeſtures and contortions, ſeveral times round the circle formed by the ſpectators. He then began his attack upon the tail, after he had recited a ſhort prayer, in which he was joined by the multitude. This ceremony was repeated at intervals, till he had entirely devoured the ſnake.

Thus far by way of digreſſion: I now return to the courſe of my narrative.—Early in the evening of the 5th we arrived at Mamora, which is diſtant about ſixty-four miles from Larache. It is ſituated upon a hill near the mouth of the river Saboe, the waters of which gradually widening in their courſe, fall into the Atlantic at this place, and form a harbour for ſmall veſſels.

Mamora, like the generality of the Mooriſh towns through which I paſſed, contains little worthy of obſervation. While it was in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueze it was encompaſſed by a double wall, which ſtill remains; it had alſo other fortifications, which are deſtroyed. At preſent it poſſeſſes only a ſmall fort on the ſea-ſide.

The fertile paſtures, the extenſive waters and plantations which we paſſed in our way hither, have already been remarked. The vicinity of Mamora is equally enchanting. What a delightful reſidence would it be, if the country had not the misfortune to grown under an arbitrary and oppreſſive government.

In the morning, between eight and nine, we mounted our mules, leaving Mamora, and directing our courſe to Sallee, where we arrived between one and two at noon, after having travelled over a ſpace of about fifteen miles. The road between Mamora and Sallee is in excellent order, and tolerably pleaſant. It extends along a vale, towards which the hills gently ſlope on each ſide.

Within

Within a quarter of a mile of Sallee, we arrived at an aqueduct, which the natives aſſert to have been built many years ago by the Moors; but from its ſtyle, and ſtriking marks of antiquity, it bears more the reſemblance of a piece of Roman architecture. Its walls, which are remarkable thick and high, extend in length for about half a mile, and have three ſtupendous archways opening to the road, through one of which we paſſed on our way to Sallee. Although time has laid its deſtructive hand in ſome degree on this ancient piece of architecture, yet it ſtill ſerves the purpoſe of ſupplying the town of Sallee with excellent water.

CHAP. III. — *Deſcription of Sallee. — Piracies. — Curious Letter of Muley Zidan to King Charles I. — Brutal Conduct of a Muleteer. — Handſome Behaviour of the French Conſul. — Deſcription of Rabat. — Journey from Rabat to Mogodore. — Violent Storm. — Ruins of Fadala. — Dar Beyda. — Azamore. — Melancholy Anecdote of an Engliſh Surgeon. — Mazagan. — Dyn Medina Rabæa. — Saffi. — General State of the Country. — Deſcription of Mogodore.*

THE name of Sallee is famous in hiſtory, and has decorated many a well-told tale. Thoſe piratical veſſels which were fitted out from this port, and which were known by the name of Sallee rovers, were long the terror of the mercantile world. Equally dreaded for their valour and their cruelty, the adventurers who navigated theſe ſwift and formidable veſſels depopulated the ocean, and even dared ſometimes to extend their devaſtations to the Chriſtian coaſts. As plunder was their ſole aim, in the acquiſition of it nothing impeded their career. Human life was of no value in their eſtimation, or if it was ſometimes ſpared, it was not through any ſentiment of juſtice or compaſſion, but only that it might be protracted in the moſt wretched of ſituations, as the hopeleſs ſlave to the luxury and caprice of a fellow-mortal. The town of Sallee in its preſent ſtate, though large, preſents nothing worthy the obſervation of the traveller, except a battery of twenty-four pieces of cannon fronting the ſea, and a redoubt at the entrance of the river, which is about a quarter of a mile broad, and penetrates ſeveral miles into the interior country.

On the ſide oppoſite to Sallee is ſituated the town of Rabat, which formerly partook equally with Sallee in its piratical depredations, and was generally confounded with it. While Sallee and Rabat were thus formidable, they were what might be termed independent ſtates, paying only a very ſmall tribute to the Emperor, and barely acknowledging him for their Sovereign. This ſtate of independence undoubtedly gave uncommon vigour to their piratical exertions. Few will take much pains, or encounter great riſks for the acquiſition of wealth, without the certainty of enjoying it unmoleſted. Sidi Mahomet, however, when prince, ſubdued theſe towns, and annexed them to the empire. This was a mortal blow to their piracies; for when thoſe deſperate mariners felt the uncertainty of poſſeſſing any length of time their captures, they no longer became ſolicitous to acquire them; and at length, when the man who had deprived them of their privileges became Emperor, he put a total ſtop to their depredations, by declaring himſelf at peace with all Europe. Since that period the entrance of the river has been ſo gradually filling up with ſand waſhed in by the ſea, that was it poſſible for theſe people to recover their independence, it would incapacitate them from carrying on their piracies to their former extent *.

Having

* In peruſing the manuſcripts of a gentleman lately deceaſed, who formerly reſided a number of years in this empire, it appears that Sallee was, ſo far back as the year 1648, eminent for its piracies and independence,

Having a letter of recommendation to Mr. De Rocher, the French conſul-general, I was ferried over the river to Rabat, where he reſides, and met with a very polite reception. Upon landing my baggage a very warm diſpute aroſe between the muleteer and my interpreter, concerning the method of packing it on the mules again, for the purpoſe of carrying it to the conſul's houſe. Both parties appeared ſo very ſtrenuous in their cauſe, that neither of them paid any attention to my interference; and it was at length carried to ſuch exceſs, that the muleteer ſtruck my interpreter. Upon ſeeing this, I could no longer remain a ſilent ſpectator, and I have reaſon to

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independence, and that it became an object of conqueſt to the monarch of that time. He expreſſes himſelf in theſe words. —

"Sallee is a city in the province of Fez, and derives its name from the river Sala, on which it is ſituated, near its influx into the Atlantic Ocean. It was a place of good commerce, till addicting itſelf entirely to piracy, and revolting from its allegiance to its ſovereign Muley Zidan, that prince, in the year 1648, diſpatched an embaſſy to King Charles I. of England, requeſting him to ſend a ſquadron of men of war to lie before the town, while he attacked it by land. This requeſt being conſented to, the city was ſoon reduced, the fortifications demoliſhed, and the leaders of the rebellion put to death. The year following the Emperor ſent another ambaſſador to England, with a preſent of Barbary horſes, and three hundred Chriſtian ſlaves, accompanied with the following letter. I inſert it as a ſpecimen of the loftineſs of the Moriſh ſtyle, and becauſe it leads me to think, that Muley Zidan was a more enlightened prince than moſt of his predeceſſors. Neither the addreſs, ſignature, nor reception it met with at our court, is expreſſed in the manuſcript. It appears to be a modern tranſlation, and is as follows.

"The King of Morocco's Letter to King Charles the Firſt of England, 1649." Muley Zidan.

"When theſe our letters ſhall be ſo happy as to come to Your Majeſty's ſight, I wiſh the ſpirit of the righteous God may ſo direct your mind, that you may joyfully embrace the meſſage I ſend. The regal power allotted to us, makes us common ſervants to our Creator, then of thoſe people whom we govern; ſo obſerving the duties we owe to God, we deliver bleſſings to the world in providing for the public good of our eſtates; we magnify the honour of God, like the celeſtial bodies, which, though they have much veneration, yet ſerve only to the benefit of the world. It is the excellency of our office to be inſtruments, whereby happineſs is delivered unto the nations. Pardon me, Sir! This is not to inſtruct, for I know I ſpeak to one of a more clear and quick ſight than myſelf; but I ſpeak this, becauſe God hath pleaſed to grant me a happy victory over ſome part of thoſe rebellious pirates, that ſo long have moleſted the peaceable trade of Europe; and hath preſented further occaſion to root out the generation of thoſe, who have been ſo pernicious to the good of our nations: I mean, ſince it hath pleaſed God to be ſo auſpicious in our beginnings, in the conqueſt of Sallee, that we might join and proceed in hope of like ſucceſs in the war of Tunis, Algiers, and other places; dens and receptacles for the inhuman villanies of thoſe who abhor rule and government. Herein while we interrupt the corruption of malignant ſpirits of the world, we ſhall glorify the great God, and perform a duty that will ſhine as glorious as the ſun and moon, which all the earth may ſee and reverence: a work that ſhall aſcend as ſweet as the perfume of the moſt precious odours, in the noſtrils of the Lord: a work whoſe memory ſhall be reverenced ſo long as there ſhall be any remaining among men: a work grateful and happy to men who love and honour the piety and virtue of noble minds. This action I here willingly preſent to you, whoſe piety and virtues equal the greatneſs of your power; that we, who are vicegerents to the great and mighty God, may hand in hand triumph in the glory which the action preſents unto us. — Now, becauſe the iſlands which you govern, have been ever famous for the unconquered ſtrength of their ſhipping, I have ſent this my truſty ſervant and ambaſſador, to know whether, in your princely wiſdom, you ſhall think fit to aſſiſt me with ſuch forces by ſea, as ſhall be anſwerable to thoſe I provide by land; which if you pleaſe to grant, I doubt not but the Lord of Hoſts will protect and aſſiſt thoſe that fight in ſo glorious a cauſe. Nor ought you to think this ſtrange, that I, who ſo much reverenced the peace and accord of nations, ſhould exhort to war. Your great prophet, Chriſt Jeſus, was the lion of the tribe of Judah, as well as the Lord and giver of peace; which may ſignify unto you, that he who is a lover and maintainer of peace, muſt always appear with the terror of his ſword, and, wading through ſeas of blood, muſt arrive at tranquillity. This made James your father, of glorious memory, ſo happily renowned among nations. — It was the noble fame of your princely virtues, which reſounds to the utmoſt corners of the earth, tha perſuaded me to invite you to partake of that bleſſing, wherein I boaſt myſelf moſt happy. I wiſh God may heap the riches of his bleſſings on you, increaſe your happineſs with your days, and hereafter perpetuate the greatneſs of your name in all ages."

fear my warmth was almoſt as intemperate as that of the diſputants. The blow was given in ſo brutal a manner, that I could with difficulty reſtrain myſelf from immediately returning it. It was fortunate, however, that I ſtill poſſeſſed ſufficient coolneſs to reflect on the impropriety of ſuch a proceeding, and I directed one of my Mooriſh ſoldiers to puniſh the muleteer. By means of long leather ſtraps which he always carried about him, my negro deputy performed his part ſo well on the back of the delinquent, that he was ſoon glad to fall on his knees, and intreat a pardon both from myſelf and the interpreter. I was more deſirous of puniſhing this inſult for the ſake of eſtabliſhing my authority and conſequence with the ſoldiers, than from an intention of revenging the cauſe of the Jew, for I could not find out which of the diſputants was in the wrong; but as my attendants had on two or three former occaſions ſhewn a diſpoſition to be troubleſome, and as ſo glaring an indignity was offered to the perſon who looked up to me for protection, I was determined to avail myſelf of this opportunity of convincing them that it was their duty to pay me every attention.

Mr. De Rocher, who reſides in an excellent houſe built at the expence of his court, and who is the only European in the place, has happily blended original Engliſh hoſpitality with that eaſy politeneſs which characterizes his own nation. He gave me ſo preſſing an invitation to ſpend another day with him, that though anxious to make an end of my journey, I could not reſiſt his urgent ſolicitations.

The town of Rabat, whoſe walls encloſe a large ſpace of ground, is defended on the ſea ſide by three forts tolerably well finiſhed, which were erected ſome little time ago by an Engliſh renegado, and furniſhed with guns from Gibraltar. The houſes in general are good, and many of the inhabitants are wealthy. The Jews, who are very numerous in this place, are generally in better circumſtances than thoſe of Larache or Tangier, and their women are by far more beautiful than at any other town which I ſaw in this empire. I was introduced to one family in particular, where, out of eight ſiſters, Nature had been ſo laviſh to them all, that I felt myſelf at a loſs to determine which was the handſomeſt. A combination of regular features, clearneſs of complexion, and expreſſive black eyes, gave them a diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence over their nation in general; and their perſons, though not improved by the advantages which the European ladies derive from dreſs, were ſtill replete with grace and elegance.

The caſtle, which is very extenſive, contains a ſtrong building, formerly uſed by the late Emperor as his principal treaſury, and a noble terrace, which commands an extenſive proſpect of the town of Sallee, the ocean, and all the neighbouring country. There are alſo the ruins of another caſtle, which is ſaid to have been built by Jacob Almonzor, one of their former emperors, and of which at preſent very little remains but its walls, containing within them ſome very ſtrong magazines for powder and naval ſtores. On the outſide of theſe walls is a very high and ſquare tower, handſomely built of cut-ſtone, and called the tower of Haſſen. From the workmanſhip of this tower, contraſted with the other buildings, a very accurate idea may be formed how greatly the Moors have degenerated from their former ſplendour and taſte for architecture.

In the evening the conſul introduced me to Sidi Mohamet Effendi, the Emperor's prime miniſter, who was at Rabat, on his way to Tangier. I found him a well-bred man; and he received me very graciouſly. After ſome converſation on the purpoſe of my journey, he deſired I would feel his pulſe, and acquaint him whether or not he was in health. Upon aſſuring him that he was perfectly well, he expreſſed in ſtrong terms the obligation I had conferred upon him by ſuch agreeable information; and

having wiſhed me ſucceſs in my journey and enterprize, we mutually took our leave.

I availed myſelf of my delay at Rabat to get the lame mule changed, and directed my negro ſoldiers to arrange our affairs in ſuch a manner that we might leave the place early the next morning. Mr. De Rocher, in addition to the kindneſs I had already experienced, ordered a quantity of bread, which at this place is remarkably good, to be packed up for my uſe, as well as a proportionable ſhare of cold meat, and as much wine as we could conveniently carry with us. This ſeaſonable ſupply laſted me three days, and gave me time to recover in ſome degree my former reliſh for fowls and eggs.

Though I muſt acknowledge that the attention and comforts which I experienced during my ſhort ſtay at Rabat proved a great relief, after the inconveniences I had undergone in travelling thither, yet on the whole, I perhaps ſuffered more from the idea of having ſimilar inconveniences to thoſe I had already experienced ſtill to encounter, without a proſpect of a ſimilar alleviation, than if I had continued the whole journey in an uninterrupted ſtate. The conſideration that I was to paſs day after day through a country where there is little to amuſe the eye; that I had no companion with whom I could converſe, or to whom I could communicate my ſentiments; and that I was to travel the whole day at the tedious pace of three miles an hour, and at a ſeaſon of the year when the coldneſs of the mornings and evenings was a very indifferent preparation for the heats which ſucceeded in the middle of the day, altogether preſſed ſo ſtrongly upon my mind, that I muſt confeſs I could not help experiencing a conſiderable dejection of ſpirits at the idea of leaving Rabat *.

In conſequence of the indolence of my attendants, my baggage was not completely packed up on the eighth till between ten and eleven in the morning, when I left the hoſpitable roof of Mr. De Rocher, and proceeded on my journey for Dar Beyda, the next town which offered itſelf on my way to Mogodore.

* The Abbe Poiret's remarks on travelling in Barbary are ſo appoſite and ſo juſt, that I truſt I ſhall be excuſed for introducing a quotation from that author.—In one of his letters he ſays, "I have never known ſo well how to appreciate the advantages of living in a poliſhed nation, as ſince I have reſided among a barbarous people. Never has the convenience of our highways ſtruck me ſo much as when I have been obliged to travel through thick woods and deep marſhes. How much would a peregrination of eight days, in the manner I have travelled for ſome time paſt, change the ideas of thoſe delicate Europeans, who are continually complaining of bad inns, and of the fatigues they endure in their journies! In this country there are neither inns, poſt-chaiſes, nor obliging and attentive landlords. One muſt not expect to find here broad highways, beaten and ſhady paths, or places for repoſing and refreſhing one's-ſelf; too happy, if, at the end of a fatiguing journey, one can meet with a ſmall hut, or a wretched couch! But this is ſeldom to be expected."

Again, in another letter, "How often muſt you depart in the morning, without knowing where you will arrive in the evening! How often, loſing yourſelf in theſe deſerts, muſt you ſearch out your way amidſt thorny brakes, thick foreſts, and ſteep rocks; ſometimes ſtopped by a river which you muſt wade through, by a lake which you muſt walk round, or by a marſh which you cannot croſs without danger! Sometimes ſcorched by the ſun, or drenched by the rain, and at others dying with thirſt, without being able to find the ſmalleſt ſpring to quench it! If you carry no proviſions with you, it will be impoſſible for you to take any refreſhment before night. This is the only time at which the Moors make a regular repaſt, or can offer any food to a ſtranger. But when night arrives, that period of repoſe for the traveller in Europe, it is not ſo for the African traveller. He muſt then chooſe out a dry ſituation, and well ſheltered, to erect his tent; he muſt unſaddle his horſes, unload his mules, cut wood, light fires, and take every precaution that prudence dictates, to defend himſelf againſt ferocious animals and robbers. It is ſafeſt to encamp not far from the tents of the Arabs, when one can find them. They furniſh many ſuccours when they are tractable, and they are always ſo when they ſee one with a ſufficient guard."—See a tranſlation of the Abbe Poiret's Travels through Barbary, Letter the 8th.

With all the inconveniences which I had hitherto experienced, I had reaſon to think myſelf very fortunate in having ſuch fine weather; for this was the ſeaſon when the heavy rains uſually come on, and when a ſhower of half an hour's continuance would wet more than the rain of a whole day in England. Dry weather had accompanied us the whole of the road from Tangier to Rabat, and the heat from the hours of eleven to three was violent; but, as I have juſt before obſerved, previous to and after thoſe hours the air was uncommonly cool. As an alleviation to the great heat, we found the water-melons and pomegranates between Rabat and Mogodore of a moſt delicious flavour, and of particular uſe in allaying the exceſſive thirſt, and removing the fatigue we experienced from the journey. Theſe fruits grow common in the open ground, and we only paid two blanquils, or three pence Engliſh a piece, for water-melons, which were ſufficiently large to ſerve half a dozen people. I could not help obſerving how provident nature has been, in granting in ſuch plenty, fruits ſo well calculated for the natives of warm climates. Indeed many of the poor in this country have ſcarcely any other proviſions than fruit and bread.

At the time of our departure the appearance in the atmoſphere promiſed us a continuance of the ſame fine weather we had hitherto experienced; and it continued ſo till we had paſſed three ſmall ſtreams, which the Moors named the Hitcumb, Sherrat, and Bornica. Theſe, after the heavy rains have fallen, ſwell out into deep and rapid rivers, and are frequently rendered totally impaſſable, except in boats or on rafts. About five in the evening, however, very heavy and black clouds began to aſſemble, and very ſhortly after followed a moſt ſevere ſtorm. It was a dreadful union of wind, hail, rain, thunder, and lightning. From darkneſs approaching faſt upon us, we became very anxious to find out a place of ſafety where we might pitch our tent, and for that purpoſe ſpurred our beaſts; but no excitement from the ſpur or whip could induce them to face the ſtorm, and we were obliged to wait a full hour in a ſtate of inactivity, till its violence was over. We then puſhed on till we arrived at a couple of Arab tents, pitched in an open country: bad as this ſituation was, we however rejoiced in being able to fix our tent for the night, even in this unſociable ſpot.

On the 9th of October, it having rained the whole night, we were detained till between ten and eleven in the morning in drying the tent, which, from its being quite wet, was become too heavy for the mules to carry with the other baggage; we then purſued our journey, and at twelve arrived at the ruins of Menſooria. There was formerly a caſtle on this ſpot, which from the extent of its walls, and a ſquare tower which form the whole of the ruins, appears to have been a very large building. My ſoldiers informed me, that it had been the reſidence of a prince who was in oppoſition to his ſovereign, and who was obliged to deſert it. The building was deſtroyed by the then reigning Emperor; and the intermediate ground is now inhabited by a few negroes, living in ſmall huts, who were baniſhed thither for having on ſome occaſion incurred the diſpleaſure of the Emperor. In an arbitrary country, where the poſſeſſion of the throne depends more on the will of the ſoldiers than on the rights of ſucceſſion, the deſpot conſiders that caſtles may prove rather places of ſecurity for his opponents, than of any great utility to himſelf; he therefore either ſuffers them to decay, or deſtroys them entirely, according to the dictates of his caprice. Indeed every town through which I paſſed in the empire affords ſtriking marks of the truth of this aſſertion.

Soon after our leaving Menſooria we came up to Fadala, having forded in our way the river Infefic. Fadala, whilſt its ruins exiſt, will be a laſting monument of Sidi Maho-

met's caprice. It conſiſts of the ſhell of a town, began by him in the early part of his reign, but never finiſhed. It is encloſed within a ſquare wall, and is furniſhed with a moſque (the only building that was completed) for the uſe of the inhabitants, who, like thoſe of Menſooria, live in huts in the intermediate ground. To the right of Fadala we obſerved a ſmall but apparently neat palace, which my attendants informed me was built by the late Emperor for his occaſional uſe, when buſineſs led him to travel that way.

The remainder of our journey to Dar Beyda, where we arrived about ſix in the evening, afforded nothing remarkable, excepting that we paſſed over a double bridge, which is the only piece of architecture of the kind that I ſaw in the country. It is the work of Sidi Mahomet, and is built of ſtone. The country between Rabat and Dar Beyda, a diſtance of about 44 miles, is one continuation of barrenneſs and rock.

Dar Beyda is a ſmall ſea-port of very little importance; it poſſeſſes, however, a bay which admits veſſels of pretty conſiderable burthen to anchor in it with tolerable ſafety, except when the wind blows hard at north-weſt, and then they are liable to be driven on ſhore. Upon my arrival, I was immediately introduced to the governor, who was then in the audience-chamber, attending to the complaints of the inhabitants. After offering me his ſervices, and begging my acceptance of a few fowls, he ſoon left us in the poſſeſſion of the room, where we ſlept that night.

On the 10th of October we departed for Azamore, about fifty-ſix miles diſtant, between ſeven and eight in the morning; and after a journey of two days came up to the Morbeya, at the mouth and ſouthern ſide of which is ſituated Azamore. The river is ſo wide and deep here, that it is neceſſary to be ferried over, and a large boat is continually employed for that purpoſe.

We had no ſooner got all our baggage, our mules, and ourſelves into the boat, and were ready to row off, than a moſt violent diſpute aroſe between my Negro ſoldiers and the ferry-men. As it was no new circumſtance to me to be a witneſs to theſe altercations, I remained very quietly in the boat till I obſerved that one of the ferry-men was putting every thing on ſhore again, whilſt another was collaring one of the ſoldiers. In fact, matters were proceeding to ſuch extremities, that I thought it was full time to interfere.

Upon enquiry, I was informed that the proprietor of the ferry farmed the river from the Emperor, and that in conſequence of it he was allowed all the perquiſites of the ferry; that my ſoldiers inſiſted that as I was in the Emperor's ſervice, it was the duty of the people to ferry me, my baggage, &c. over the river, without receiving any reward for their trouble. Which of the two were in the right I could not pretend to determine; but I was very glad to end the diſpute, by paying the uſual demand. After a few curſes on both ſides, the baggage and mules were replaced in the boat, and we were ferried over to Azamore.

In a country where arts and ſciences are totally neglected, and where the hand of deſpotiſm has deſtroyed public ſpirit, and depreſſed all private exertion, it is obvious, that conſiderable tracts muſt occur which are productive of nothing deſerving of notice. This was preciſely the caſe in my journey from Dar Beyda to Azamore, which preſented to our view one continued chain of rocks and barrenneſs, unpleaſant and fatiguing roads, without any one object to vary the ſcene, or to intereſt curioſity.

Azamore is a ſea-port town on the Atlantic Ocean, ſituated at the mouth of the Morbeya; and though a large place, is neither ornamented with public buildings, nor has any thing remarkable in its hiſtory or ſituation.

In

In compliance with the particular requeſt of one of my ſoldiers, whoſe near relations reſide at Azamore, I continued here the remainder of the day, and was lodged in a room of a Mooriſh houſe, which was ſecluded from the family. Soon after my arrival I was viſited by a Jew in an European dreſs, who had formerly lived with one of the Engliſh conſuls, and who ſpoke the Engliſh language with tolerable fluency. He took me to his houſe, and there received me with great hoſpitality, inſiſting on my dining with him, and making uſe of his houſe as my own. After dinner he ſhewed me the different parts of the town; and in the courſe of our converſation requeſted me to be particularly cautious how I conducted myſelf with the prince whom I was going to attend; obſerving, that the Moors were extremely fickle, and their conduct governed merely by the caprice of the moment. To enforce this caution he related to me a ſtory, from which I learned that an European ſurgeon had, at ſome former period, attended a prince of Morocco, who, neglecting his advice when under his care, had increaſed his malady; that this circumſtance ſo alarmed the prince that he ſent for the ſurgeon, and upon his appearance produced a piſtol. The unfortunate man, alarmed and diſtreſſed by ſuch unworthy treatment, haſtily withdrew, and in a ſhort time put an end to his exiſtence.

On the 13th of October, having taken leave of my Jewiſh acquaintance, and my ſoldiers of their friends, we ſet off at eight in the morning for the town of Saffi, where we arrived on the evening of the 15th, after a journey of about fifty-ſeven miles. The country we paſſed through was rocky and barren, producing ſcarcely a tree, or indeed any verdure whatever.

Soon after leaving Azamore, the town of Mazagan preſented itſelf to our view to the right. This place was taken a few years ſince by Sidi Mahomet from the Portugueze; a conqueſt of which His Mooriſh Majeſty made a very pompous boaſt, though it is well know that the Portugueze, from the great inconvenience and expence of keeping up the garriſon, without deriving any material advantage from it, had come to a reſolution to evacuate it before the Emperor's attack, and for that purpoſe had actually began to embark their goods and property. As, however, the Emperor was determined to exhibit ſome ſpecimen of his military proweſs and addreſs, this circumſtance did not deter him from commencing a regular ſiege. A magazine for military ſtores (which may be ſeen from the road) was raiſed with the utmoſt expedition, and the attack was carried on with all the vigour and ability which His Mooriſh Majeſty was capable of exerting. The Portugueze defended the town no longer than was neceſſary to allow time to carry away their effects and valuables; it was then ſurrendered, or more properly, abandoned, to the Moors.

On the day of our arrival at Saffi we paſſed by the ruins of a town, which was once large and conſiderable. It was built by a former Emperor, named Muley Ocom Monſor, and is now called by the name of Dyn Medina Rabæa. Its only remains at preſent are remarkably thick and extenſive walls, which incloſe gardens and huts, inhabited by diſbanded Negro ſoldiers.

Saffi is a ſea-port town, ſituated at the bottom of a ſteep and high mountain. It is a ſmall place, and is only remarkable for a neat palace, which is the occaſional reſidence of the Emperor's ſons, and a ſmall fort at a little diſtance to the north of the town. Its vicinity is a mixtute of mountains and woods; which gives it a wild and truly romantic appearance. Saffi carried on a conſiderable commerce with Europe, before Sidi Mahomet obliged the European merchants to reſide at Mogodore. It affords a ſafe road for ſhipping, except when the wind blows hard at weſt, and then they are ſubject to be driven on ſhore.

During

During my reſidence in this town I took up my quarters at a Jewiſh houſe, and was viſited by two Moors who had been in London, and could ſpeak a little of the Engliſh language. Among other marks of attention, they contrived to procure, unknown to me, a chair and a ſmall table, articles which I had not ſeen ſince I left Tangier, except at the French conſul's houſe, as the Moors never make uſe of either.

At eight in the morning of the 16th we ſet off for Mogodore, a journey of about ſixty miles, which we performed in two days.

Soon after leaving Saffi we paſſed over a very high and dangerous mountain. The rocky, ſteep, and rugged path, which was only broad enough to allow one mule to paſs at a time, and the perpendicular precipice which hung over the ſea, filled our minds with a ſenſe of terror and awe, which no pen can deſcribe. Our mules, however, accuſtomed to this mode of travelling, carried us with the moſt perfect ſafety over parts where, with European horſes, we ſhould probably have been daſhed to pieces.

From this mountain we in a ſhort time entered a foreſt of dwarf oaks, which is about ſix miles in length, and the ſouthern extremity of which reaches to the river Tanſif. This is a very broad river, which after the heavy rains have fallen, or when ſwelled by the tide, is always paſſed upon rafts. Thoſe difficulties not preſenting themſelves to us now, we forded the river with great eaſe, and on approaching its ſouthern ſide, obſerved in the midſt of a thick foreſt a large ſquare caſtle, which my ſoldiers informed me was built by Muley Iſhmael, who is immortalized by the pen of Mr. Addiſon, in one of the numbers of the Freeholder. Sidi Mahomet neglected it, and it is now falling to ruin. The breadth and windings of the Tanſif, its high and woody banks, and the caſtle juſt diſcoverable through the trees, afforded altogether a ſcene, which though ſomewhat gloomy, yet was truly romantic and pictureſque.

The directions which I had received from Mr. Matra were, to continue at Mogodore, till the return of a meſſenger, who was to be diſpatched thence to Tarudant, informing the prince of my arrival.

The very hoſpitable treatment I experienced from Mr. Hutchiſon, Britiſh vice-conſul at Mogodore, during my ſtay at his houſe, with the ſympathiſing letters and friendly advice with which he afterwards favoured me, whilſt under the many embarraſſments and inconveniencies which I underwent at Morocco, have made the moſt forcible impreſſion on my memory; and I ſhould feel utterly diſſatisfied with myſelf if I omitted thus publicly to acknowledge my gratitude to that gentleman.

Before I proceed to deſcribe Mogodore, it may not be improper to take a ſhort review of the general appearance of the country through which I paſſed in my journey from Tangier.

The firſt part of the journey, as far as Larache, preſented to us, as I before obſerved, a rocky, mountainous, and barren country, and, if we except the foreſt of Rabe a Clow, but few trees or ſhrubs. From Larache to Sallee the eye was agreeably relieved by the variety of objects which offered themſelves to its view. The evenneſs of the ground, the numerous lakes, and the verdure which ſurrounded them, indicated fully the fertility of the ſoil, and theſe, joined to the interſected clumps of trees, would lead the contemplative mind to conceive that nature had intended this ſpot for the reſidence of a more civilized people than its preſent inhabitants. From Sallee to Mogodore, and thence to Santa Cruz, we again meet with the ſame barren, mountainous, and rocky country, which preſented itſelf at the firſt part of the journey.

Though

Though I occaſionally met with foreſts of ſmall trees, ſuch as the arga, the dwarf oak, the palm-tree, &c. yet the country produces no uſeful timber whatever. The Moors are therefore obliged to import that article from Europe; and it may be on this account that the Emperor poſſeſſes ſo few veſſels, and is obliged to ſend thoſe to be repaired in foreign ports. As vegetation does not take place in this climate till ſome time after the heavy rains have fallen, I had not an opportunity of obſerving in this journey what plants were peculiar to the climate. The variety which diſtinguiſhes the more improved countries of Europe, and particularly England, probably ariſes as much from the land being diſtributed into encloſures, as from local ſituation. This advantage the empire of Morocco does not enjoy; ſince, excepting in the immediate vicinity of towns, no diviſions of land are to be obſerved; the Arabs indiſcriminately chooſing pieces of ground, without fences, for the purpoſes of agriculture, which, as I before noticed, they change as occaſion requires. The ſameneſs of ſcene which ariſes from this circumſtance, is in ſome degree leſſened by the numerous ſanctuaries which are diffuſed over the whole country; but otherways theſe chapels prove troubleſome to an European traveller, ſince the Moors, upon paſſing them, always ſtop a conſiderable time to pay their devotions to the remains of the ſaints who are buried there. There is likewiſe a cuſtom in this country, which is alſo prevalent in Portugal, of conſecrating the ſpot on which any perſon has been murdered, by heaping a large proportion of ſtones on the place, where it is uſual for thoſe who paſs that way to add another ſtone to the number, and to recite a ſhort prayer adapted to the occaſion.

All the towns through which I paſſed in my way hither, were ſurrounded with high walls of Taby, flanked with ſquare forts, generally without any artillery, and having caſtles, which ſeemed to be in a very ruinous ſtate, ſituated upon the moſt eminent ſpot, for their defence or attack. The houſes, from having no windows and but very few doors, had more the appearance of dead walls than inhabited places; and their ſtreets were univerſally narrow, filthy to a degree, irregular and badly paved. With all theſe inconveniencies, the inhabitants enjoy an advantage of which many of the more civilized capitals of Europe cannot boaſt, I mean that of a good police. The ſtreets are ſo well watched at night, that robberies or even houſebreaking are but ſeldom heard of; and the general quietneſs which reigns through their towns after the gates are ſhut, is a convincing proof of the attention of their patroles to their duty. Their detection, and ſpeedy bringing to juſtice the criminals, likewiſe deſerves our attention. From having no public houſes or other places to harbour thieves, and from no perſon being permitted to quit the country without leave, it is utterly impoſſible for a culprit to eſcape the hand of juſtice, except by taking refuge in a ſanctuary, by which he baniſhes himſelf for ever from ſociety. On the other hand, the vigilance of the governors and other officers of juſtice is ſo great, and conducted with ſo much addreſs, that unleſs the means of ſafety which his religion points out are quickly adopted, the criminal in a very ſhort time is detected, and is quickly puniſhed.

According to the opinion of ſome travellers, much danger is to be apprehended in traverſing this country, from the attacks of wild beaſts; but it is only juſtice to obſerve, that during the whole of my progreſs to Mogodore, and indeed I may add afterwards in paſſing over the Atlas, I met with no obſtruction or moleſtation whatever from theſe animals; and I was alſo informed, that a circumſtance of the kind was very rarely known to have happened. The fact is, the wild animals confine themſelves principally to the interior parts of the country, and to thoſe retreats in the mountains which are beyond the track of men.

Mogodore,

Mogodore, ſo named by Europeans, and Suera by the Moors, is a large, uniform, and well-built town, ſituated about three hundred and fifty miles from Tangier, on the Atlantic Ocean, and ſurrounded on the land ſide by deep and heavy ſands. It was raiſed under the auſpices of Sidi Mahomet, who, upon his acceſſion to the throne, ordered all the European merchants who were ſettled in his dominions to reſide at Mogodore, where, by lowering the duties, he promiſed to afford every encouragement to commerce. The Europeans, thus obliged to deſert their former eſtabliſhments, conſidering this firſt ſtep of the Emperor to be a mark of his attachment to trade and commerce, and having reſided long in the country without any better views at home, univerſally ſettled at Mogodore, where they erected houſes, and other conveniences for the purpoſes of trade. The hopes, however, with which they had changed their ſituation, were conſiderably fruſtrated by the perfidy of the Emperor, who indeed fulfilled his promiſe, till he obſerved the merchants ſo fixed as not to be likely to remove; but he then began to increaſe the duties, and by that means to damp the ſpirit of commerce which he had promiſed to promote. His caprice, however, or, what had ſtill more influence, valuable preſents, induced him at times to relax theſe ſeverities. In conſequence of this circumſtance the duties have been ſo frequently varied, that it is utterly impoſſible for me to ſtate, with any degree of certainty, the uſual burthens laid upon articles of commerce in this port.

The factory at Mogodore conſiſts of about a dozen mercantile houſes of different nations, whoſe owners, from the protection granted them by the Emperor, live in full ſecurity from the Moors, whom indeed they keep at a rigid diſtance. They export to America mules. To Europe, Morocco leather, hides, gum arabic, gum ſandaric, oſtrich feathers, copper, wax, wool, elephants' teeth, fine mats, beautiful carpeting, dates, figs, raiſins, olives, almonds, oil, &c. In return, they import timber, artillery of all kinds, gunpowder, woollen cloths, linens, lead, iron in bars, all kinds of hardware and trinkets, ſuch as looking-glaſſes, ſnuff-boxes, watches, ſmall knives, &c. tea, ſugar, ſpices, and moſt of the uſeful articles which are not otherwiſe to be procured in this empire.

Beſides the commerce carried on between this empire and Europe, the Moors have alſo a trade with Guinea, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Grand Cairo, and Mecca, by means of their caravans, of which I ſoon ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly.

Mogodore is regularly fortified on the ſea ſide; and on the land, batteries are ſo placed as to prevent any incurſion from the ſouthern Arabs, who are of a turbulent diſpoſition, and who, from the great wealth which is known to be always in Mogodore, would gladly avail themſelves of any opportunity that offered to pillage the town. The entrance, both by ſea and land, conſiſts of elegant ſtone arch-ways, with double gates. The market-place is handſomely built, with piazzas of the ſame materials, and at the water port there is a cuſtom-houſe and powder magazine, both of which are neat ſtone buildings. Beſide theſe public edifices, the Emperor has a ſmall but handſome palace for his occaſional reſidence. The ſtreets of the town, though very narrow, are all in ſtrait lines, and the houſes, contrary to what we meet with in the other towns of the empire, are lofty and regular. The bay, which is little better than a road, and is very much expoſed when the wind is at north-weſt, is formed by a curve in the land, and a ſmall iſland about a quarter of a mile from the ſhore. Its entrance is defended by a fort well mounted with guns.

CHAP. IV. — *General View of the Empire of Morocco.* — *Situation and Climate.* — *Provinces.* — *Soil.* — *Wonderful Fertility.* — *Sea Ports.* — *Natural Productions.* — *Mines.* — *Animals.* — *Occaſional Famines.* — *Famine in* 1778. — *Manufactures.* — *Buildings.* — *Roads.* — *Population.* — *Introduction of Negroes.* — *Muley Iſhmael,* — *his Policy.* — *Sidi Mahomet.* — *General Oppreſſion of the People.* — *Merchants.*

AS I had a better opportunity of being informed of the ſtate of the country and its productions, from the European merchants at Mogodore, than occurred at any ſubſequent period during my tour, I ſhall now avail myſelf of that information; and to this I feel myſelf induced by a further motive, namely, that it will enable the reader to peruſe with more ſatisfaction and advantage the ſucceeding pages of this narrative.

The empire of Morocco is ſituated between the 29th and 36th degree of north latitude. It is about five hundred and fifty miles in length from north to ſouth, and about two hundred in breadth. It is bounded to the north by the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean ſea; to the eaſt, by the kingdoms of Tremecen and Sugulmuſſa; to the ſouth, by the river Suz, and the country to the ſouth of Tafilet; and to the weſt, by the Atlantic Ocean. The empire is formed of ſeveral provinces and nominal kindoms, which, as in moſt countries, before their union were diſtinct and petty ſovereignties.

The climate, though in the ſouthern provinces very hot in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, yet is in general friendly to the conſtitutions of its inhabitants, as well as to thoſe of Europeans. To the north the climate is nearly the ſame as that of Spain and Portugal, with the autumnal and vernal rains peculiar to thoſe countries; but to the ſouthward the rains are leſs general and certain, and of courſe the heat is more exceſſive.

Moſt of the towns which Europeans are allowed to enter, being ſea ports, have the advantage of being frequently refreſhed with ſea breezes; and Mogodore, though ſo far to the ſouthward, from being ſubject in the ſummer ſeaſon to have the wind regularly at north-weſt, is quite as cool as the more temperate climates of Europe. Morocco and Tarudant are inland, and therefore, though nearly in the ſame degree of latitude as Mogodore, are much hotter; their great heats, however, are conſiderably leſſened by their vicinity to the Atlas, the higher parts of which are the whole year covered with ſnow, and often favour them with cool and refreſhing breezes.

The ſoil of the empire of Morocco is naturally very fertile, and, with proper cultivation and attention, is capable of producing all the luxuries of the eaſtern and weſtern worlds. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that on ſome parts of the ſea coaſt, particularly where it is mountainous, like every other country under ſimilar circumſtances, the ſoil is ſandy and barren; but wherever there is the leaſt appearance of a plain, ſuch as that between Larache and Mamora, and in the neighbourhood of Morocco and Tarudant, the ſoil is black and rich. Indeed I am informed from the beſt authority, that at Tafilet, and throughout moſt of the interior parts of the empire, its fertility is beyond imagination.

From the ſlight cultivation it at preſent receives, which is merely the burning of the ſtubble before the autumnal rains come on, and ploughing it about ſix inches deep, the earth produces, at a very early ſeaſon, excellent wheat and barley, though no oats, Indian corn, alderoy, beans, peaſe, hemp, and flax; oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, melons, water-melons, olives, figs, almonds, grapes, dates, apples, pears, cherries, plumbs, and in fact all the fruits to be found in the ſouthern provinces

of Spain and Portugal. The people here preſerve their grain in matamores, holes made in the earth, lined and covered with ſtraw, on which earth is placed in a pyramidal form, to prevent the rain from ſoaking in. In theſe ſtores corn has been kept five or ſix years, without undergoing any very material change.

As little encouragement, however, is extended to induſtry in this country, many of their fruits which require attention, particularly their grapes, apples, pears, plumbs, &c. do not arrive at that perfection to which they are brought in Europe. Could, indeed, a proper ſpirit for agriculture and foreign commerce be introduced in the country, or, in other words, could the ſovereign be perſuaded, that by ſuffering his ſubjects to be enriched he would improve his own treaſury, this empire, from its convenient ſituation with reſpect to Europe, and from the natural luxuriance and fertility of its ſoil, might become of the higheſt political and commercial importance. The only material impediment to commerce is the inconvenience and inſecurity of the ports. I am well informed, however, that at Valedia there is a baſon formed by nature, capable of containing with ſafety any number of ſhipping; and the other ports might moſt probably be improved.

It is melancholy, in traverſing the immenſe tract of ſo fine a country, to obſerve ſo much land lying waſte and uncultivated, which by a very little attention would be capable of producing an inexhauſtible treaſure to its inhabitants. From this repreſentation it would ſcarcely be ſuppoſed credible, that Spain, which is alſo a fine country, and a civilized nation, ſhould be obliged to remit to the Emperor very large preſents of money, to induce him to allow his ſubjects to export corn, as well as moſt other kinds of proviſions and fruits, from Tangier and Tetuan. Indeed the ſouthern provinces of Spain can hardly exiſt without this ſupply. To what are we to attribute this circumſtance? Is it that Morocco is ſo much more fertile than Spain, that it produces a redundance with ſcarcely any cultivation; or is the indolence of the Spaniards ſuperior to that of the Moors themſelves?

The Jews in moſt of the towns of the empire make wine; but, either owing to the grapes not being in ſuch perfection as thoſe of Europe, or to an improper mode of preparing it, its flavour proves but very indifferent. They alſo diſtil a ſpecies of brandy from figs and raiſins, well known in that country by the name of aquadent. This liquor has a diſagreeable taſte, but in point of ſtrength is little inferior to ſpirits of wine. It is drank without dilution, very freely, by the Jews on all their feaſts or days of rejoicing; and there are very few of the Moors who are diſpoſed to forego any private opportunity of taking their ſhare of it alſo.

The Moors cultivate tobacco; there is a ſpecies of it near Mequinez, which affords ſnuff, the flavour of which is very little inferior to maccaba. In my progreſs through the country I have noticed foreſts of oak-trees, of a dwarf kind, which bear acorns of remarkable ſize and ſweet taſte. To the ſouthward we meet with the palm or date tree, the arga, bearing a nut of the almond ſpecies, with the olive, from both of which the inhabitants extract great quantities of oil, which conſtitutes a conſiderable part of their exports to foreign countries. There is alſo an infinite variety of ſhrubs and plants, ſuch as the prickly pear, the aloe, &c. all in ſhort that are to be found in Spain and Portugal. Cotton, wax, honey, ſalt, tranſparent gum, and gum ſandarac, are all productions of this empire.

In the mountains of Atlas there are numerous iron mines; but as the Moors do not underſtand the mode of working iron, thoſe mines prove of no uſe to them, and they are therefore obliged to procure that article from Europe. The neighbourhood of Tarudant produces mines of copper; and the Moors aſſert, that in the Atlas there

are alſo ſome of gold and ſilver, which the Emperor will not allow to be touched. But I am inclined to imagine, that if the aſſertion had any foundation in truth, the Brebes, who inhabit theſe mountains, and who are meré nominal ſubjects, and pay but little reſpect to the government of Morocco, would long before this time have diſcovered them. It is, however, probable that this vaſt chain of mountains may contain productions which might be converted to very valuable purpoſes; but, owing to a want of emulation on the part of the inhabitants, and Europeans not being allowed to attempt any new diſcoveries, a knowledge of them is not to be attained.

The domeſtic animals of Morocco are much the ſame as thoſe of Europe, excepting the camel, which is the moſt uſeful animal in this quarter of the globe, both on account of the great fatigue which it is capable of undergoing, and the little ſubſiſtence it requires. Camels are employed here for all the purpoſes of agriculture and commerce, and are very numerous. It has been aſſerted that dromedaries are indigenous to this country; but in the courſe of my whole tour I could hear of none, except thoſe which are in the poſſeſſion of the Emperor; and he, as I diſcovered, procures them from the coaſt of Guinea. Theſe are the fleeteſt animals for travelling that are known, and are only uſed by the Emperor upon urgent occaſions. I was informed that their pace is ſometimes ſo exceedingly ſwift, that their riders are obliged to tie a ſaſh round their waiſts to preſerve the power of reſpiration, and cover the whole of the face except the eyes, to prevent their ſuffering from the ſtrong current of air occaſioned by the rapid motion of the animal. It is computed that, in an ordinary way, a dromedary will perform a journey of five hundred miles in four days.

The oxen and ſheep of this country are ſmall; but their fleſh is well flavoured. The hides of the former, and the wool of the latter, are both articles of exportation. The ſheep with large tails, diſtinguiſhed in England by the name of Barbary ſheep, are here very ſcarce, and are more indigenous to the eaſtern parts of Barbary. The horſes, for want of attention in keeping up the breed, are much leſs valuable than they formerly were; there are ſtill however ſome few that are good in the country, and thoſe are generally ſtrong, and have great ſpirit. The mules are numerous and uſeful, though I do not think them equal to thoſe of Spain, either in ſize or beauty.

Fowls and pigeons are remarkably plentiful and good in the empire of Morocco; but ducks are ſcarce, and geeſe and turkies I never ſaw there. The country abounds with the red-legged partridge. In the proper ſeaſon the frankolin, a bird of the partridge ſpecies, of a delicious flavour, and beautiful plumage, is found here; alſo a few woodcocks, ſnipes in great numbers, all kinds of water-fowl, and a variety of ſmall ſinging-birds. Storks are very plentiful, and, as they are never moleſted by the Moors, who are taught to believe it ſinful to deſtroy them, they become quite domeſtic and tame. They are generally to be ſeen feeding among ruinous walls and caſtles, where they pick up inſects and ſnakes. Hares, rabbits, antelopes, porcupines, apes, foxes, wild cats, &c. are all natives of this empire.

Among the ferocious animals may be enumerated wolves and wild boars, which are ſpread over the whole empire; and in the ſouthern provinces there are lions, tigers, and monſtrous ſerpents.

During my reſidence in the country, I had frequent opportunities of examining that moſt ſingular of the animal productions, the cameleon. Though it is hardly neceſſary to adduce any proof to the philoſophers of the preſent day againſt the vulgar error, that it feeds only upon air, yet it may afford ſome ſatisfaction to my readers to be told, that I had an opportunity of ſeeing a complete refutation of this opinion at Mogodore.

A gentleman of my acquaintance there had in his poſſeſſion a cameleon, the dexterity of which in procuring its food I had ample means of obſerving. The fact is, its principal ſupport is flies, which it catches by darting at them an exceedingly long tongue, covered with a matter ſo very glutinous, that if it but touches an inſect it is impoſſible for it to eſcape. The moſt ſingular part of its conformation, however, (if, perhaps, we except the power of varying its colours) is the eye, the muſcles of which are ſo conſtructed that it can move the ball quite round; and I believe it exiſts the only known inſtance in all animated nature of a creature which is able to direct its viſion to two different objects at the ſame time, however thoſe objects may be ſituated. Except in the act of darting out its tongue to procure ſubſiſtence, its motions are remarkably ſlow.

Although it muſt be allowed that the climate of Morocco is delightful to a degree, yet it is occaſionally ſubject to great droughts, which naturally produce immenſe ſwarms of locuſts, the moſt deſtructive enemy to vegetation that exiſts. In the year 1778 theſe inſects came in ſuch numbers from the ſouth, that they perfectly darkened the air, and, by deſtroying all the corn, produced a general famine. This calamity was increaſed to ſuch a degree in the year 1780, that ſeveral unfortunate perſons actually died in the ſtreets for want of food; many were driven to the neceſſity of digging in the earth for roots to ſupply the urgent calls of nature; while others were happy to find ſome undigeſted corn in the dung of animals, which they moſt eagerly devoured. Upon this occaſion of public diſtreſs, the Emperor generouſly opened his ſtore of corn, and diſtributed it, as well as money, among his ſubjects; and every perſon who was known to poſſeſs ſtores was obliged to follow his example. Theſe melancholy facts are ſo recent in the memory of the people, that they ſtill repeat them to the Europeans who viſit the country.

The manufactures of the empire are the haick, which, as was before obſerved, is a long garment compoſed of white wool and cotton, or cotton and ſilk woven together, and is uſed by the Moors for the purpoſe of covering their under dreſs when they go abroad, which they do by totally wrapping themſelves in it in a careleſs but eaſy manner; ſilk handkerchiefs of a particular kind, prepared only at Fez; ſilks checquered with cotton; carpeting, little inferior to that of Turkey; beautiful matting, made of the palmetto or wild palm-tree; paper of a coarſe kind; Cordovan, commonly called Morocco leather; gunpowder of an inferior nature; and long-barrelled muſquets, made of Biſcay iron. The Moors are unacquainted with the mode of caſting cannon, and therefore thoſe few which are now in the country are preſents from Europeans. The manufacture of glaſs is likewiſe unknown to them; as indeed they make great uſe of earthen ware, and have few or no windows to their houſes, this commodity may be of leſs importance to them than many others. They make butter, by putting the milk into a goat-ſkin with its outward coat turned inwards, and ſhaking it till the butter collects on the ſides, when it is taken out for uſe. From this operation it proves always full of hairs, and has an inſipid flavour. Their cheeſe conſiſts merely of curds hardened and dried, and has uniformly a diſagreeable taſte. The bread in ſome of the principal towns, particularly at Tangier and Sallee, is remarkably good, but in many other places it is coarſe, black, and heavy.

Their markets are under more ſtrict regulations than might be expected from a people who are ſo deficient in moſt other inſtances. A proper officer, entitled almotaſon, or mayor, is appointed to inſpect all kinds of proviſions and corn, and, according to their plenty or ſcarcity, to fix the price on each article: it is alſo the duty of this officer to attend conſtantly the markets, and to ſee that no perſon is guilty of

overcharging what he ſells, for which, upon detection, the offender is puniſhed, by having his hands tied behind him, and being publicly flogged through all the ſtreets, the executioner occaſionally exclaiming, "Thus do we treat thoſe who impoſe upon the poor." Proviſions both of the animal and vegetable kind are ſold by the rtab, or large pound, conſiſting of the weight of twenty hard dollars, or Spaniſh ounces; corn, by the almood, four of which are equal to a faneg Spaniſh, or ſack; and articles of merchandize, by the ſmall pound of ſixteen Spaniſh ounces, when ſold by weight; and by the code, which is about two-thirds of an Engliſh yard, when by meaſurement.

The Moors, agreeably to the Jewiſh cuſtom, cut the throats of all the animals they eat, at the ſame time turning their heads towards Mecca, in adoration of their prophet. After ſuffering them to bleed freely, they carefully waſh all the remaining blood away, and divide the meat into ſmall pieces of about one or two pounds in weight. As they are unacquainted with the invention of pumps, and have but few ſprings, it affords employment to a number of indigent people, who would probably be idle otherwiſe, to carry water in ſkins from the neareſt river or reſervoir, and ſell it to the inhabitants. From their being obliged to tar the ſkins to prevent them from leaking, the water is frequently rendered very unpleaſant.

Their looms, forges, ploughs, carpenters' tools, &c. are much upon the ſame conſtruction with the unimproved inſtruments of the ſame kind which are uſed at this time in ſome parts of Europe, only ſtill more clumſily finiſhed. In their work they attend more to ſtrength than neatneſs or convenience, and, like all other ignorant people, they have no idea that what they do is capable of improvement. It is, probable, indeed, that the Moors have undergone no very material change ſince the revolution in their arts and ſciences, which took place ſoon after their expulſion from Spain. Previous to that period it is well known they were an enlightened people, at a time when the greater part of Europe was involved in ignorance and barbariſm; but owing to the weakneſs and tyranny of their princes, they gradually ſunk into the very oppoſite extreme, and may now be conſidered as but a few degrees removed from a ſavage ſtate.

They uſe no kind of wheel-carriage, and therefore all their articles of burden are tranſported from one place to another on camels, mules, or aſſes. Their buildings, though by no means conſtructed on any fixed principle of architecture, have at leaſt the merit of being very ſtrong and durable. The manner of preparing tabby, of which all their beſt edifices are formed, is, I believe, the only remains of their ancient knowledge at preſent exiſting. It conſiſts of a mixture of mortar and very ſmall ſtones, beaten tight in a wooden caſe, and ſuffered to dry, when it forms a cement equal to the ſolid rock. There are always unaccountable diſcrepancies and inconſiſtencies in the arts of uncivilized nations. The apartments are, if poſſible, even more inconvenient than thoſe of their neighbours the Spaniards; but the carved wood-work, with which many of them are ornamented, is really equal to any I have ever ſeen in Europe.

The Moors have no idea of making high roads, or repairing thoſe which have been formed by the ancient poſſeſſors of the country, or perhaps by the mere reſort of paſſengers, but are content to leave them in the ſame ſtate in which they found them. Indeed, they are even incapable of comprehending the ſimple fact,—that by improving the roads travelling would become more expeditious, and leſs expenſive.

If

If we look for any of the elegant appendages of luxury and refinement in this country, we ſhall be grievouſly diſappointed. Their gardens are mere tracts of incloſed ground, over-run with weeds, interſperſed with vines, figs, oranges, and lemons, without taſte or diſpoſition, and having perhaps one ſtraight walk through the whole. They ſometimes ſow corn in the intermediate ground; but their gardens are rarely productive of eſculent vegetables, and ſeldom or never ornamented with flowers.

As there are few or no bridges in the country, I am inclined to believe the Moors are not thoroughly acquainted with the mode of conſtructing large arches; and it is only at their ſea-ports where they even uſe boats. Theſe circumſtances, united to the bad roads, render this part of Barbary very inconvenient and dangerous to be travelled through.

The country throughout is ill-watered. Moſt of the rivers, which however are very few, in proportion to the extent of ground, except juſt at their ſea-ports, deſerve only the name of rivulets, and in the ſummer ſeaſon are many of them dried up. From all theſe circumſtances it may be conjectured that the population is not extraordinary. When on my return, in my journey from Morocco to Sallee, which required ſeven days to accompliſh, I met with no habitations but a few Arab tents ſcattered in different parts; and I had reaſon to believe that a great part of the interior country is nearly in a ſimilar ſituation. The towns are very few in proportion to the extent of country, and thoſe are but thinly inhabited. Indeed Morocco, which is a metropolis, has many of its houſes in ruins, and uninhabited.

The want of population in the empire of Morocco at this period may have been occaſioned, in ſome degree, by the enormous cruelties exerciſed by its former ſovereigns, who have been known not unfrequently, through a ſlight diſguſt, to abandon a whole town or province to the ſword. In the character of Muley Iſhmael, grandfather to Sidi Mahomet, we find the moſt ſingular inconſiſtencies: for it is certain, that although a tyrant of the claſs which I have been deſcribing, yet in other reſpects, as if to repair the miſchief which he committed, he left nothing undone for the encouragement of population. He introduced large colonies of negroes from Guinea, built towns for them, many of which are ſtill remaining, aſſigned them portions of land, and encouraged their increaſe by every poſſible means. He ſoon initiated them in the Mahometan faith, and, had his plan been followed, the country by this time would have been populous, and probably flouriſhing. As the negroes are of a more lively, active, and enterprizing diſpoſition than the Moors, they might ſoon have been taught the arts of agriculture, and their ſingular ingenuity might have been directed to other uſeful purpoſes.

It is true Muley Iſhmael, when he adopted this plan, had more objects in view than that of merely peopling his dominions: he ſaw plainly that his own ſubjects were of too capricious a diſpoſition to form ſoldiers calculated for his tyrannical purpoſes. They had uniformly manifeſted an inclination to change their ſovereigns, though more from the love of variety than to reform the government, or reſtrain the abuſes of tyranny. In ſhort, whatever revolutions took place in the country, conſiſted merely in a change of one tyrant for another. Muley Iſhmael had diſcernment enough to ſee, therefore, that, by forming an army of ſlaves, whoſe ſole dependence ſhould reſt upon their maſter, he could eaſily train them in ſuch a manner as to act in the ſtricteſt conformity to his wiſhes. He ſoon learnt that the great object with the negroes was plenty of money, and liberty of plunder; in theſe he liberally indulged them, and the plan fully anſwered his expectations.

Though,

Though, however, Muley Iſhmael had no great merit in introducing ſubjects for the purpoſes of tyranny, yet the good effects of this new colonization were very generally experienced. By intermarrying among themſelves, and intermixing among the Moors (for the Moors will keep negro women as concubines, though they ſeldom marry them), a new race of people ſtarted up, who became as uſeful ſubjects as the native inhabitants, and brought the empire into a much more flouriſhing ſtate than it had ever been in ſince their great revolution.

Sidi Mahomet had different views, and was actuated by different motives. From his inordinate avarice, he ceaſed to act towards his black troops in the generous manner which had diſtinguiſhed his predeceſſor Muley Iſhmael; and they ſoon ſhewed themſelves diſcontented with his conduct. They frequently threatened to revolt, and ſupport thoſe of his ſons who were in oppoſition, and who promiſed them the moſt liberal rewards. They offered to place his eldeſt ſon Muley Ali, who is ſince dead, on the throne; but this prince, not unmindful of the duty which he owed his father and ſovereign, declined their offer. They next applied to Muley Yazid, the late Emperor, who at firſt accepted of the aſſiſtance they tendered, but in a ſhort time relinquiſhed the plan.

Sidi Mahomet, diſguſted with this conduct of the negroes, determined to curb their growing power, by diſbanding a conſiderable part of theſe troops, and baniſhing them to diſtant parts of the empire. This important mode of population has therefore been of late years neglected, while no better ſyſtem has been ſubſtituted in its room; for though the late Emperor indulged in cruelty much leſs frequently than his predeceſſors, yet population has, perhaps, been more completely impeded by the general poverty which he has introduced into the country, by his ſevere exactions, than if he had made a liberal uſe of the ſword or of the bow-ſtring. To acquaint Sidi Mahomet that any of his ſubjects were rich, was equivalent to telling him that he had ſo many ambitious opponents, who by their wealth would ſupport his ſons in rebellion, which it was neceſſary to prevent, by depriving them of thoſe riches.

The only maxim of government, therefore, adopted by this monarch, was to keep his ſubjects as nearly as poſſible upon a level; that is, in a ſtate of poverty. This he moſt effectually accompliſhed. No man who had property one day, could with certainty call it his own the next. The moſt devoted miſers, with their utmoſt ingenuity, were unable to evade the diſcovery of their treaſures. If the victim of tyranny manifeſted any reluctance to reveal to his inquiſitors the ſacred depoſitory of his hoarded wealth, the Emperor ſeldom heſitated about the means of compulſion. The fortitude of ſeveral enabled them to reſiſt every torture ſhort of death; but the love of life was always found to prevail over even avarice itſelf.

But this perhaps was not the worſt: the heavy taxes and duties impoſed by this impolitic monarch impeded commerce, and diſcouraged manufactures; and on the whole I am inclined to believe that the country was never in a greater ſtate of poverty than during his reign.

Power and weakneſs, rank and meanneſs, opulence and indigence, are here equally dependent, equally uncertain. There are inſtances of the Sultan elevating at once a common ſoldier to the rank of a baſhaw, or making him a confidential friend; the following day he would perhaps impriſon him, or reduce him again to the ſtation of a private ſoldier. It is ſurprizing that men under theſe circumſtances ſhould be ambitious of rank, or deſirous of riches and power. Yet ſuch is the diſpoſition of theſe people, that they have an unbounded thirſt for rank and power with all their uncertainties; and, what is more extraordinary, when they have obtained a high ſtation they ſeldom fail

fail to afford their ſovereign a plea for ill-treating them, by abuſing, in ſome way or other, their truſt.

The only independent people in the country, if it be at all lawful to make uſe of the expreſſion when ſpeaking of Morocco, are to be found among the merchants who reſide in towns at ſome diſtance from the ſeat of government. The neatneſs of their houſes and gardens, the furniture of their apartments, their rich diſplay of china and glaſs, and their liberal treatment of ſtrangers, their better education, and more enlightened ideas, all ſerve to point them out as a claſs of beings different from the reſt.

I wiſh this deſcription would apply generally to all the people in trade; but I am ſorry to add it does not: it is confined to a particular claſs of merchants, who tranſact buſineſs upon a very large ſcale. Even theſe, however, though diſtant from the ſeat of government, beſides rigorouſly paying their quota of every ſevere tax which the Emperor chooſes to impoſe upon them, are not always exempt from plunder. If the baſhaw or alcaide of the town can diſcover a plea for impriſoning them, which he ſometimes does without much regard to juſtice, he ſeldom fails to turn it to his own advantage; and not unfrequently diſgraces his maſter's royal name, by uſing it as a pretext for ſeizing their property. — Thus the empire of Morocco, in all its parts, preſents a ſtriking picture of the wretched policy and miſerable conſequences of deſpotic government.

CHAP. V. — *Journey from Mogodore to Santa Cruz. — Some Account of the Origin of that Place. — Arrival at Tarudant. — Introduction to the Prince. — Deſcription of his Palace. — Singular Reception. — Accommodations. — State of the Prince's Health. — Abſurd Prejudices of the Moors. — Altercation with the Prince. — Application from other Patients. — The Cadi. — Introduction into the Prince's Harem. — Wives of the Prince. — State of the Female Sex in this ſecluded Situation. — Viſible Amendment in the Prince's Complaint. — His Affability. — Character of the Prince Muley Abſulem.*

I HAD not reſted from the fatigues of my journey above ſix days at Mogodore, before a new ſcene was opened, by the return of the meſſenger from Tarudant, with orders for my immediate attendance on my royal patient. In addition to my former party, I was allowed by the governor three negro foot ſoldiers, armed with muſkets and ſabres, an elegant tent, and a Jewiſh interpreter, who was perfect maſter of both Arabic and Engliſh, and from whom in the end I derived the moſt uſeful ſervices. The Jew who had been preſſed in ſo ſingular a manner into my ſervice at Tangier was immediately, and doubtleſs much to his own ſatisfaction, ſent home.

We performed a journey of ſeventy-ſix miles, from Mogodore to Santa Cruz, in about three days, which from the former part of this narrative the reader will perceive is not remarkably ſlow travelling in Morocco, however ſingular ſuch a progreſs would appear on the level turnpikes of England. Our journey, which was on the ſea coaſt, preſented to our view one continued expanſe of wild, mountainous, and rocky country, and we had conſequently very bad roads. Our progreſs indeed could be compared to nothing but the continual aſcending and deſcending of a ſeries of rough and uneven ſtone ſteps. At one place in particular the deſcent was ſo ſteep, and the road ſo choaked up with large pieces of ſtone, that we were all obliged to diſmount,

and walk a full mile and a half with the utmoſt caution and difficulty, before we could mount again.

Santa Cruz is a ſea-port, ſituated on the declivity of a high and ſteep mountain, forming the weſtern termination of that chain of mountains, which nearly divides the Emperor's dominions into two parts, ſo well known by the name of the Atlas. It formerly belonged to the Portugueze, and till the acceſſion of Sidi Mahomet was the principal place whence Europeans were allowed to trade. It is at preſent a deſerted town, with only a few houſes, which are almoſt hourly mouldering to decay. The port appears to be much more ſecure than that of Mogodore; and from the vicinity of Santa Cruz to the ſouthern provinces, it appears to me to be the part of the empire which is beſt adapted to all the purpoſes of commerce*.

On

* As Santa Cruz, before the reign of Sidi Mahomet, was, and is ſtill capable of being made of great commercial importance to Europe, and as its origin will afford ſome idea how the Portugueze came to ſettle upon this coaſt, I muſt treſpaſs upon the reader's patience, while I relate, from an eminent Spaniſh author, in what manner it was firſt raiſed; as well as its ſubſequent ſtate while poſſeſſed by the Moors, in the year 1737, from the manuſcript of an Engliſh gentleman who was reſident in the country at that period.

"Agader Aguer, which the Europeans call Santa Cruz, is a town of modern fabric; nor can I any where find that the ſpot of ground on which it ſtands was ever actually inhabited, till the beginning of the ſixteenth century. Then, or very ſoon before, in the reign of Don Manuel, King of Portugal, a certain Portugueze adventurer undertook to ſettle there, on account of the quantity of excellent fiſh with which its bay abounded; and found means to build himſelf a timber fort or caſtle, which he garriſoned with his followers, naming his ſettlement Santa Cruz, or Holy Croſs: his African neighbours calling it Dar al Rumi, or the Chriſtian Houſe.

"Don Manuel ſoon after foreſeeing the great importance of this place to the navigation of thoſe ſeas, and to his projected conqueſt of the weſtern parts of Barbary, took it into his own hands, reimburſing the adventurer who had founded it, all his expences, and making him other gratuities. Santa Cruz being thus annexed to the kingdom of Portugal, it was ſoon enlarged, fortified, and well inhabited; and as this part of the world was at that time divided among ſeveral petty ſovereigns, generally at variance with each other, it afforded the new colony, as well as many others upon the ſame coaſt an opportunity of eſtabliſhing a firm footing in the country, inducing a number of diſcontented Arabs and Moors, with a view of revenging themſelves on their various adverſaries, to ſwear allegiance to His Portugueze Majeſty.

"The aſſiſtance which was afforded by theſe people to the Chriſtian garriſons, enabled them to make frequent incurſions a conſiderable way up the country, plundering and ſeizing upon a great number of the inhabitants, whom they ſent over to Europe as ſlaves. At this period, the Portugueze had eſtabliſhed themſelves ſo firmly on the African coaſt, that had not the family of ſharifs ſtarted up, and the attention of theſe Chriſtian adventurers been diverted to their new acquiſitions in America, the greateſt part of the country would in a ſhort time have been completely depopulated, and the Portugueze would have eſtabliſhed in it a permanent ſovereignity.

"Theſe ſharifs, from whom the preſent royal family of Morocco are immediately deſcended, obſerving the variance between the people and their different ſovereigns, and taking advantage of their credulity, pretended that they were lineally deſcended from Mahomet, and that they were ſent by him to protect his followers from the oppreſſion of their ſovereigns. They ſoon made converts to their ſtandard, and in a ſhort time eſtabliſhed themſelves in the ſovereignty of all the ſouthern parts of Barbary. In order to add importance to their government, and knowing that it would flatter the prejudices of their ſubjects, who had been ſo continually haraſſed by their Chriſtian neighbours, they determined upon expelling the Portugueze from Santa Cruz, and, if ſucceſsful, to carry on their attack againſt the other Chriſtian garriſons upon the Barbary coaſt.

"For this purpoſe, in the year 1536, an army of 50,000 men, horſe and foot, was raiſed with all expedition, and put under the command of Muley Hamed al Haſſan, who with his force completely inveſted the garriſon. After many unſucceſsful attacks on the part of the Moors, Santa Cruz at laſt owed its deſtruction to the negligence of one of its own people; who carrying a lighted match into the powder-magazine, it unfortunately blew up, and by its concuſſion made a large breach in the wall; of which the Moors availing themſelves, they immediately recovered their ſpirits, and, headed by their commander, haſtened in force up to the breach, before the aſtoniſhed Portugueze had time to apply a proper remedy to this unforeſeen accident. They now attacked their enemy with ſo much energy, and with ſuch ſuperior numbers, that they ſoon reduced the garriſon, and put every perſon in it to the ſword.

"Thus

On the 26th of October we departed for Tarudant, which is diſtant forty-four miles from Santa Cruz, where in two days we arrived. Our journey to this place was immediately inland, being in the direction, and within half a day's ride, to the ſouth of the Atlas. We enjoyed the whole way from Santa Cruz a fine level road, through a woody and uncultivated country.

Upon my arrival at Tarudant, without being allowed time to diſmount, I was immediately carried to the reſidence of the prince, which is ſituated about half a mile to the ſouth of the town. At a ſhort diſtance, the houſe, which is ſmall, and was built by the prince, has a great appearance of neatneſs; but that want of taſte and convenience, which is univerſally the characteriſtic of the Mooriſh buildings, is preſently diſcernable when it is narrowly inſpected. It is compoſed of tabby, and is ſurrounded with a high ſquare wall, which alſo incloſes two tolerably neat gardens, planned by an European, and now under the care of a Spaniſh renegado. The apartments, which are all on the ground-floor, are ſquare and lofty, opening into a court, in the centre of which is a fountain. The entrance is through a ſmall arched doorway, which leads into a court-yard, where on one ſide are a few out-houſes; on the other, the ſpace allotted for the horſes of the prince. As the climate is open and fine,

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"Thus did Santa Cruz fall into the hands of the Moors, by whom it has ever ſince been poſſeſſed. The loſs of this important place proved extremely injurious to the Portugueze navigation to Guinea and India, by affording a harbour to their European enemies, whoſe ſhips were accuſtomed to ſlip out from this port, and to plunder and take the Portugueze as they paſſed by; while they ſupplied thoſe barbarians with powder, cannon, and other warlike ſtores, enabling the Moors by that means, in the courſe of time, to attack the other poſſeſſions of the Portugueze in Africa."

My Engliſh author, who dates his manuſcript in January 1737, gives the following account of Santa Cruz:—

"Santa Cruz is a city of Africa, in the kingdom of Suz, ſubject to the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, ſituated in a temperate air, on a mountain diſtant about half a league from the ſea, in the latitude 30 deg. 35 min. North, ſeven leagues from Cape de Guerra, ſixty from Morocco, one hundred and forty from Fez, and one hundred and fifty from Mequinez. It is in circumference about three quarters of a mile, of a ſquare form, the four ſides fronting the four quarters of the world. On the eaſt, it has a ſpacious plain of ſand; on the weſt, the ſea; to the north, about the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, is a ſmall village, containing about twenty inhabitants; and on the ſouth is its entrance, oppoſite to the Mount of Tylde.

"The town is encompaſſed with walls, defended by ſeven baſtions, having artillery mounted on them which carry between four and ſix pound balls; there are alſo ſome ſixteen and twenty-four pounders, but, owing to their not having proper perſons to work them, thoſe pieces of ordinance are ſuffered to lie on the ground half buried, rendering them by that means entirely uſeleſs. The walls indeed are only of ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt an attack from their neighbouring enemies, the Arabs, who have no ordnance to oppoſe them with, but they could by no means withſtand even a weak cannonade from a regular appointed artillery.

"Santa Cruz is a place of conſiderable trade, owing to the great quantities of copper which they procure from mines in the neighbourhood of Tafilet. It is alſo plentifully ſtored with various other merchandizes, ſuch as wax procured from Heja Saxit and Morocco, the beſt in the country, Morocco leather, yellow leather of Tafilet, almonds, gum arabic, gum ſandaric, oſtrich feathers, elephants' teeth, gold duſt, and ſalt petre, which is exported with ſome difficulty, owing to its being contraband. There are alſo other merchandizes of European manufacture, ſuch as iron, leather from Buenos Ayres, muſkets, ſwords, and all kinds of hardware, &c. as well as thoſe of Aſia and the eaſtern parts of Africa, brought thither by caravans. The people are for the moſt part of a tawny, ſun-burnt complexion, ſpare and lean in body, but active, ſtrong, and capable of undergoing any labour or hardſhip, pretty good œconomiſts, not much addicted to prodigality or vanity, and are dexterous and active in their trade and buſineſs."

Such was the ſtate of Santa Cruz before Sidi Mahomet ordered it to be evacuated by the European merchants; and it is impoſſible to read this account without being convinced that what I have advanced, with reſpect to its importance, in a commercial view, is not beyond the truth.

there are few or no ſtables in this country, but the horſes are kept out in an open yard, and held by pins fixed in the ground.

There is not much of magnificence, it muſt be confeſſed, in this introduction, nor did any thing occur to counteract the unfavourable impreſſion, previous to our entering the apartment of the prince. The chamber into which I was conducted, I found a ſmall room with ſeats in the walls; and there it is cuſtomary for all perſons to wait till their names are announced. I obſerved a number of ſingular looking perſons attending here; and as I was not much diſpoſed to make one of their company, inſtead of ſitting I amuſed myſelf, as other Europeans do, with walking about the room. In this exerciſe, however, I was a ſolitary performer; for the Moors, whatever be their object, whether buſineſs, converſation, or amuſement, are generally ſeated; and indeed ſo novel to them was my deportment, in this reſpect, that they concluded I was either diſtracted in my intellect, or ſaying my prayers.

After being detained in this diſagreeable ſituation for about an hour, orders were brought from the prince for my immediate introduction, with my interpreter. From the chamber where we had been waiting, we paſſed through a long and dark entry, which at its termination introduced us to a ſquare court-yard, floored with checquered tiling, into which the prince's room opened, by means of large folding-doors. Theſe were curiouſly painted of various colours, in the form of checquers. The immediate entrance to the room was neat; it was a very large arched door-way, curiouſly ornamented with checquered tiling, and forming a ſmall porch, or antichamber. The room was lofty, ſquare, and floored with checquered tiling; the walls ſtuccoed, and the ceiling painted of various colours. Much of the beauty of the room was loſt for want of windows, which is a defect obſervable in moſt Mooriſh houſes.

I found the prince ſitting croſs-legged, on a mattraſs covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor; this, with a narrow and long piece of carpeting that fronted him, on which were ſeated his Mooriſh friends, was the only furniture in the room. Upon my firſt entrance, and delivering the conſul's letter of introduction, which, according to the cuſtom of the country, was preſented in a ſilk handkerchief, I was addreſſed by the prince with the ſalutation, *Bono tibib, bono Anglaiſe;* which is a mixture of Arabic and Spaniſh, meaning, "You are a good doctor, the Engliſh are good;" and was ordered with my interpreter to ſit down on the floor, between the prince and his viſitors; when I was immediately interrogated by every one preſent, each having a queſtion to put to me, and that of the moſt inſignificant kind.

The prince expreſſed great pleaſure at my arrival, wiſhed to know whether I came voluntarily or not, and whether the Engliſh phyſicians were in high repute. To the firſt queſtion I replied, that I was ſent by order of the governor of Gibraltar: to the ſecond, I felt it a duty which I owed to truth and to my country, to anſwer in the affirmative. He then deſired me immediately to feel his pulſe, and to examine his eyes, one of which was darkened by a cataract, and the other affected with a paralytic complaint; and requeſted me to inform him, whether I would undertake to cure him, and how ſoon? My anſwer was, that I wiſhed to conſider his caſe maturely before I gave my opinion; and in a day or two I ſhould be a better judge.

One of his particular friends obſerved to him, from ſeeing me without a beard, for I had ſhaved in the morning, I was too young to be an able phyſician. Another remarked, that I had put powder in my hair on purpoſe to diſguiſe my age; and a third inſiſted, that it was not my own hair. But what ſeemed to produce the greateſt aſtoniſhment among them, was my dreſs, which from its cloſeneſs, the

Mooriſh dreſs being quite looſe, they were certain muſt occaſion pain, and be diſagreeably warm.

The reader may be aſſured, that a part of this converſation was not very entertaining to me; and indeed, after the great fatigue which I had undergone, I could well have diſpenſed with moſt of their interrogatories; but inſtead of the diſmiſſion and the repoſe which I wiſhed and expected, my patience was exhauſted by the abſurd curioſity of the whole court, who one after another intreated me to favour them with my opinion, and inform them of the ſtate of their health, merely by feeling the pulſe. Having acquitted myſelf to the beſt of my ability in this curious enquiry, the prince informed me, he had prepared for my reception a good houſe, whither he deſired me to retire, and viſit him the following morning early, when I was to examine his caſe more particularly.

The good houſe promiſed me by the prince proved to be a miſerable room in the Jewdry, that is, the part of the ſuburb inhabited by the Jews, ſituated about a quarter of a mile from the town. It was, however, the habitation of the prince's principal Jew, and the beſt in the place. This apartment, which was on the ground floor, was narrow and dirty, having no windows to it, but opening by means of large folding-doors into a court, where three Jewiſh families, who lived all in the ſame houſe, threw the whole of their rubbiſh and dirt. I ſuppoſe my feelings might be rendered more acute by the diſappointment, for on being introduced into this wretched hovel, I was ſo ſtruck with horror and diſguſt, that I was on the point of mounting my horſe, for the purpoſe of aſking the prince for another apartment; but upon being told it was the beſt in the town, and reflecting that I had voluntarily entered upon theſe difficulties, I determined to ſtruggle through them as well as I could, and conſented, for the preſent, to acquieſce in this indifferent fare.

I took, however, the firſt opportunity of repreſenting my diſagreeable ſituation to the prince, who gave orders for apartments to be fitted up for me in his garden; but from the flowneſs of the maſons, they were not finiſhed in time for me to occupy them before I left Tarudant. The prince's Jew had directions to ſupply me with every thing that was neceſſary; and while at Tarudant I had no reaſon whatever to complain of any inattention on the part of the prince.

As ſoon as my baggage was unpacked, the firſt object that occurred to me was to endeavour, under theſe circumſtances, to make my ſituation as comfortable as the nature of it would admit. At one end of the room I placed my three folding ſtools, which I had uſed as a bed on the road, and ſcreened it off as well as I could with mats, which I fixed acroſs the apartment as a partition. One of my boxes was ſubſtituted for a table, and another for a chair, not being able to procure either of thoſe articles in Tarudant. At the other end of the room my interpreter placed his bedding on the floor, where he ſlept during the whole of our ſtay.

Having furniſhed our room, our next object was to conſider in what manner our cookery was to be performed. The whole of our kitchen furniture conſiſted of one ſmall iron ſaucepan, one pewter diſh, two pewter plates, a horn to drink out of, and two knives and forks. As the Moors are many of them accuſtomed to the uſe of tea, breakfaſting articles we were not at a loſs for. On the road the iron ſaucepan had ſerved very well to boil our eggs and fowls, which, as I before obſerved, were the only food we could procure. But at Tarudant we found ourſelves in a land of plenty, without having it in our power to avail ourſelves of ſuch an advantage. After a few days inconvenience on this account, I found out a Jew, who contrived to dreſs me a few

haſhes

haſhes and ſtews, ſomething in the Spaniſh ſtyle, with which fare I was obliged to be ſatisfied during my reſidence at Tarudant.

Two hours before my arrival, the whole of the Engliſh people who had been ſhipwrecked, except the captain and a Negro, paſſed through the town in their way to the metropolis. They had been redeemed from the wild Arabs, by Muley Abſulem, with an intent, I preſume, of complying with his promiſe, but by the Emperor's orders were ſent up to Morocco.

Upon my viſiting the prince the following day, and examining into the nature of his complaint, I found it to be of the moſt deſperate kind; but as I had travelled near five hundred miles to ſee him, I could not be ſatisfied to return back without attempting ſomething. I therefore gave a formal opinion to the prince in writing, ſtating, that I could by no means abſolutely undertake to cure him; that I could not even flatter him with very great hopes of ſucceſs; but that if he choſe to give my plan of treatment a trial for a couple of months, we could then judge whether the diſeaſe was likely to be removed. This plan was approved of, and he immediately began his courſe of medicines.

I have already intimated, that the prince had totally loſt the uſe of one eye by a cataract; and I may add, that he had nearly loſt that of the other by a paralytic affection, which threatened to end in a gutta ſerena*, and which had drawn the eye ſo much towards the noſe, as ſometimes entirely to exclude the appearance of the pupil. The only remains of ſight left were merely ſufficient to enable him to ſee large bodies, without diſtinguiſhing any of them particularly. The ſpaſm was the diſeaſe which I was ordered to cure.

But theſe were by no means the limits of the prince's complaints. For, in truth, his whole frame was ſo enervated by a courſe of debauchery, that I found it neceſſary to put him under a ſtrict regimen; to enforce the obſervance of which, I committed, from time to time, my directions to writing. They were tranſlated into Arabic, and one copy delivered to the prince, and the other to his confidential friend, who undertook, at my requeſt, to ſee them carried into execution.

As I adminiſtered internal as well as topical remedies, I made a point of giving them to my patient with my own hand. The prince made no difficulty of ſwallowing the medicine, however nauſeous; but it was a long time before I could make him comprehend how a medicine introduced into the ſtomach could afford any relief to the eye. I muſt, however, do him the juſtice to ſay, that I found him a more apt diſciple than any of his attendants. Many of them could not be made at all to underſtand the action of medicines, and of conſequence were full of prejudices againſt my mode of treatment.

In a few days after my firſt attendance on the prince, one of his prejudiced friends perſuaded His Highneſs that I had adminiſtered medicines to him intended to produce a certain effect upon his conſtitution, of which I had never entertained ſo much as an idea, before it was mentiond to me. What this effect was I cannot with decency explain. Suffice it to ſay, that theſe malignant inſinuations had too powerful an effect on the mind of my patient, and he expreſſed himſelf to me upon the ſubject in terms which I could not hear without the moſt poignant indignation and uneaſineſs.

I vindicated my conduct as well as I was able, under the diſadvantages of an interpretation, by explaining to him how impoſſible it was for the medicines to have the

* By this diſeaſe is to be underſtood, ſuch a ſtate of the optic nerve as renders it inſenſible to the rays of light.

effect

effect he ſuſpected; and how much more to my credit, as well as advantage, it would be to re-eſtabliſh his health, than to do him a prejudice; that a profeſſional man had a character, which when once loſt was irrecoverable; and that therefore I truſted he would reflect on my ſituation, and conſider me in a more favourable light than his reſentment at firſt had led him to ſuggeſt. The prince began now to retract his calumny, by ſaying, that he believed the medicines had produced an effect different from what I intended, but that it was the duty of a patient to inform his phyſician of every circumſtance which related to his health. In ſhort, after a variety of explanations, I at laſt brought him to conſent to give my plan a few days longer trial, and if then there appeared any objections to the purſuing of it, I would willingly conſent to give it up entirely. Thoſe days being elapſed, and none of the ſuſpected effects appearing, the prince proceeded regularly in the courſe agreeably to my directions.

The intermediate time between my attendance on the prince, whom I viſited twice a day, was employed in reading a few books which I brought with me from Mogodore, making little excurſions into the country, and viſiting patients at Tarudant.

Among the latter was the cadi or judge of the town. This I found to be a venerable old man, of about ſeventy years of age, whoſe beard was become perfectly white, and whoſe countenance, though doubtleſs altered by time, yet ſtill retained a great expreſſion of vivacity and ſenſe, mixed with more apparent goodneſs of heart than any I had ſeen in the country. He received me with the greateſt reſpect, and expreſſed his gratitude for my viſit in a manner that appeared ſtrongly marked with ſincerity. He ſeemed fully aware that his complaint was merely a decay of nature, and only wiſhed me to adminiſter ſomething to him which might palliate his moſt urgent ſymptoms. With a great ſhare of feeling he expatiated on the inconveniences I muſt undergo, from being at ſo great a diſtance from my friends, and in a part of the world where the manners of the people were ſo different from what I had been accuſtomed to, expreſſing his wiſh at the ſame time to render me every ſervice that a perſon in his ſituation could offer. Such an uncommon ſhare of ſenſibility and reflection, from one whoſe countrymen are in general in a very ſmall degree removed from a ſavage ſtate, excited in me a warm deſire of rendering my patient a ſervice. Among the many queſtions he put to me, he aſked what was cuſtomary for our judges in England to receive as a reward for their ſervices. Upon my informing him, the cadi was in perfect aſtoniſhment: "Good God!" he exclaimed, "the Emperor allows me only fifty ducats (about twelve pounds ſterling) a year!"

I wiſh I could have it in my power to give as favourable an account of my other patients at Tarudant, as of this reſpectable old man. The generality of them proved inſolent, ungrateful, and many, who viſited my habitation, notorious thieves. From my apartment being in the houſe of a Jew, none of whom dare venture to prevent a Moor from entering, I was from morning to night peſtered with Arabs, mountaineers, and the worſt deſcription of towns-people, who were ſeldom ſatisfied with my advice, but inſiſted on my either giving them money, or ſomething elſe equal in value. Many I turned out of my room by force, while with difficulty they reſtrained their reſentment at my conduct, and every moment threatened to draw their knives upon me; to others, who behaved a little better, I gave ſomething to get rid of them; and to a third, who were real objects of diſtreſs, I with pleaſure extended my utmoſt aſſiſtance. On the whole, my ſituation was ſuch as to oblige me to complain of it to the prince, who afterwards allowed me a ſoldier to mount guard

conſtantly at my door, who had directions to permit no perſon to enter my room without my particular permiſſion.

It was with the greateſt pleaſure that in about a fortnight after my firſt attendance on the prince, I obſerved an amendment in his complaint. His eye now evinced a diſpoſition to recover its former poſition; at firſt he was able only to diſcern light from darkneſs, but he could now diſtinguiſh an apple at about ten yards diſtance.

Theſe flattering appearances entirely removed every prejudice which at firſt aroſe in the minds of the prince's attendants; and His Highneſs himſelf acknowledged that he had been too haſty in forming his opinion of me. The confidence which this ſucceſs occaſioned, induced the prince to admit me into his harem, where there were ſeveral ladies who had occaſion for my ſervices.

Though this afforded me an opportunity of ſeeing the harem, I ſhall wave a particular deſcription of it, as it only differed from that of the Emperor (which I ſhall hereafter very particularly deſcribe) by being upon a ſmaller ſcale.

Upon receiving the prince's orders to attend his ladies, one of his friends was immediately diſpatched with me to the gate of the harem; with directions to the alcaide * of the eunuchs to admit myſelf and interpreter whenever I thought it neceſſary.

The eunuchs, who have the entire charge of the women, and who in fact live always among them, are the children of negro ſlaves. They are generally either very ſhort and fat, or elſe tall, deformed, and lame. Their voices have that particular tone which is obſervable in youths who are juſt arriving at manhood; and their perſons altogether afford a diſguſting image of weakneſs and effeminacy. From the truſt repoſed in them by their maſters, and the conſequence which it gives them, the eunuchs exceed in inſolence and pride every other claſs of people in the country. They diſplayed indeed ſo much of it towards me, that I was obliged, in my own defence, to complain of them once or twice, and to have them puniſhed.

Attended by one of theſe people, after paſſing the gate of the harem, which is always locked, and under the care of a guard of eunuchs, we entered a narrow and dark paſſage, which ſoon brought us to the court, into which the women's chambers open. We here ſaw numbers of both black and white women and children; ſome concubines, ſome ſlaves, and others hired domeſtics.

Upon their obſerving the unuſual figure of an European, the whole multitude in a body ſurrounded me, and expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at my dreſs and appearance. Some ſtood motionleſs, with their hands lifted up, their eyes fixed, and their mouths open, in the uſual attitude of wonder and ſurprize. Some burſt into immoderate fits of laughter; while others again came up, and, with uncommon attention, eyed me from head to foot. The parts of my dreſs which ſeemed moſt to attract their notice were my buckles, buttons, and ſtockings; for neither men nor women in this country wear any thing of the kind. With reſpect to the club of my hair, they ſeemed utterly at a loſs in what view to conſider it; but the powder which I wore they conceived to be employed for the purpoſe of deſtroying vermin. Moſt of the children, when they ſaw me, ran away in the moſt perfect conſternation; and on the whole I appeared as ſingular an animal, and I dare ſay had the honour of exciting as much curioſity and attention, as a lion, or a man-tiger juſt imported from abroad, and introduced into a country town in England on a market-day. Every time I viſited the harem

* An officer in the general idea of the word.

I was

I was furrounded and laughed at by this curious mob, who, on my entering the gate, followed me clofe to the very chamber to which I was proceeding, and on my return univerfally efcorted me out.

The greateft part of the women were uncommonly fat and unwieldy; had black and full eyes, round faces, with fmall nofes. They were of different complexions; fome very fair, fome fallow, and others again perfect negroes.

One of my new patients being ready to receive me, I was defired to walk into her room; where, to my great furprize, I faw nothing but a curtain drawn quite acrofs the apartment, fimilar to that of a theatre which feparates the ftage from the audience. A female domeftic brought a very low ftool, placed it near the curtain, and told me I was to fit down there, and feel her miftrefs's pulfe.

The lady, who had by this time fummoned up courage to fpeak, introduced her hand from the bottom of the curtain, and defired me to inform her of all her complaints, which fhe conceived I might perfectly perceive by merely feeling the pulfe. It was in vain to afk her where her pain was feated, whether in her ftomach, head, or back; the only anfwer I could procure, was a requeft to feel the pulfe of the other hand, and then point out the feat of the difeafe, and the nature of the pain.

Having neither fatisfied my curiofity by exhibiting her face, nor made me acquainted with the nature of her complaint, I was under the neceffity of informing her in pofitive terms, that to underftand the difeafe it was abfolutely neceffary to fee the tongue, as well as to feel the pulfe; and that without it I could do nothing for her. My eloquence, or rather that of my Jewifh interpreter, was, however, for a long time exerted in vain; and I am perfuaded fhe would have difmiffed me without any further enquiry, had not her invention fupplied her with a happy expedient to remove her embarraffment. She contrived at laft to cut a hole through the curtain, through which fhe extruded her tongue, and thus complied with my injunction as far as it was neceffary in a medical view, but moft effectually difappointed my curiofity.

I was afterwards ordered to look at another of the prince's wives, who was affected with a fcrophulous fwelling in her neck. This lady was, in the fame manner as the other, at firft excluded from my fight; but as fhe was obliged to fhew me her complaint, I had an opportunity of feeing her face, and obferved it to be very handfome. I was informed that fhe had been at one period the favourite of the prince, but owing to this defect he had in a great meafure deferted her; and this circumftance accounts for the extreme anxiety which fhe feemed to expreſs to get rid of this difagreeable difeafe.

As foon as I had examined her neck, fhe took off from her dreſs the whole of her gold trinkets, which were very numerous, and of conſiderable value, put them into my hand, and defired me to cure her; promifing a ftill greater reward if I fucceeded. Conſcious of the uncertainty of rendering her any material ſervice, I immediately returned the preſent, and aſſured her that fhe might depend on my giving all proper remedies a fair trial, but that I could not be anſwerable for their ſucceſs. There is nothing more unpleaſant than the inability of giving reaſonable ground for hope, when it promiſes to be productive of ſo much happineſs to a fellow creature. It was with pain I obſerved that this poor lady, though ſomewhat cheered, was yet diſſatisfied with my reply; ſhe could not refrain from ſhewing evident marks of diſappointment, and even diſpleaſure, at my heſitation, by ſaying, ſhe always underſtood that a Chriſtian phyſician could cure every diſeaſe.

During the courſe of my attendance in the harem, I had an opportunity of ſeeing moſt of the prince's women, who, excluſive of the four wives allowed him by his religion, were about twenty in number, and who did not, like his wives, diſcover that invincible reluctance to the diſplay of their beauty. They at firſt proved very troubleſome patients; for upon my not telling them all their complaints immediately upon feeling the pulſe, they conſidered me as an ignorant empiric, who knew nothing of my profeſſion. Beſides this, I found that each of them flattered themſelves with almoſt an inſtantaneous cure. In ſhort, after many fruitleſs efforts to teach thoſe to reaſon who had hitherto never made the ſmalleſt uſe of their underſtandings, I was at laſt obliged to adapt my deportment to the capacities of my patients, and ſoon acquired among them as much undeſerved commendation as I had incurred unmerited reproach.

Moſt of the women in the harem were under thirty years of age, of a corpulent habit, and of a very awkward gait. Their knowledge of courſe, from having led a life of total ſecluſion from the world, was entirely confined to the occurrences in their harem; where, as they were allowed a free acceſs to each other, they converſed upon ſuch ſubjects as their uninformed underſtandings ſerved to furniſh them with. They are never ſuffered to go out, but by an expreſs order from the prince; and then only when removing from one place of reſidence to another. I in general found them extremely ignorant, proud, and vain of their perſons, even to a degree which bordered upon childiſhneſs. Among many ridiculous queſtions, they aſked my interpreter if I could read and write; upon being anſwered in the affirmative, they expreſſed the utmoſt ſurpriſe and admiration at the abilities of the Chriſtians. There was not one among them who could do either; theſe rudiments of learning are indeed only the lot of a few of their men, who on that account are named talbs, or explainers of the Mahometan law.

Among the concubines of the prince there were ſix female ſlaves of the age of fifteen, who were preſented to him by a Moor of diſtinction. One of theſe was deſcended from an Engliſh renegado, another from a Spaniſh, and the other four were of Mooriſh extraction.

Where the more ſolid and uſeful accompliſhments are leaſt cultivated, a taſte is often found to prevail for thoſe which are purely ornamental and frivolous. Theſe devoted victims of libidinous pleaſure received a daily leſſon of muſic, by order of the prince, from a Moor who had paſſed ſome little time in London and Italy, where he had acquired a ſlight knowledge of that ſcience. I had an opportunity of being preſent at one of theſe performances, but cannot ſay I received much amuſement, in a muſical view, from my viſit. It was a concert vocal and inſtrumental: the inſtruments uſed upon this occaſion were the mandoline, a kind of violin with only two ſtrings, and the tabor. The principal object in their performance ſeemed to be noiſe; it was without the leaſt attention to melody, variety, or taſte, and was merely drawing out a wild and melancholy ſtrain.

Converſation, however, forms the principal entertainment in theſe gloomy retirements. When I viſited the harem, I never found the women engaged in any other employment than that of converſing on the ground in circles. In fact, as all their needle-work is performed by Jeweſſes, and their cookery, and the management of their chambers, by their ſlaves and domeſtics, of which they have a proportionable number, according to the favour they are in with the prince, it is not eaſy for them to find means of occupying their time, and particularly ſince none of them are able to read or write. It is impoſſible, indeed, to reflect on the ſituation of theſe unfortunate

women without the moſt lively ſentiments of compaſſion. Excluded from the enjoyment of freſh air and exerciſe, ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of health and life; deprived of all ſociety but that of their fellow-ſufferers, a ſociety to which moſt of them would prefer ſolitude itſelf; they are only to be conſidered as the moſt abject of ſlaves — ſlaves to the vices and caprice of a licentious tyrant, who exacts even from his wives themſelves a degree of ſubmiſſion and reſpect which borders upon idolatry, and which God and nature never meant ſhould be paid to a mortal.

After the lapſe of a third week, there was a conſiderable amendment in the prince's complaint. He began to diſtinguiſh very large writing; and he aſſured me that he had written with his own hand a letter to the Emperor, wherein he informed him of the relief my attendance had afforded him; aſſuring me, that his father would reward me very handſomely if I effected a cure.

Our intercourſe was at this time improved into intimacy. He uſed to ſee me without reſerve, and often at a time when he had his women with him, which, I was informed, was a mark of confidence with which no other man had ever before been honoured. He made me feel their pulſes, and obliged one of them, who was remarkably fat and unwieldy, to be held on the floor by two of the others, while I dropped into her eye ſome of the ſame medicine which I had occaſion to apply to his. The violent but temporary pain brought on by this application produced an immoderate fit of laughter in the prince, as well as in the other ladies; and the object of it, though in moſt violent pain, to evince her reſpect to His Royal Highneſs, declared it to be a very pleaſant ſenſation.

Upon other occaſions he would detain me for two, and ſometimes three hours, enquiring concerning European cuſtoms, and particularly thoſe of the Engliſh, their religion, laws, and government. He made ſome comments upon what I told him, manifeſted an earneſt deſire of information, and appeared greatly intereſted in the converſation. At other times, when he had been put out of humour, after I had felt his pulſe, and adminiſtered to him the medicines, he would diſmiſs me without aſking me to ſit down, or even allowing me to aſk any further queſtions.—But the curioſity of the reader is probably by this time excited reſpecting the perſon and character of this prince; and perhaps it cannot be gratified at a more convenient part of the narrative.

Muley Abſulem is of the middle ſize, of rather a corpulent habit, and about thirty-five years of age. His features are very much diſfigured by the great defect in his eyes; the cataract having entirely obſcured one of them, and the other being drawn quite on one ſide by the violence of the paralytic affection. Theſe circumſtances, joined to the great natural ſize and prominency of both eyes, a bad ſet of teeth, and a ſallow complexion, will not allow me to ſay that the prince has the ſmalleſt pretenſions to the character of handſome. His dreſs was the ſame as that of other Moors, which I ſhall hereafter deſcribe, except a ſilk taſſel to his turban, which is in this country a diſtinctive mark of royalty. When I firſt ſaw him, he was covered with a looſe ſurtout, made of red woollen cloth, and edged with fur-ſkin, which the Moors term a caftan. Indeed the only diſtinction of dreſs in this country is in the good or bad qualities of the materials. I have ſeen inſtances of private Moors, whoſe dreſs was much richer than that of any of the princes, or even of the Emperor himſelf. The attendants of the prince conſiſted principally of ſoldiers, of which he has an unlimited number, pages, who are generally about his perſon, black eunuchs, and a few black ſlaves.

The character of Muley Abſulem is marked with leſs of ſeverity and cruelty than that of the greater part of the Mooriſh princes; it poſſeſſes however, at the ſame time, leſs of that ſagacity, acuteneſs, and activity, which is ſo neceſſary for the government of ſo uncivilized a people as the Moors. To be explicit, this prince is naturally of a mild and indolent diſpoſition; immoderately indulgent to his paſſions, when he can enjoy them without much trouble; and very little ambitious of fame.

Till very lately he had accuſtomed himſelf to drink, to a very great exceſs, ſtrong brandy; that he has now entirely relinquiſhed, and his principal paſſion ſince has been the love of women, which engroſſes the whole of his attention and time. I obſerved, however, that he allowed his ladies much more indulgence than is in general cuſtomary among the Moors; and I found that even in his preſence they converſed among each other with as much freedom as if they had been by themſelves.

From the ſketch which I have given of the prince's character, it will be no difficult matter to diſcover the reaſons why his father's wiſhes for appointing him his ſucceſſor were diſappointed. He was rich, it is true, but a great part of his wealth was ſquandered on ſenſual gratifications; and the total want of energy in his character prevented his ſecuring friends in a country, where cruelty and great activity are conſidered as the only characteriſtics of ſovereignty.

The advantages of hereditary ſucceſſion can only be ſeen by contemplating the ſtate of thoſe monarchies where it does not exiſt. In Morocco, where there is no regular or fixed order of ſucceſſion, though the Emperor is indulged in the formality of nominating his ſucceſſor, yet the ſword ſupplies the place of right; and that prince who can acquire the greateſt number of friends, and conſequently the ſtrongeſt army, ſucceeds to the throne. This circumſtance is often attended with the moſt fatal effects, and has given riſe to thoſe bloody revolutions which from one period to another have ſhaken and depopulated the empire of Morocco. The Emperor Sidi Mahomet, from having no competitors, enjoyed a much more peaceful reign than any of his predeceſſors. How far his ſucceſſor, who has ſeveral brothers, each feeling an equal claim to the throne, will be equally ſucceſsful, time only muſt determine.

CHAP. VI. — *Deſcription of Tarudant. — Country of Vled de Non. — Markets for the Sale of Cattle. — Extraordinary Amendment in the Prince's Complaint. — Great Civility from two Moors. — Singular Adventure. — The Prince ordered on a Pilgrimage to Mecca. — Interceſſion in Favour of the Engliſh Captives. — Unexpected Order to repair to Morocco.*

AS it is quite unfaſhionable in this country to go even to the next ſtreet on foot, and as my ſituation was at ſome diſtance from that of the prince, His Highneſs made me a preſent of a horſe, which, however, I could not ſay was one of the beſt in the country. But as I had once engaged in this ſervice, I conceived it my intereſt to make the beſt of every ſituation. In the hours, therefore, when my perſonal attendance on my patient was not demanded. I frequently made uſe of my Roſinante, both for the purpoſe of exerciſe, and for the gratification of my curioſity in viſiting every thing which appeared worthy of inſpection. The following are the principal obſervations which I was able to collect in the courſe of my excurſions; and I flatter myſelf they will ſerve at leaſt to give a general idea of the city where I reſided, and its environs.

Tarudant, now the capital of the province of Suz, was formerly, while the empire was divided into petty ſtates, the metropolis of a kingdom. It lies in a fine but

uncultivated plain, about twenty miles to the ſouth of the Atlas, and may be conſidered as the frontier town of that part of the Emperor's dominions. The Emperor, it is true, claims the ſovereignty of the deſert of Zahara, and the territory of Vled de Non. But his authority over that part of the country is almoſt nominal; as it entirely depends on the caprice and inclination of the Arabs who inhabit it; and who, from their diſtant ſituation from the ſeat of government, are more properly under the dominion of their own chiefs. They acknowledge the Emperor to be their ſovereign, and the head of their church, and occaſionally pay him tribute as ſuch; but they pay no attention whatever to his particular orders, and over their interior government he has not the leaſt controul.

Theſe people conſiſt of different tribes of Arabs, who live in tents without any fixed places of reſidence. They wander over the country in ſearch of plunder, and are ſuppoſed, on ſome occaſions, to extend their depredations as far as Nigritia, whence they carry off negroes. They profeſs the Mahometan religion, though they intermix it with a great portion of idolatry; and in the deſerts, where no water can be procured for the purpoſe of ablution, they ſubſtitute ſand. Their manner of treating thoſe unfortunate mariners who have the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked on their coaſt, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to repreſent.

The walls of Tarudant, now half in ruins, are very extenſive, and encloſe a much larger ſpace of ground than is occupied by the buildings. The houſes, which are compoſed of earth and mud, beaten very tight in a wooden caſe, and left to be dried by the ſun, have only apartments on the ground-floor; and as each houſe is ſurrounded by a garden and wall, the place altogether bears a greater reſemblance to a well-peopled ſpot of country, or a collection of hamlets, than a town. This idea is much increaſed by the number of lofty palm, or date trees, which are intermixed with, and overlook the houſes, affording altogether a very rural appearance. The apartments are in general mean and inconvenient, and principally inhabited by the lower claſs of mechanics, as there are very few Moors of diſtinction reſiding at Tarudant. It is true, when the prince is there, he brings with him all his attendants and friends, but they generally live in the caſtle, and are by no means to be conſidered as the inhabitants of the town.

From the irregular and ſtraggling manner in which the town is built, it is impoſſible to form a conjecture concerning the number of houſes and inhabitants it contains. As its extent, however, is conſiderable, it may be accounted an important and populous city, when compared with moſt of the others in the Emperor's dominions.

The principal manufactures at Tarudant are making of fine haicks, and the working of copper, which is procured in great plenty from a neighbouring mine. They have a regular market twice a week, where all kinds of cattle and proviſions are brought to be diſpoſed of. For the ſale of horſes and mules the proprietor of the market employs men on purpoſe to ride, and exhibit the beaſts to the beſt advantage, and afterwards to put them up to public auction. In theſe ſales, if the higheſt bidder does not offer a price agreeable to the owners, they are at liberty to refuſe ſelling them. This cuſtom prevents many of thoſe impoſitions in the ſale of cattle, which too frequently prevail in European fairs and markets. By thus putting the cattle up to public auction, thoſe perſons who have really good ones will in general get their full price for them; and thoſe buyers, who from their ignorance might be liable to be impoſed upon, can without much difficulty form a tolerable idea of the real value of the animal by the price which others bid.

The

The Jewdry is a miſerable place, ſituated about a quarter of a mile from the town. The inhabitants are in the moſt abject ſtate of poverty and ſubjection, and when they enter the Mooriſh town are obliged to go barefooted. The caſtle, which is very extenſive, and ſituated half way between the town and Dăr Beyda, the reſidence of the prince, is encloſed in a tolerably neat garden, which was planned by a Frenchman. It is divided into three parts; one for the prince, which he occaſionally uſes, the other for his women, named the Harem *, and the third for all thoſe who are in the ſervice of the prince.

As the prince's recovery became daily obſervable, I thought I might venture to try him with a large watch which I had with me, to ſee whether he could point out the time of the day. In this he ſucceeded very well, and had diſcernment enough to obſerve, that it was an old watch, and in part broken. He therefore begged my acceptance of a very elegant gold one, requeſting of me to wear it inſtead of the other. The handſome manner in which His Highneſs made this preſent, gave me a much more flattering idea of his character than his conduct afterwards warranted. But we are to recollect, that he was then in the act of receiving a benefit from me; that the journey which he was afterwards obliged to undertake, put it out of my power to render him any further ſervice; and therefore, to an illiberal and uncultivated mind, the motive for continuing any acts of generoſity or kindneſs no longer exiſted.

In the courſe of my viſits to the prince, I occaſionally met with two Moors, one of whom had been in Italy for ſome time, and the other in England, who could ſpeak a little of the Engliſh language. I mention theſe men not only from motives of gratitude, but alſo to evince, that it is by improving the mind, and by converſing with refined and civilized people only, that we are able to conquer illiberal prejudices. From an impulſe of benevolence, for it could proceed from no other motive, ſince they had not received the ſmalleſt favour from me, they in a ſhort time contracted ſo warm a friendſhip for me, that had I been their neareſt relation, they could not have ſhewn it in a ſtronger manner than I experienced.

They not only expreſſed their diſtreſs at ſeeing me in a country where I muſt be continually ſubject to inſult, and where the manner of living muſt be ſo very different from that to which they knew by their own experience I had been accuſtomed, but they alſo took me to their houſes, introduced me to their wives, and deſired them to take the ſame care of me as of their own family. This was not all; they urged me to allow one of them to go into ſome other apartments, which they could obtain from the prince, and almoſt inſiſted upon my accepting of theirs. To this friendly propoſal, however, I could not accede. Indeed I was in daily expectation of taking poſſeſſion of the apartments promiſed me by the prince; and had it been otherwiſe I could never have intruded ſo much upon their friendſhip as to have conſented to this requeſt. They continually, however, obliged me to accept of tea and ſugar, and many other articles, which from their ſcarcity at Tarudant were very valuable. Of money they knew I was not in want, as I drew upon Mr. Hutchinſon's agent for that article; but of thoſe little rarities which they frequently ſent to the prince, I was always kindly compelled to take my ſhare. Had theſe two eſtimable perſons received all the advantages of a liberal education, what an ornament would they have proved to ſociety, and of what extenſive utility to their nation!

* Europeans have in general an idea, that the place allotted for the women to live in is named the ſeraglio. This is quite erroneous. Seraglio means properly a palace, and the women's place of reſidence is the harem.

On

On returning home from one of my viſits to the prince, and having paſſed the gateway, which is very lofty, and leads to the town, I was ſurprized at hearing a number of voices from above calling out very loudly, tibib, tibib! (doctor, doctor!) — On looking back I obſerved Muley Omar, one of Sidi Mahomet's ſons, and half-brother to Muley Abſulem, ſitting in great ſtate on the centre of the wall over the gate-way, with a number of his attendants on each ſide of him. I immediately rode up to the prince, and found him a tolerably good looking young man, of about two-and-twenty. He was rather of a dark complexion, and his features were ſtrongly marked with goodnature. After the uſual ſalutation, and having anſwered his queſtion, whether I approved of the horſe his brother had given me, I took my leave; but could not poſſibly conceive the reaſon why a perſon of his conſequence ſhould be ſeated in ſo ſtrange a place. I had not ridden far, before I obſerved about an hundred Moors on horſeback, who were upon the full gallop, and firing at each other in a ſtrange and irregular manner. I now was informed that this was a ſham fight, performed for the amuſement of the prince, who had choſen the top of the gateway for his place of obſervation.

As I found it an eaſier matter to keep my mind employed in the day-time than in the evening, I accuſtomed myſelf to go to bed, as well as to riſe, very early. One evening I had retired to reſt more than three hours, when I was alarmed by a noiſe, which I at firſt imagined was occaſioned by thieves getting into the houſe. There had been lately a great number of robberies at Tarudant, committed by the Arabs, who, as the houſes in general were conſtructed of nothing but mud, had a cuſtom of making a hole in the wall large enough to admit themſelves through, without occaſioning the leaſt alarm to any of the family. This I conceived to be the caſe, and ſuppoſed that the noiſe I heard aroſe from the accidental falling down of part of the wall.

I immediately got up and flew to the door, which was already opened by my interpreter, who had riſen before me, and there I obſerved the whole of my neighbours with lights in their hands, and in their ſhirts and ſhifts, in a perfect ſtate of conſternation. They were ſtanding as if totally unconſcious where they were, and without the power of ſpeech. Indeed the alarm had occaſioned the ſame apprehenſions in them that it had in me, and they had juſt advanced as far as the ſpot where I firſt ſaw them, without having the reſolution to examine any further into the cauſe of the noiſe.

My interpreter, though but little better than the others, had ſummoned up courage enough to approach the ſpot whence the noiſe aroſe; he there found that one-fourth of the houſe, which was built in a ſquare, with a court in the centre, had entirely fallen down, and buried in its ruins two Jews, who were ſleeping in the fallen apartment. I immediately aſſiſted, and we ſoon brought the two men into my room, where I examined them very particularly, and found them ſpeechleſs—but ſpeechleſs only from fright. I muſt confeſs this accident, which had occaſioned a crack in my apartment, increaſed my anxiety to change it, as it was impoſſible to ſay how ſoon I might be in the ſame predicament with the two Jews whom I and my interpreter had extricated from the ruins; but notwithſtanding all my importunities I could not perſuade the prince's maſons to work faſt enough to prove of any utility.

Among the many inconveniences which I experienced at Tarudant, were the frequent inſults I received in the ſtreets, for which I could certainly have had redreſs, but the number of new faces which were daily appearing, made applications for it entirely uſeleſs. One day in my way to the prince, I was inſulted by an ill-looking Moor,

Moor, who, under the ſanction of a ſharif *, thought himſelf juſtifiable in ſo doing, and therefore in a very rude manner ran his mule directly upon me, with an intention of either giving me a ſevere blow, or of frighting my horſe. I immediately expoſtulated with him upon the impropriety of ſuch brutal behaviour; upon which he told me I might go to the devil, for he was a ſharif. Upon this I found it neceſſary to explain to him that I was ſurgeon to his prince, who from being governor of the province, and from having me under his immediate protection, would pay very little attention to his being a ſharif, but would puniſh him in ſuch a manner as his conduct merited; that I was then going to His Highneſs, and as I was well acquainted with his name, ſhould make my complaint of him. With a meanneſs proportioned to his pride, this haughty ſharif turned back his mule, and offered any atonement I could point out, even that of going down upon his knees, if I would forgive this offence, for he dreaded the idea of his inſolence being made known to the prince. I immediately conſented to accept his ſubmiſſion, but admoniſhed him, though a ſharif, to be cautious in future how he committed ſuch a breach of hoſpitality as to inſult a ſtranger.

At the end of the fourth week, the prince informed me that he had received orders from the Emperor to prepare himſelf to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but that it was his intention to take me up to Morocco, where he would introduce me to his father, whence I was to accompany him to Fez and Mequinez, where he would give me a detachment of ſoldiers, which ſhould conduct me to Tangier. "By theſe means," added His Highneſs, "you will have an opportunity of telling your brother Chriſtians what a number of fine places you have ſeen in this country." His departure from Tarudant, however, was not to take place for ſome weeks, ſo that it would not interfere with the plan of cure which I was at preſent purſuing.

In the courſe of our converſation, during the different times I viſited the prince, I repeatedly urged him to redeem out of his captivity Captain Irving, the maſter of the ſhipwrecked Guinea-man, agreeably to his promiſe, and always received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that my requeſts would be complied with; but hitherto nothing had been done. I therefore proceeded upon another plan, which as it operated to the intereſt of the prince, I flattered myſelf would be attended with more ſucceſs. I told him that Captain Irving was a phyſician, whom I knew to be a man of great abilities (for he really was brought up to the profeſſion) and that his advice was highly neceſſary in order to promote and facilitate my plan of cure, and therefore I wiſhed him to be ſent for immediately. The prince, though ſatisfied with my conduct, was highly pleaſed with the idea of novelty, and ſoon obtained the Emperor's permiſſion to ſend for him up to Tarudant.

Having no European with whom I could converſe, and reſiding among the very worſt part of the Moors, who harraſſed me at one time with their ſolicitations for relief, and at another with their inſolence, it will eaſily be conceived that my time was not ſpent in the moſt agreeable manner poſſible at Tarudant. My attendance however on the prince, and the apparently great amendment in his health, ſerved in ſome meaſure to keep up my ſpirits, amuſe me, and enable me to bear my ſituation with patience.

At the expiration of five weeks, during which time the prince expreſſed the moſt perfect ſatisfaction at the relief which I had afforded him, an order came down from the Emperor commanding my immediate preſence at Morocco. It may well be conceived that I could not receive this order without ſtrong emotions of chagrin and ſurpriſe. From the well-known diſpoſition of theſe people, I was aware that had any

* Sharifs are men who profeſs themſelves to be the deſcendants of Mahomet, and on that account are held in great eſteem.

accident

accident happened to the prince during my attendance on him, ſuch an order would probably have been the conſequence; but to remove me from my patient, at a time when His Highneſs was continually informing his father of his amendment, was a myſtery which I could not unfold. I repeatedly urged the prince to explain the reaſon of this extraordinary conduct in the court; but he was either unable or unwilling to afford me any information.

Conſcious how uſeleſs and abſurd the attempt would be to withſtand a poſitive order of the Emperor, in a government ſo uncommonly deſpotic, and reflecting upon the favourable ſtate of the prince's health, after revolving the queſtion again and again within my own mind, I in the end (ſo ready are our imaginations to flatter us on every occaſion) brought myſelf to hope that the journey might prove rather to my advantage than otherwiſe. How egregiouſly deceived I was in thoſe hopes the ſequel will ſufficiently prove. A gold watch, an indifferent horſe, and a few hard dollars, forced into my hand contrary to my inclination, were the princely and magnificent rewards which I received for taking a journey of five hundred miles, and an aſſiduous attendance on an ungrateful deſpot!

CHAP. VII.—*Journey over Mount Atlas from Tarudant to Morocco.—Retinue.—Dangerous Paſſage over Mount Atlas.—Deſcription of Mount Atlas.—Natural Productions.—Animals.—Beautiful Vallies.—Manners and Cuſtoms of the Brebes.—Picturesque Views in the Mountains.*

ON the 30th of November, between ſeven and eight in the morning, I took my leave of the prince, having previouſly intreated him to continue his courſe of medicines, and left Tarudant, under the charge of an alcaide and two ſoldiers of the Negro cavalry, who carried up the annual preſent from the prince to the Emperor, of ſix horſes and three boxes of money. Theſe, with my interpreter, a Jew, who ſerved both as cook and groom, and a muleteer, who had the charge of my baggage, were my party for the journey.

Between twelve and one at noon we arrived at the foot of Mount Atlas, about twenty miles from Tarudant, where we pitched a very elegant tent, which the prince had procured for me, adjoining to ſome Mooriſh huts. We found the country in our way hither a woody and uncultivated plain.

On the following day at ſix in the morning we ſtruck the tent, and immediately began to aſcend Mount Atlas. For near four hours we had one continued, difficult, and fatiguing aſcent, owing to the road being narrow, rocky, and ſteep. From its abrupt and angular turnings the Moors diſtinguiſh it by an Arabic name, which ſignifies the camel's neck.

In many places, and particularly on the higher parts of the mountain, beſides the inconvenience of a rocky road, which was only broad enough to allow one mule with difficulty to paſs, we had a tremendous perpendicular precipice on one ſide, and even in ſome places, where the mountain conſiſted of only a narrow ridge of rock, on both. It was aſtoniſhing to obſerve with what eaſe and ſafety our mules aſcended and deſcended the rough and uneven paths over the mountains, without putting us under the neceſſity of diſmounting. By two in the afternoon we began to deſcend, and arrived at a ſmall village, in the centre of which we pitched the tent.

On the following morning, at a little before ſix, we proceeded on our journey, and at five in the evening arrived at the termination of the mountains, where we ſlept that night. The firſt part of this day's journey was a deſcent on a moſt dreadfully ſteep and rocky road, which at laſt brought us into a beautiful vale, between two very high

mountains, which immediately opens into the plains of Morocco, in a manner that is truly picturesque and sublime.

I confess it would have gratified me to have prolonged my stay for a little while in these mountains, so fertile in objects interesting to curiosity. The few observations which I was able to collect in my passage over them I shall, however, present to my readers, without any further apology.

The Atlas are a chain of high mountains, intersected with deep vallies, which extend from the eastern to the western parts of Barbary, dividing it into two parts or sections. Those to the westward, from their height, are named the greater Atlas, and those to the eastward the lesser. So immense is the height of these mountains, and particularly of those in the neighbourhood of Morocco, that though so far to the southward, their summits are perpetually covered with snow. When Muley Absulem, the following January, passed over the same track which I had passed in December, it snowed the whole way; and from Morocco we at that time could not discover any part of the mountains which was not completely white.

The atmosphere near their summits is intensely cold, to a degree indeed which is frequently found to be destructive to animal life. I was well informed that some Brebes, who had attempted to ascend the highest part of the mountain, died immediately on the spot, while others who were engaged in the same attempt were obliged to return with the utmost precipitancy.

As December was not the most favourable season for botanical researches, I saw little vegetation on the mountains, except the arga-tree, on which I have already made some remarks when speaking of the natural productions of the country in general; but I am informed from the best authority, that in the spring these mountains abound with an innumerable variety of curious plants. Indeed I have great reason to believe the natural philosopher would find a nobler scope in this country for his enquiries than in almost any part of the globe; and that the knowledge of medicine, as well as of botany, would be improved by a philosophical tour over the Atlas.

In the interior parts of the mountains there are, as I have before observed, numerous iron mines, and the Moors have an opinion that there are gold ones also; but the truth of this has not been ascertained. I was informed of several volcanoes which existed in different parts, but as I did not see them I only give this as a mere report; though from the nature of things I cannot help repeating, that I think it highly probable many curious and valuable articles are concealed in the bowels of these unknown mountains, which indolence and want of emulation, so strongly interwoven in the disposition and character of the Moors, will not suffer them to explore.

With respect to animal productions, Mount Atlas abounds with lions, tigers, wolves, wild boars, and monstrous serpents. But except when the necessity produced by an extremely severe winter drives these animals into the vales or tracks of men, they generally confine themselves to the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. This remark, however, is not to be understood without exceptions; for when I was at Tarudant a tiger was killed quite close to the town; and there have been many instances of their raging far beyond the limits of the mountains. The means made use of by the inhabitants to secure themselves from their attacks at night are by making large and numerous wood-fires, which the wild beasts seldom venture to approach. When I passed over the mountains, I met with no animals of prey, except some remarkably large eagles.

On the upper parts, in some places, there was nothing to be seen but an huge mass of barren and rugged rocks, whose perpendicular and immense heights formed precipices,

cipices, which, upon looking down, filled the mind with inexpreſſible horror; in others, we paſſed through thick and extenſive foreſts of the arga-tree, which, though it afforded an agreeable variety, being the only vegetable on the mountains, very little leſſened the general appearance of barrenneſs.

The vallies, however, preſented us with a very different ſcene. Here we obſerved numerous villages, gardens, and incloſures, which, though in December, were beautifully covered with verdure, and filled with fruit-trees of every deſcription. Corn grew at this ſeaſon in the greateſt abundance, intermixed with plantations of olives and oranges, and ſerved as the reſort of a variety of ſinging birds of every deſcription. In ſome places ſmall caſcades of water iſſued from the rocks and mountains above, uniting and forming one continued ſtream, which plentifully watered the plain. In fact, this ſcene afforded the moſt pleaſing relief to the mind, after the fatigues and dangers we had experienced in the higher parts of the mountains.

The villages conſiſted of huts, rudely conſtructed of earth and mud, and walled in. They are very numerous, and are inhabited by a ſet of people who are named Brebes. Theſe people differ entirely from the Arabs and Moors. They are the original inhabitants of the country, who at the time of the conqueſt by the Arabs fled into theſe mountains, where they have ever ſince continued, and in a great meaſure maintained their independence. Each village is under the direction of a ſhaik, who, contrary to the practice in the encampments of the Arabs, is an officer of their own choice.

The Brebes are a very athletic and ſtrong-featured people, patient, and accuſtomed to hardſhips and fatigue, and ſeldom remove far from the ſpot where they reſide. They ſhave the fore part of the head, but ſuffer their hair to grow from the crown as far behind as the neck. They wear no ſhirt or drawers; they are only covered by one woollen garment without ſleeves, and belted round the middle, though I have ſeen ſome few cover it with the haick. Their principal amuſement is in the uſe of their muſkets; they are indeed excellent markſmen, and are very dexterous in twirling their muſkets round, throwing them very high in the air, and afterwards catching them. So attached are they to theſe inſtruments, that they frequently go to the expence of ſixty or even eighty ducats, to ornament them with ſilver and ivory.

Their employment conſiſts principally in cultivating the vallies, looking after their cattle, and hunting wild beaſts, the ſkins of which become a very valuable article for ſale. Like the Arabs they have their regular markets for the diſpoſal of cattle, &c. where they either receive money or ſome other article in exchange. They have fallen, in a great meaſure, into the cuſtoms and religion of the Moors, but they ſtill retain their original language; and a Moor is frequently obliged to uſe an interpreter to enable him to converſe with them.

Beſides thoſe who reſide in huts in the vallies, which are numerous, there are alſo others who live in caves in the upper parts of the mountains; ſo that the number of the whole muſt be very conſiderable.

From their ſecure ſituation, the Brebes, although inhabiting a conſiderable tract within the bounds of the empire, have frequently proved very troubleſome to the Mooriſh monarchs, ſometimes paying them tribute, and at others refuſing it, according to the dictates of their inclination. It is not long ſince a general revolt took place among the Brebes, which obliged the Emperor to ſend a large army to ſubdue them; but he ſucceeded no farther than to oblige them to diſperſe, without either conquering them, or gaining the point at which he aimed, which was to compel them to the payment of the tribute he demanded. The ſituation indeed of theſe mountains does not admit of the operations of a large army; for the mountaineers, accuſtomed to

climb up into the almoſt inacceſſible receſſes, ſoon get beyond the reach of enemies who never before had made the attempt.

Beſide the Brebes, many Jews reſide in the vallies, and poſſeſs ſeparate habitations or villages. Theſe people are employed in the trifling mechanical occupations which the Brebes require. Indeed I believe there is no part of the world where the Jews are ſo completely diffuſed over the face of the country, or where they are ſo ſeverely oppreſſed, as in Barbary.

In one of the places where I ſlept in theſe vallies, ſoon after I got under my tent, I was amuſed with the ſound of an inſtrument very much reſembling the bagpipe, and producing a wild and melancholy ſtrain. Curious to know the nature of the inſtrument, I ſent for the perſon who was playing upon it, and immediately purchaſed it. It proved to be made of a common cane, about eight inches in length, perfectly hollow, without any cork or ſtop to it, with ſix holes before, and one behind for the thumb, between which was a narrow braſs plate by way of ornament; it had a common cord fixed to it, for the purpoſe of hanging it round the neck. It in fact altogether ſo well correſponded with the deſcription of the pipe which was uſed by the ancient ſhepherds, that I have little doubt of this deſcription reviving a few claſſical and romantic ideas in the minds of ſome readers.

It is by no means a very eaſy matter to deſcribe the different ſenſations which are experienced in paſſing over theſe wonderful mountains. Their immenſe height, the dangerous precipices, the vales, which from their depth appeared like ſo many abyſſes, inſpired altogether an emotion of awe and terror, which may be better conceived than expreſſed. On the other hand, the unlimited and great variety of proſpects diſcoverable from their ſummits, the numerous herds of goats and ſheep which were ſcrambling over the almoſt perpendicular cliffs, and the univerſal barrenneſs of the mountains, contraſted with the beautiful verdure of the vallies immediately below, formed on the whole a ſcene ſufficiently beautiful and pictureſque, to counterbalance the inconveniences we otherwiſe ſuffered.

CHAP. VIII.—*Arrival at Morocco.—Difficulty of obtaining an Audience.—Deſcription of the Metropolis.—Buildings.—Houſe of the Prime Miniſter.—The Caſtle.—The Jewdry.—State of the Jews in Barbary.—Account of Jacob Attal, the Emperor's Jewiſh Secretary.—Manners of the Jews in Barbary.—Jeweſſes.—Dreſs.—Marriages.—Diſpoſition for Intrigue in the Jewiſh Women.—The Emperor's Palace deſcribed.*

ON the 3d of December, between five and ſix in the morning, we proceeded on our journey, and ſoon reached a fine plain, on which we continued the whole way to Morocco, where we arrived on the following day about noon, having performed altogether a journey of about one hundred and twenty-five miles.

My firſt object on my arrival was to ſecure myſelf a convenient place of reſidence in the Jewdry; and having accompliſhed that to my ſatisfaction, I immediately took poſſeſſion of it, expecting anxiouſly every hour to be ſummoned before the Emperor. Though, however, His Mooriſh Majeſty was repeatedly informed of my arrival, yet to my great aſtoniſhment I continued a whole month in a ſtate of uncertainty and expectation, without having it in my power to obtain an audience, or to be informed of the cauſe which removed me from Tarudant.

The number of anecdotes in circulation through the town to my prejudice excited in me continual uneaſineſs, which even increaſed in proportion to the length of time

that had elapſed ſince my arrival. By one of the Emperor's confidential friends it was inſinuated to me, that His Imperial Majeſty had heard I was young; that I was adminiſtering internal medicines for diſeaſes of the eye, which was a practice totally new and unaccountable to them; that European medicines were always powerful and violent, and that if I had been ſuffered to attend the prince much longer, his conſtitution would have been ruined for ever. Another even went ſo far as to ſay, that the Emperor ſuſpected me of having been employed by my countrymen with a view to poiſon his ſon.

After much perplexing inveſtigation into the truth of theſe aſſertions, I now diſcovered that my journey to Tarudant was a private affair, ſettled between the conſul and the prince; that the Emperor, who at that time was not upon the beſt terms with the Engliſh court, and who had already ſtopped all communication between his dominions and the garriſon of Gibraltar, was highly diſpleaſed that an Engliſhman ſhould be introduced, unknown to him, for the purpoſe of attending his ſon in a medical capacity; that his Mooriſh phyſician, out of pique, had perſuaded the Emperor, that European medicines were too potent for the prince's conſtitution, and that in reality his ſon was in extreme danger while under my care;—that in fine, all theſe arguments weighed ſo powerfully with the Emperor, that he not only determined on immediately removing me from the prince, but at the ſame time ordered ſome of my medicines to be privately ſent up to Morocco, where they were to undergo a ſtrict examination by his phyſician. The cauſe of my not being honoured with an audience, I found to ariſe from a deſire in the Emperor to be thoroughly informed of the ſtate of the prince's health before he ſaw me, that according to circumſtances he might give me a favourable or a cool reception.

As ſome alleviation to the uneaſineſs occaſioned by this ſtate of ſuſpenſe, I was now much more comfortably ſituated than I had been before at Tarudant. The apartment which I had procured was one ſtory high, in the houſe of a very reſpectable family, and was ſpacious, clean, and retired. From a Genoeſe gentleman in the ſervice of the Emperor, I was enabled to procure a table, two chairs, two diſhes, a few plates, ſome knives and forks, and a couple of tumblers. In addition to this, a Jew offered his ſervices as cook, who had lived ſome time with an European, and who proved an adroit and uſeful perſon. Proviſions of every kind were remarkably plentiful, good, and cheap. For beef and mutton I paid only about two pence Engliſh a pound, for fine fowls about ſix pence each, and pigeons were frequently ſold at the rate of three halfpence a pair. Had I, in addition to all theſe comforts, been able to have procured a little agreeable ſociety, my ſituation would have been very ſupportable; but in that particular I ſcarcely poſſeſſed more advantages than I had during my reſidence at Tarudant.

The Genoeſe gentleman, from whoſe houſe I had borrowed a part of my furniture, was at Mogodore, and the only Europeans who were at that time at Morocco, if we except a few Spaniſh artificers in the Emperor's ſervice, were part of the Engliſh ſeamen who had been ſhipwrecked, a French officer, with ſome French ſeamen, who were alſo captives from a ſimilar accident, and three Spaniſh friars. Out of theſe I could only chooſe for my ſociety the French officer and the friars.

With the firſt, as I was acquainted with the French language, I could converſe pretty fluently, and I really found him a moſt agreeable companion: he had taken his paſſage on board a veſſel bound for the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea, whither he was proceeding to join his regiment, and was ſhipwrecked on that part of the coaſt of Africa which lies in the direction of the Canary Iſlands. This misfortune, united

united to the hardſhips which followed it on his being carried into ſlavery by the wild Arabs, and the little proſpect which then appeared of his redemption, had made a deep impreſſion upon his ſpirits, and ſubjected him to occaſional attacks of hypochondria. The Emperor, it is true, could not be accuſed of ill treating any of the captives; on the contrary, he allowed them daily a ſmall ſum of money, and permitted them to walk about at liberty. His detention of them, however, in the country, without any immediate proſpect of returning home, was a ſufficient reaſon for them ſtill to conſider themſelves in no other light than that of ſlaves.

The Spaniſh friars, who have a ſmall convent in the Jewdry, and who were originally placed there for the purpoſe of redeeming captives, as they diſtributed medicines to the poor gratis, conſidered themſelves as being engaged in the ſame profeſſion with myſelf, and received me very hoſpitably; but as, from my not underſtanding their language, I was obliged to converſe with them by means of my interpreter, who ſpoke Spaniſh, the ſociety enjoyed with them was very limited indeed. I cannot avoid expreſſing my concern for the fate of theſe worthy men, who are deſtined to ſpend the whole of their lives on a ſpot deſtitute of all civilized ſociety, where they are continually ſubjected to the caprice and inſolence of the Emperor, as well as of the worſt part of his ſubjects. They appeared to me to be men who had received much information from reading, as well as from obſervation, and they very properly employed their time in the duties of their profeſſion, in the offices of devotion, and adminiſtering medicines to the poor, in ſtudy, and in ſuch innocent recreations as the limited ſociety of Morocco affords.

To divert my thoughts from the great uneaſineſs which my ſituation naturally inſpired, during ſo long a ſtate of ſuſpence, I made daily excurſions through different parts of Morocco; though, from the continual inſults which I experienced when in the ſtreets, even this amuſement was attended with conſiderable inconvenience.

The city of Morocco, which lies about one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Tarudant, ninety to the eaſt of Mogodore, and three hundred and fifty to the ſouth of Tangier, is ſituated in a beautiful valley, formed by a chain of mountains on the northern ſide, and thoſe of the Atlas, from which it is diſtant about twenty miles, on the ſouth and eaſt. The country which immediately ſurrounds it is a fertile plain, beautifully diverſified with clumps of palm-trees and ſhrubs, and watered by ſmall and numerous ſtreams, which deſcend from Mount Atlas. The Emperor's out-gardens, which are ſituated at the diſtance of about five miles to the ſouth of the city, and are large plantations of olives walled in, add conſiderably to the beauty of the ſcene.

Morocco, though one of the capitals of the empire,—for there are three, Morocco, Mequinez, and Fez,—has nothing to recommend it but its great extent, and the royal palace. It is encloſed by remarkably ſtrong walls, built of tabby, the circumference of which is about eight miles. On theſe walls there are no guns mounted, but they are flanked with ſquare towers, and ſurrounded by a wide and deep ditch. The city has a number of entrances, conſiſting of large double porches of tabby, in the Gothic ſtyle, the gates of which are regularly ſhut every night at certain hours. As polygamy is allowed by the Mahometan religion, and is ſuppoſed in ſome degree to affect population, it would be difficult to form any computation near the truth with reſpect to the number of inhabitants which this city may contain.

The moſques, which are the only public buildings, except the palace, worth noticing at Morocco, are more numerous than magnificent; one of them is ornamented with

a very high and ſquare tower, built of cut ſtone, which is viſible at a conſiderable diſtance from the city.

The ſtreets are very narrow, dirty, and irregular, and many of the houſes are uninhabited and falling to ruin. Thoſe which are decent and reſpectable in their appearance are built of tabby, and encloſed in gardens. That of the effendi, or prime miniſter, was among the beſt which I viſited in Morocco. This houſe, which conſiſted of two ſtories, had elegant apartments both above and below, furniſhed in a ſtyle far ſuperior to any thing I ever ſaw in that country. The court, into which the lower apartments opened, was very neatly paved with glazed blue and white tiling, and had in its centre a beautiful fountain. The upper apartments were connected together by a broad gallery, the balluſters of which were painted of different colours. The hot and cold baths were very large, and had every convenience which art could afford. Into the garden, which was laid out in a tolerably neat ſtyle, opened a room adjoining to the houſe, which had a broad arched entrance, but no door, beautifully ornamented with checquered tiling; and at both ends of the apartment the walls were entirely covered with looking-glaſs. The flooring of all the rooms was covered with beautiful carpetting, the walls ornamented with large and valuable looking-glaſſes, intermixed with watches and clocks in glaſs caſes. The ceiling was carved woodwork, painted of different colours, and the whole was in a ſuperior ſtyle of Mooriſh grandeur. This and a few others are the only decent habitations in Morocco. The generality of them ſerve only to impreſs the traveller with the idea of a miſerable and deſerted city.

The Elcaiſſeria is a particular part of the town where ſtuffs and other valuable articles are expoſed to ſale. It conſiſts of a number of ſmall ſhops, formed in the walls of the houſes, about a yard from the ground, of ſuch an height within as juſt to admit a man to ſit in one of them croſs-legged. The goods and drawers are ſo arranged round him, that when he ſerves his cuſtomers, who are ſtanding all the time out in the ſtreet, he can reach down any article he wants, without being under the neceſſity of moving. Theſe ſhops, which are found in all the other towns of the empire, are ſufficient to afford a ſtriking example of the indolence of the Moors.

There are three daily markets in different parts of the town at Morocco, where proviſions are ſold, and two weekly fairs or markets for the diſpoſal of cattle, where the ſame cuſtom is obſerved as at Tarudant.

The city is ſupplied with water by means of wooden pipes connected with the neighbouring ſtreams, which empty themſelves into reſervoirs placed for the purpoſe in the ſuburbs, and ſome few in the centre of the town.

The caſtle is a large and ruinous building, the outer walls of which encloſe a ſpace of ground about three miles in circumference. It has a moſque built by Muley Abdallah, father to Sidi Mahomet, on the top of which are three large balls; theſe, the Moors allege, are formed of ſolid gold, but as no perſon is permitted to aſcend to them, we muſt truſt to their word for the truth of this aſſertion. The caſtle is almoſt a town of itſelf; it contains a number of inhabitants, who in ſome department or other are in the ſervice of the Emperor, and all under the direction of a particular alcaide, who is quite independent of the governor of the town.

On the outſide of the caſtle, between the Mooriſh town and the Jewdry, are ſeveral ſmall, diſtinct pavilions, encloſed in gardens of orange-trees, which are intended as occaſional places of reſidence for ſuch of the Emperor's ſons or brothers as happen to be at Morocco. As they are covered with coloured tiling, they have at a ſmall diſ-

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tance rather a neat appearance; but upon approaching or entering them, that effect in a great meaſure ceaſes.

It is a ſingular circumſtance, that in the immediate vicinity of Morocco, for ſome diſtance round the city, the ground is totally occupied by a great number of rats, of a larger ſpecies than any I had ever before ſeen, which burrow under ground, and, like rabbits, allow ſtrangers to approach very near before they retire to their holes. They indeed gave me every idea of a rabbit warren in miniature.

The Jews, who are at this place pretty numerous, have a ſeparate town to themſelves, walled in, and under the charge of an alcaide, appointed by the Emperor. It has two large gates, which are regularly ſhut every evening about nine o'clock, after which time no perſon whatever is permitted to enter or go out of the Jewdry, till they are opened again the following morning. The Jews have a market of their own, and, as at Tarudant, when they enter the Mooriſh town, caſtle, or palace, they are always compelled to be barefooted.

The Jews in general are obliged to pay to the Emperor a certain annual ſum, in proportion to their numbers, which is a conſiderable income, independent of his arbitrary exactions. Thoſe of Morocco were exempted by Sidi Mahomet from this tax, and in its room he compelled them to take goods of him, of which they were to diſpoſe in the beſt manner they could, and pay him five times their value; by which means they were far greater ſufferers than if they paid the annual tax.

Every part of the empire more or leſs abounds with Jews, who originally were expelled from Spain and Portugal, and who fled into Barbary as a place of refuge. Theſe people are not confined to towns, but are ſpread over the whole face of the country, Mount Atlas itſelf, as was before mentioned, not excepted.

In every country where they reſide, theſe unfortunate people are treated as another claſs of beings; but in no part of the world are they ſo ſeverely and undeſervedly oppreſſed as in Barbary, where the whole country depends upon their induſtry and ingenuity, and could ſcarcely ſubſiſt as a nation without their aſſiſtance. They are the only mechanics in this part of the world, and have the whole management of all pecuniary and commercial matters, except the collecting of the cuſtoms. They are, however, intruſted in the coinage of money, as I myſelf have witneſſed *.

The Moors diſplay more humanity to their beaſts than to the Jews. I have ſeen frequent inſtances where individuals of this unhappy people were beaten ſo ſeverely as to be left almoſt lifeleſs on the ground, and that without being able to obtain the leaſt redreſs whatever, as the magiſtrates always act with the moſt culpable partiality when a Moor and a Jew are the parties in a ſuit. What they looſe by oppreſſion, however, they in a great meaſure make up by their ſuperior addreſs and ſagacity, which frequently enables them to over-reach the Moors — as I cannot compliment the Jews of Barbary in general upon their probity and principle.

Jacob Attal, the Emperor's Jewiſh and favourite ſecretary, had more influence with his royal maſter, and did more miſchief by his intrigues and addreſs, than all the other miniſters put together. This young man, who was a native of Tunis, and who was tolerably well acquainted with the Engliſh, Spaniſh, Italian, French, and Arabic

* Doubloons and hard dollars are current in this country: but the coins peculiar to it are gold *ducats*, of the value of ten hard dollars, ſome of five, of one and a half, and others of only one; ounces, of the value of about five pence Engliſh; and blanquils, of five farthings, both ſilver coins; fluces, which are of copper, twenty-four being equal to a blanquil; but ounces are the money in which bills are uſually drawn in the country. All the Emperor's coins have his name in Arabic ſtamped on one ſide; and on the other the date, and place at which they were coined.

languages,

languages, was of an active and enterprizing mind, and had ſo well informed himſelf of the natural diſpoſition of the Moors, and particularly of that of Sidi Mahomet, that he had gained an entire aſcendancy over the Emperor. As he knew that an unbounded love of money was the ruling paſſion of his royal maſter, he not only ſurrendered to him half of his own gains, but alſo furniſhed the Emperor with the earlieſt and beſt information concerning thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of wealth, as well as with a project for extracting it from them. By thus attacking the Emperor on the weakeſt ſide, he ſecured his friendſhip; but he ſecured it by means which expoſed him to the reſentment and revenge of thouſands as ſoon as the Emperor died, which has been ſince too fatally proved. I muſt, however, do this young man the juſtice to add, that throughout the whole of his adminiſtration, though in ſome inſtances perhaps contrary to his own intereſt, he ſhewed an excluſive preference to the Engliſh; and of this the Moors in general were ſo ſenſible, that they gave him the appellation of the Engliſh ambaſſador.

The Jews in moſt parts of this empire live entirely ſeparate from the Moors; and though in other reſpects oppreſſed, are allowed the free exerciſe of their religion. Many of them, however, to avoid the arbitrary treatment which they conſtantly experience, have become converts to the Mahometan faith; upon which they are admitted to all the privileges of Moors, though they loſe their real eſtimation in the opinion of both ſects.

In moſt of the ſea-port towns, and particularly at Tetuan and Tangier, the Jews have a tolerable ſmattering of Spaniſh; but at Morocco, Tarudant, and all the inland towns, they can only ſpeak Arabic, and a little Hebrew. They nearly follow the cuſtoms of the Moors, except in their religious ceremonies; and in that particular they are by far more ſuperſtitious than the European Jews.

The Jews of Barbary ſhave their heads cloſe, and wear their beards long; their dreſs indeed, altogether, differs very little from that of the Moors (which I ſhall hereafter deſcribe) except in their being obliged to appear externally in black. For which purpoſe they wear a black cap, black ſlippers, and inſtead of the haick worn by the Moors, ſubſtitute the alberoce, a cloak made of black wool, which covers the whole of the under dreſs. The Jews are not permitted to go out of the country but by an expreſs order from the Emperor; nor are they allowed to wear a ſword, or ride a horſe, though they are indulged in the uſe of mules. This ariſes from an opinion prevalent among the Moors, that a horſe is too noble an animal to be employed in the ſervice of ſuch infidels as Jews.

The dreſs of the Jewiſh women conſiſts of a fine linen ſhirt, with large and looſe ſleeves, which hang almoſt to the ground; over the ſhirt is worn a caftan, a looſe dreſs made of woollen cloth, or velvet, of any colour, reaching as low as the hips, and covering the whole of the body, except the neck and breaſt, which are left open, and the edges of the caftan, as worn by the Jeweſſes of Morocco, are embroidered with gold. In addition to theſe is the geraldito, or petticoats, made of fine green woollen cloth, the edges and corners of which are ſometimes embroidered with gold. They are faſtened by a broad faſh of ſilk and gold, which ſurrounds the waiſt, and the ends of it are ſuffered to hang down behind, in an eaſy manner. This is the dreſs they wear in the houſe, but when they go abroad, they throw over it the haick. The unmarried women wear their hair plaited in different folds, and hanging down behind. They have a very graceful and becoming method of putting a wreath of wrought ſilk round the head, and tying it behind in a bow. This dreſs ſets off their features to great advantage, and diſtinguiſhes them from the married

women, who cover their heads with a red ſilk handkerchief, which they tie behind, and over it put a ſilk ſaſh, leaving the ends to hang looſe on their backs. None of the Jewiſh women uſe ſtockings, but wear red ſlippers, curiouſly embroidered with gold. They wear very large gold ear-rings at the lower part of the ears, and at the upper three ſmall ones ſet with pearls or precious ſtones. Their necks are loaded with beads, and their fingers with ſmall gold or ſilver rings. Round each wriſt and ancle they wear large ſolid ſilver bracelets; and the rich have gold and ſilver chains ſuſpended from the ſaſh behind.

Their marriages are celebrated with much feſtivity for ſome time previous to the ceremony, and the intended bride, with all her female relations, go through the form of having their faces painted red and white, and their hands and feet ſtained yellow, with an herb named henna. A variety of figures are marked out on them with a needle, and then this herb, which is powdered and mixed with water into a paſte, is worked into the holes made by the needle, and theſe marks continue on the hands and feet for a long ſpace of time. Upon the death of a Jew (before and after burial) all the female relations, with other women hired for the purpoſe, aſſemble in the room of the deceaſed, and for ſeveral days lament his loſs by moſt dreadful ſhrieks and howlings, and tearing their cheeks and hair.

The Jeweſſes of this empire in general are very beautiful and remarkably fair. — They marry very young, and when married, though they are not obliged to hide their faces in the ſtreet, yet at home they are frequently treated with the ſame ſeverity as the Mooriſh women. Like the Moors, the Jewiſh men and women at Morocco eat ſeparate; and the unmarried women are not permitted to go out, except upon particular occaſions, and then always with their faces covered.

A diſpoſition for intrigue in the female ſex is always found to accompany tyrannical conduct and undue reſtraint on the part of ours; and this diſpoſition is again made the excuſe for the continuance of theſe reſtraints. Thus the effect becomes a cauſe, and when women ceaſe to be the guardians of their own honour, they derive no credit from the preſervation of it, and incur in their own eſtimation but little diſgrace by its loſs. The Jews allege, in extenuation of their ſeverity, the licentious inclinations and artful diſpoſitions of their women, and that a ſingle act of criminality in a daughter would be an effectual bar to her ever forming a legal connection. The ſame objection not being ſo applicable to their married women, they are permitted to go out without reſtraint. Indeed many of their huſbands, from intereſted motives, are too apt to connive at a conduct, which, in other countries, would infallibly bring down upon them well-merited contempt.

The palace of Morocco is an ancient building, ſurrounded by a ſquare wall, the height of which nearly excludes from the view of the ſpectator the other buildings. Its principal gates are conſtructed with Gothic arches compoſed of cut ſtone, which conduct to ſeveral open and ſpacious courts; through theſe it is neceſſary to paſs before we reach any of the buildings. Theſe open courts were uſed by Sidi Mahomet for the purpoſes of tranſacting public buſineſs, and exerciſing his troops.

The habitable part of the palace conſiſts of ſeveral irregular ſquare pavilions, built of tabby, and whitened over, ſome of which communicate with each other, others are diſtinct, and moſt of them receive their names from the different towns of the empire. The principal pavilion is named by the Moors the douhars, and is more properly the palace or ſeraglio than any of the others. It conſiſts of the Emperor's place of reſidence, and the harem, forming altogether a building of conſiderable extent. The

other pavilions are merely for the purpoſes of pleaſure or buſineſs, and are quite diſtinct from the douhar.

The Mogodore pavilion, ſo named from the Emperor's partiality to that town, has by far the faireſt claim to grandeur and magnificence. This apartment was the work of Sidi Mahomet, and is lofty and ſquare. It is built of cut-ſtone, handſomely ornamented with windows, and covered with varniſhed tiles of various colours; and its elegance and neatneſs, contraſted altogether with the ſimplicity and irregularity of the other buildings, produce a moſt ſtriking effect. In the inſide, beſides ſeveral other apartments, we find in the pavilion a ſpacious room, floored with blue and white chequered tiling, its ceiling covered with curiouſly carved and painted wood, and its ſtuccoed walls variouſly ornamented with looking-glaſſes and watches, regularly diſpoſed in glaſs caſes. To this pavilion Sidi Mahomet manifeſted an exclu-ſive preference, frequently retiring to it both for the purpoſes of buſineſs, and of recreation.

The apartments of the Emperor have in general a much ſmaller complement of furniture than thoſe of the Moors in the inferior walks of life. Handſome carpetting, a mattreſs on the ground, covered with fine linen, a couch, and a couple of European bedſteads, are the principal articles they contain. The gardens within the walls of the palace, of which he had ſeveral, are very neat; they contain orange and olive trees, variouſly diſpoſed and arranged, and interſected with ſtreams of water, fountains, and reſervoirs. Thoſe on the outſide are nothing more than large tracts of ground, irregularly planted with olives; having four ſquare walks, and ſurrounded by walls.

In introducing the deſcription of the palace in this place, I have rather deviated from the chronological ſeries of my narrative, as the events which brought me acquainted with this ſacred reſidence of the Mooriſh princes were poſterior to my viſiting all the other quarters of the metropolis.

CHAP. IX. — *Introduction to the Emperor.— Converſation with His Mooriſh Majeſty.— Account of the Emperor Sidi Mahomet — his Character — his extreme Avarice — his miſerable Situation. — Anecdotes relative to the late Emperor. — Anecdotes of Sidi Mahomet — his Deceit and Hypocriſy — his Charity. — Puſillanimous Conduct of the European Powers. — Ceremonies of the Court of Morocco. — Exactions from Strangers. — Account of the principal Officers of State. — Character of the late Prime Miniſter.— Revenues of Morocco. — Wealth of the Emperor, leſs than generally imagined. — The Army of the Emperor — how commanded — his Navy. — Internal Government of the Empire. — Baſhaws. — Alcaides. — Ell hackum. — Cadi. — Mode of adminiſtering Juſtice. — Criminal Puniſhments.*

AFTER the lapſe of a month without a proſpect of obtaining an audience, my anxiety was increaſed to a degree which in the end proved extremely injurious to my health. From the attention which I had paid to moſt of the Emperor's miniſters, who all of them in their turn had occaſion for my ſervices, I thought I had a right to expect ſome little return. With all that deceit which has characterized the inhabitants of Barbary * from the earlieſt periods, they profeſſed the warmeſt friendſhip for me, and aſſured me that they would exert their influence upon the Emperor to perſuade him to ſee me. Among the number was a Moor named Sidi Brahim, to

* Punica fides.

whom the prince had given me ſtrong letters of recommendation, and who, during a tedious ſickneſs which had prevailed in his family, had received from me the moſt conſtant attention. This Moor had directions from the prince to introduce me immediately upon my arrival to the Emperor, and to ſhew me every civility that was due to ſuch recommendation. All theſe circumſtances I conceived gave me a ſufficient right to expect that Sidi Brahim, both from motives of duty to his prince, and gratitude to me, would have exerted himſelf in a manner correſpondent to ſuch obligations. But that was far from being the caſe. When his family was under my care, he certainly did receive me with attention, and treated me with kindneſs; but when my advice became no longer neceſſary, his friendſhip cooled in proportion; and latterly, when we happened to meet, he ſcarcely ſeemed to recollect me. Upon reflection, what was I to expect from a man, who for his notorious crimes, though at that time in great favour, had been puniſhed by his ſovereign, having had the greateſt part of his beard pulled up by the roots.

Unſucceſsful and diſappointed through this channel, I had recourſe to ſome others of the Emperor's attendants, on whom I had conferred favours, and who had perhaps ſtill greater influence with the Emperor than even Sidi Brahim. Among this number were the prime miniſter, and one of the Emperor's principal talbs. From theſe officers I experienced, however, much the ſame treatment as from Sidi Brahim; and had I not accidentally been called in to attend the wife of one of the Emperor's principal Jews, it is probable I might have continued in the ſame ſtate of anxious uncertainty for ſome weeks longer. As a return for my attendance, the huſband of this patient, agreeably to my requeſt, had addreſs and influence enough to perſuade the Emperor to appoint an audience for me the very day after the application.

On the day appointed for my reception at court, about twelve at noon, three negro ſoldiers, with large clubs in their hands, came to my apartments to eſcort me to the palace, telling me that they had directions to return with me inſtantaneouſly, and that they muſt anſwer it with their heads, if they delayed a moment in the execution of their orders. Not ſuſpecting that my Jewiſh friend, for ſuch I muſt certainly denominate him, could have effected my wiſhes ſo immediately, I was by no means prepared for the audience; and I requeſted them to wait a few moments, till I could enable myſelf to appear in a decent dreſs before the Emperor. Far, however, from acceding to my requeſt, the ſoldiers became quite impatient, and acquainted me that I muſt either proceed with them immediately, or they would return and inform the Sultan that I had refuſed to comply with his orders. I now found myſelf under the neceſſity of ſetting off, and we all actually *ran* together to the palace with the utmoſt expedition. When we arrived there, I was introduced to one of the maſters of the audience, who deſired me to wait on the outſide of the palace till I was called for.

From the abrupt and ſudden manner in which I was forced away by the ſoldiers, I expected to be uſhered immediately into the imperial preſence; but ſo far was I ſtill from the conſummation of this expectation, that I remained on the ſpot where they firſt placed me, from twelve o'clock at noon till five in the evening, revolving in my mind what kind of a perſon I ſhould find the Emperor, what reception I ſhould meet with, and the anſwers which I ought to make to any queſtions he might propoſe. Situated as I was with reſpect to the prince whom I had been attending, and conſidering the malicious reports reſpecting my conduct which had been circulated about Morocco, the reader may well ſuppoſe that I was led to form a variety of conjectures, concerning what was likely to be the reſult of the audience. I however placed my whole confi-

dence in the prince's recovery, which was a circumſtance when clearly known to the Emperor, that muſt undoubtedly operate in my favour. This idea at laſt entirely removed a number of uneaſy and anxious reflections, which had occurred to me when I firſt entered the palace; and by the time the meſſenger came to introduce me to the Emperor I had brought myſelf to be as calm and collected as if my mind had been perfectly at eaſe, and had no reaſon to be otherwiſe.

From the court yard into which I was firſt introduced, I was hurried with the greateſt precipitancy through two or three others, till I arrived at the gate which opened to the court where the Emperor was waiting to receive me. I was there detained for ſome time by the maſter of the audience, owing to my refuſal of the preſent which Europeans are accuſtomed to make to the Emperor upon being honoured with an audience. I had been previouſly acquainted that no perſon was ever permitted to appear in His Majeſty's preſence, unleſs accompanied by a handſome preſent; but I conceived my ſituation to be in every reſpect ſo totally different from that of other ſtrangers who viſited the court, that I told the maſter of the ceremonies, if he perſiſted in refuſing me entrance, I would immediately return home again.

The Moor, finding that I was determined not to comply with his requeſt, and knowing that the Emperor was purpoſely waiting to ſee me, was afraid to defer my introduction any longer; I was therefore uſhered into His Majeſty's preſence very expeditiouſly, and directed to place myſelf and my interpreter in ſuch a ſituation as to be ſeen without approaching too near his perſon.

The Moor who introduced me, upon appearing in ſight of the Emperor, proſtrated himſelf on the earth, kiſſed it, and in a very humble manner exclaimed in Arabic, "May God preſerve the King!" The Emperor then ordered him to approach, and deliver what he had to ſay. He informed His Majeſty, that in compliance with his order, he had brought before him the Engliſh doctor; after which, having made a very low bow, he retired, and the Emperor immediately deſired me and my interpreter to advance towards him; but as ſoon as we had got within ten yards of the Emperor, two ſoldiers came up, pulled us by the coat, and acquainted us that we muſt not preſume to approach any further.

I found the ſovereign ſeated in an European poſt-chaiſe, placed in one of his open courts, and drawn by one mule in ſhafts, having a man on each ſide to guide it. Behind the carriage were foot ſoldiers, ſome negroes and others Moors, in two diviſions, forming together a half-moon. Some of theſe ſoldiers were only armed with large clubs, while others had muſkets which they held cloſe to their bodies, and pointed perpendicularly.

The Emperor, after ſurveying me minutely and with the greateſt attention, accompanied with no ſmall ſhare of *hauteur*, demanded from my interpreter, in a very ſtern manner, if I was the Chriſtian doctor who had been attending Muley Abſulem? I deſired him to anſwer, that I was.—"How came you into the country, and were you ſent by order of your own king, or by whom?" To render my viſit of more importance, I anſwered, "By order of government."—"Where did you learn your profeſſion, and what is the name of the perſon who taught it you?" I informed His Majeſty.—"What is the reaſon that the French ſurgeons are better than the Engliſh; and which do you think are the beſt?" I anſwered, "The French ſurgeons are very good, but it muſt certainly be allowed that the Engliſh are in general ſuperior, being more ſcientifically educated."—The Emperor then obſerved, that a French ſurgeon had come into the country, and in the courſe of his practice had killed ſeveral perſons.

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His Majeſty next aſked, in a very auſtere manner, "What was the reaſon I had forbidden Muley Abſulem the uſe of tea?" My reply was, "Muley Abſulem has very weak nerves, and tea is injurious to the nervous ſyſtem."—"If tea is ſo unwholeſome," replied His Majeſty, "why do the Engliſh drink ſo much?" I anſwered, "it is true, they drink it twice a day; but then they do not make it ſo ſtrong as the Moors, and they generally uſe milk with it, which leſſens its pernicious effects. But the Moors, when once they begin to uſe it, make it very ſtrong, drink a great deal, and very frequently without milk."—"You are right," ſaid the Emperor; "and I know it ſometimes makes their hands ſhake." After this converſation about a dozen diſtilled waters, prepared from different herbs, were brought for me to taſte, and inform the Emperor what they were; which were hot, and which were cold, &c.

His Majeſty now condeſcended to become more familiar and eaſy in his remarks, and deſired me to obſerved the ſnow on Mount Atlas, which his carriage immediately fronted, wiſhing to know if we had the ſame in my country. I anſwered, that we frequently had a great deal in the winter ſeaſon, and that England was a much colder climate than Morocco. The Emperor obſerved, that if any perſon attempted to go to the top of the mountain, he would die from exceſs of cold. He then informed me, that on the other ſide of the mountain was a very fine, plain, and fertile country, which was named Tafilet.

Obſerving that the Emperor was now in a good humour, I embraced the opportunity of mentioning to him, how much my feelings had been hurt by the malicious reports which had been for ſome time paſt circulating to my prejudice; that they were of ſuch a nature as to make me very deſirous of having my character cleared up, by a proper examination into the preſent ſtate of the prince's health, as well as into the nature of the medicines which I had been adminiſtering to him. The Emperor, in reply ſaid, that he had already ordered his Mooriſh phyſician to examine very particularly my medicines; who had declared, that he could find nothing improper in them. It is very clear, however, that ſome ſuſpicion muſt have taken place in the breaſt of the Emperor, to have induced him to ſend privately for theſe medicines, for the purpoſe of having them ſo nicely examined; from which circumſtance I could not help feeling it as a very fortunate event for myſelf, that the prince's health was in ſo favourable a ſtate.

After a converſation of ſome length, the heads of which I have endeavoured briefly to ſtate, the evening being far advanced, the Emperor commanded one of his attendants to conduct me home to his Jew, and deſire him to take great care of me; adding, that I was a good man; I was Muley Abſulem's phyſician; and that he would ſend me home to my entire ſatisfaction. He then ordered his carriage to drive on.

Conſidering myſelf as now acquitted of the charges which had been inſinuated againſt me, and elevated by the Emperor's promiſes at the audience, I muſt confeſs that I returned home with a much lighter heart than I could boaſt of when I went. I now only waited for the arrival of the prince at Morocco, which I conceived would confirm the Emperor's good wiſhes towards me, and make my ſituation as agreeable as I could expect. Such are the ſanguine hopes with which we are apt to flatter ourſelves, after having encountered difficulties, when the ſmalleſt proſpect opens of relief.

In the evening my room was filled with a number of the attendants of the Emperor, who came to congratulate me on the honour I had received by a ſight of their royal maſter; at the ſame time to demand preſents, which on ſuch occaſions they alleged was a cuſtom to which all Europeans ſubmitted. As therefore I ſaw there were no other

other means of relieving myſelf from their impertinent importunities, I was obliged in ſome degree to comply with their demands.

I found the Emperor Sidi Mahomet to be a tall, thin old man, of near eighty years of age, and of a ſallow complexion. From a viſage naturally long, and a diſtortion of one eye, united with an acquired habit of auſterity, his appearance at firſt was rather diſguſting to ſtrangers; but that impreſſion was ſoon worn off by the affability of his converſation, which he generally confined to thoſe ſubjects he thought moſt adapted to the perſon with whom he converſed. At the ſame time he diſplayed a great deſire to acquire information, as well as to diſcover the abilities of others. Some years ago he ſo far loſt the uſe of his feet as to diſable him from walking. This diſagreeable effect was probably owing to want of uſe, and to his accuſtoming himſelf conſtantly to be either in his carriage or on horſeback. When I ſaw him, his beard and eye-brows, though before, as I was informed, very dark, had acquired a perfect whiteneſs, and his voice was much impaired. His dreſs was exactly ſimilar to that of other Moors, differing only in the fineneſs of the materials, and he was only diſtinguiſhed from his ſubjects by a larger retinue, riding in a carriage, or when on horſeback having an umbrella carried before him.

From the general tenour of his conduct throughout his reign, and from his converſation, Sidi Mahomet appears to have poſſeſſed ſtrong natural talents, to which had a good education been united, he might have proved a great monarch. But the want of education, and the illiberality and ſuperſtition of his religion, betrayed him frequently into cruelty; and the poſſeſſion of arbitrary power tinged his character with that intolerable caprice which has ever diſtinguiſhed and diſgraced the Mooriſh princes.

Avaricious from his youth, he gave his whole attention to the accumulation of wealth; and it was from that motive only that he appeared to give more encouragement to European merchants than any of his predeceſſors. It is at the ſame time well known, that he occaſionally oppreſſed them with ſuch heavy duties, that they have been obliged to ſend home their veſſels empty. In hopes of adding ſtill more to his treaſures, Sidi Mahomet became himſelf a merchant, took up goods from Europeans, and obliged the Jews to pay him five times their value for them; ſo that there was not a ſingle reſource for becoming rich of which he did not avail himſelf. Avaricious to this exceſs, and naturally of a very timid diſpoſition, his great object has been peace: well aware that war could neither enrich him, nor contribute to his enjoyments in any reſpect.

His reign, it is true, has been diſtinguiſhed by fewer inſtances of cruelty than that of any of his predeceſſors, but he has certainly exceeded them all in the licentiouſneſs of his attacks upon private property. He was always ſurrounded by people, who, for the ſake of riſing into favour, were at all times ready to give him information concerning any of his ſubjects who were rich. It was then his uſual courſe of proceeding, to invent ſome plea for confining them in priſon; and if that did not ſucceed, he put them in irons, chained them down, and proceeded in a courſe of ſeverity and cruelty, till at laſt, wearied out with puniſhments and diſgraces, the unfortunate victims ſurrendered the whole of their poſſeſſions; which alone procured them the enjoyment of liberty, an opportunity of again obtaining ſubſiſtence, or perhaps of once more becoming the prey of the rapacious monarch. Such of his ſons as were in friendſhip with him, were continually making him preſents, as if apprehenſive of the ſame fate; and ſince I left the country it has been ſtrongly reported that my patient Muley Abſulem, who was the only ſon for whom the Emperor profeſſed much affection, was plundered

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by his father of the greateſt part of his riches; which indeed were reputed to be very conſiderable.

Vices are never ſolitary; and thoſe which are moſt naturally connected with an avaricious and timid diſpoſition, are jealouſy and ſuſpicion. Conſcious how little he deſerved the affection of his people, and latterly ſenſible of having totally loſt it, Sidi Mahomet was in conſtant fear of aſſaſſination and poiſon. In this ſtate he dragged on a miſerable exiſtence; an example to arbitrary kings, and a living proof that the picture exhibited of the Roman tyrant, by the ſarcaſtic hiſtorian, was not overcharged. He ſeldom ſtirred out of his palace, unleſs accompanied by a numerous band of ſoldiers, and even of theſe he had always his ſuſpicions. At night he had conſtantly ſix blood-hounds in his chamber, and relying more on the fidelity of the irrational creation than on man, he thought theſe a more certain guard than his ſoldiers. His victuals were dreſſed and taſted in his preſence; and at dinner, though no perſon was permitted to eat immediately with him, yet he always had ſome of his ſons and miniſters in the ſame apartment, who were helped out of his diſh. To complete the miſery of this unfortunate old man, he lived under the continual apprehenſion of being conquered by his eldeſt ſon Muley Yazid, the late Emperor, who, in conſequence of ſome ill treatment received from his father, retired ſecretly from court, and took refuge in a ſanctuary near Tetuan.

This prince, whoſe grandmother was an Engliſh woman, had acquired the univerſal eſteem of the whole country by his generous conduct and his great abilities; and though at that time in a ſtate of poverty, and with only four attendants about him, ſuch was his influence that he had only to ſtep forward, and ſay he wanted money and troops, and he would ſhortly have been at the head of an army, that muſt at any time have entirely overwhelmed the late government of Morocco. From motives of duty, and perhaps of policy, this however was a ſtep he did not wiſh to take, conſcious that his father could not long ſurvive, and that upon his death he was certain of the ſucceſſion. The Emperor, notwithſtanding, was ſtill unable to ſubdue his apprehenſions; and, when I was at Morocco, ſent an army of five thouſand blacks, with an order to violate the ſanctuary, and carry off the prince. This order was not obeyed, for the chief could not place ſufficient confidence in his troops; and the prince continued quiet in the ſanctuary till his father's deceaſe.

To evince the policy, as well as the ſagacity of Muley Yazid, I muſt beg leave to relate an anecdote, which occurred a ſhort time previous to that period. The people who have the care of the ſanctuary received poſitive orders from the Emperor to expel the prince by force; which, if they failed in doing, he aſſured them he would ſend and put every man, woman, and child in the neighbourhood of the ſanctuary to the ſword. The people, though well diſpoſed to the prince, intimidated by theſe orders, related faithfully to him the Emperor's intentions, and informed him that, as their lives were at ſtake, they expected him to remove, at the ſame time recommending him to another ſanctuary at no great diſtance, where he could equally take refuge. The prince, who is one of the beſt horſemen in the country, and who had a horſe of which he had the entire command, immediately promiſed them to depart, and mounted his horſe for the purpoſe. But what was their ſurpriſe, when they found the horſe would not ſtir from the ſpot, notwithſtanding the apparently free uſe of whip and ſpur? Upon this the prince exclaimed, "You ſee plainly that it is God's will I ſhould continue here, and therefore no other power ſhall ever drive me out." This had ſuch an effect upon the ſuperſtitious multitude, that they preferred riſking the reſentment of the Emperor, to the violation of what, in their eſtimation, was ſo apparently the will of God.

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With reſpect to the other features of the Emperor's character, his principal vices appear to have reſulted from that great corrupter of the human heart, arbitrary power: for he was the moſt arbitrary of monarchs, having at his abſolute diſpoſal the lives and properties of all his ſubjects. In ſuch circumſtances, what man can be truſted, nay, who would truſt himſelf? In ſuch circumſtances, can we wonder, when we obſerve the occaſional indulgence of intemperate revenge? Among theſe we are to account his treatment of an unfortunate Jew who had imprudently written ſomething to his prejudice, and for this ſlight offence was quartered alive, cut to pieces, and his fleſh afterwards given to the dogs.

Upon another occaſion, a ſimilar diſpoſition was manifeſted by Sidi Mahomet. A Moor of ſome conſequence, and very opulent, gave a grand entertainment on the marriage of one of his ſons. The Emperor, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and who well knew that magnificence was a ſtriking proof of wealth, was determined to be preſent at the feſtival, in order that he might more fully inform himſelf of the circumſtances of the Moor. For this purpoſe he diſguiſed himſelf in a common dreſs, and entered the houſe in the midſt of all the jollity, and perhaps the licentiouſneſs, of the entertainment. The maſter of the ceremonies obſerving a perſon of a mean appearance intrude himſelf into the room ſo abruptly, ordered him out; and upon the refuſal of the ſtranger, he gave him a kick, and puſhed him by violence out of the houſe. For a ſhort ſpace of time after this occurrence the whole affair paſſed without notice, and probably had eſcaped the memory of moſt; and it was a matter of the utmoſt ſurprize to the maſter of the houſe to receive an order, commanding him immediately to repair to Morocco. Upon being introduced to the Emperor, he was aſked if he recollected the circumſtances which have juſt been related, to which he replied in the affirmative. "Know then," ſays the Emperor, "I was that Moor whom you treated thus contumelioufly; and to convince you I have not forgot it, that foot and that hand which inſulted me ſhall periſh." — I have ſeen this unfortunate victim of tyranny walking about the ſtreets with one leg and arm.

The Emperor was as ready to revenge the imaginary or the real injuries of his ſubjects. To elucidate this aſſertion; an Engliſh and French gentleman were amuſing themſelves by the diverſion of courſing, in the vicinity of Mogodore, when one of their dogs unfortunately attacked the calf of a Moor. This accident ſoon brought out the villagers, who immediately ſhot the dog, and entered into a very ſerious quarrel with the Chriſtians, which terminated in a general conteſt. The women of the village now thought it a proper occaſion for their interference; and among their number was one, who from old age had loſt all her teeth except two, and theſe were ſo looſe that they could be with difficulty retained; and another, who had upon a former occaſion fractured her arm, the bone of which had never been reduced or united. In the courſe of the diſpute, theſe two women were unintentionally thrown down, and by this accident the old lady loſt both her teeth, while the other inſiſted that the Chriſtians had been the occaſion of fracturing her arm. To be brief, the Chriſtians were overpowered by numbers, and were obliged to retire to Mogodore, where they immediately made a complaint to the governor of the inſults they had received from the Moors, who in their turn alſo appeared before him with a complaint againſt the Chriſtians. The whole being referred to the Emperor, both parties were ordered up to court, with a view of giving the matter an impartial hearing, and of adminiſtering juſtice accordingly. It is hardly neceſſary to intimate, that in this uncivilized country, and with a man of Sidi Mahomet's prejudices, the Mooriſh evidence would be certain of a favourable hearing. The circumſtances indeed of one woman loſing her teeth, and

another having her arm fractured, appeared in the eyes of the Emperor ſo plauſible, that upon their being made known to him, without heſitation he ordered the Chriſtians to be put in irons, and confined, till he ſhould determine upon the puniſhment which ſuch apparent crimes merited. For this purpoſe, the mufti, or high prieſt, was deſired to refer the matter to the Koran, with a view of puniſhing the delinquents according to its dictates. The prieſt ſoon found out a paſſage, where it ſpecifies an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. The Engliſh gentleman, whom the old lady fixed upon for the perſon who had been the occaſion of her misfortune, was therefore directed to looſe two of his teeth, which puniſhment was immediately put in execution in the preſence of the Emperor; while his French companion, as they could not find out a puniſhment in the Koran for breaking an arm, received the baſtinado in a manner which diſgraced humanity and the law of nations; the priſoners were then ſet at liberty.

This circumſtance brings to mind how narrowly I eſcaped falling into a ſimilar predicament in the courſe of my detention at Morocco. One day, within the walls of the palace, I was groſsly inſulted by a Moor, at a time when, from the great anxiety I was under, my temper was much diſturbed, and which ſo far had put me off my guard as to induce me to give the offender a blow on the face. Upon this a Mooriſh ſoldier, who, unobſerved by myſelf, was ſitting behind me in a corner of the wall, exclaimed in Arabic in a very auſtere tone, "Chriſtian, how dare you ſtrike that Moor?" A full conſciouſneſs of having acted imprudently, and a recollection of the Emperor's former treatment of Chriſtians under ſimilar circumſtances, now preſſed upon my mind with ſuch force that at firſt I was at a loſs what part I ſhould take to extricate myſelf from this difficulty. To walk away would be an acknowledgement of guilt, and would afford the Moor a greater plea for making a complaint; I therefore determined upon returning back and expoſtulating with the man, by telling him that I had been groſsly inſulted, and muſt therefore be under the neceſſity of making immediate application to the governor of the town to have the offender ſeverely puniſhed for attacking one, who, from the nature of his employment, was in the Emperor's ſervice, and conſequently under his particular protection. In reply, the the Moor ſaid, that had I kicked him, horſewhipped him, or puniſhed him in any other way but that of ſlapping his face, he ſhould have overlooked it; but a blow in the face was in their law a crime of ſo ſerious a nature, that he thought it his duty to acquaint the Emperor of it, who had hitherto never pardoned any perſon convicted of ſo heinous an offence, but had always cut off that hand of the Moor which had offered the inſult; what then could a Chriſtian expect from him? From the knowledge I had already learned of the Mooriſh character, I ſtill thought it neceſſary to continue in the ſame ſtrain, by informing the Moor, that he might act as he thought proper, but that I ſhould ſtill fulfil my reſolution, and had no doubt but that it would have its proper effect. The man now began to ſoften, and ſaid, that as I was in the Emperor's ſervice, he would for this time look over the offence, but cautioned me to be careful how I acted in future. Upon conſidering every circumſtance, I thought it moſt prudent to let the matter drop here; and I acknowledge that this affair proved a ſufficient leſſon to me to avoid in future entering into ſimilar conteſts with the Moors.

Sidi Mahomet was ſufficiently conſcious of his own power and dignity, and kept every perſon at the moſt abject diſtance; no perſon daring to approach or ſpeak to him without his permiſſion. Senſible alſo of the exceſſes into which he might be betrayed by ungoverned paſſion, if at any time he found his temper diſcompoſed he indiſcriminately ordered every perſon out of his ſight. It may eaſily be conceived

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that the monarch had no difficulty in ſecuring obedience to this mandate, ſince all were ſenſible that to have continued in his preſence would have been highly dangerous, if not fatal.

The only perſons who poſſeſſed any conſiderable influence over the Emperor were his women; and it was through that channel that the moſt ſucceſsful buſineſs was tranſacted with him.

Thus far for the vices of arbitrary power. But deceit, hypocriſy, and falſehood were qualities which could not be immediately aſcribed to that ſource, unleſs we conſider them as the neceſſary effects of an education in a deſpotic court. As a cloak to actions which he knew muſt excite diſapprobation and diſguſt, Sidi Mahomet attempted to perſuade his ſubjects that they proceeded from motives of religion and juſtice; and to give them a greater ſanction he enrolled himſelf in the fraternity of ſaints, and paid a ſtrict attention to all the ſuperſtitions and forms peculiar to his religion. This conduct anſwered well with the ignorant part of the community, but the more enlightened could not but obſerve that he attended more to the ceremonial of his religion than to its principles, which he made no ſcruple of violating whenever it ſuited his convenience. What he promiſed one day he would refuſe the next, ſo that no dependance was ever placed upon his word. Added to theſe, he poſſeſſed a large portion of that low cunning which is common to perſons whoſe minds and ſentiments have not been elevated or refined by literature or ſcience. He perhaps, indeed, found this quality not without its uſes in governing ſuch a people as the Moors; and no man underſtood their character and diſpoſition better than he did. He was aware that reſpect is frequently deſtroyed by unſeaſonable familiarities, and therefore kept at a moſt ſtately diſtance from his ſubjects, and but ſeldom appeared among them. By theſe means his conſequence was preſerved, and his conduct and his talents were involved in that impenetrable and awful miſt that ſurrounds the ſeraglios of Eaſtern monarchs.

The few rebellions which occurred during his long reign, proved deciſively that he knew how to govern his ſubjects. Whenever a diſpoſition for revolt prevailed in any of the provinces, a body of troops was immediately diſpatched to plunder the whole of the diſcontented province, and to ſeize the inſurgents, who were immediately conducted to court, and puniſhed according to the magnitude of their reſpective offences. Some were put to death, others were deprived of their hands and legs; and for leſſer crimes the diſcontented parties underwent the baſtinado. This monarch employed perſons in different diſtricts to watch the motions of his ſubjects, and to inform him of every ſymptom of revolt; and thus by a well-timed interference, he was enabled to cruſh rebellion in the bud.

In his conduct towards foreign powers Sidi Mahomet diſcovered the ſame diſregard to truth and juſtice, the ſame adroitneſs and cunning. He readily promiſed to grant every demand, provided he was to be well paid for the conceſſion. But it muſt have been valuable preſents indeed which would induce him to perform his promiſe. He protracted negociations in order that he and his miniſters might be enriched by them; but always as much as poſſible avoided bringing them to a final determination, by either granting or refuſing a favour.

If foreign powers omitted to pay him the tribute he demanded, he immediately threatened in the ſevereſt manner to commence hoſtilities; yet in this he was never in earneſt, for he was more afraid of his enemies than they had reaſon to be of him. When he found they were not diſpoſed to contend the matter with him, he increaſed his demands accordingly.

In order to enhance his conſequence, he endeavoured to perſuade his ſubjects that he was remarkably ſkilled in matters of which they were entirely ignorant. To preſerve an appearance of ability, when he was viſited by Europeans, if the ſtranger was a merchant, the ſubject of converſation was on manufactures, foreign commerce, &c. If he was a military officer, fortifications, attacks, &c. were the topics; and if a ſeafaring perſon, he would then ſcratch on a piece of paper a plan of his coaſts and harbours. Though he rarely advanced any thing to the purpoſe on theſe ſubjects; yet as foreigners who viſited the court generally appeared there with a view of obtaining ſome favour, and as it was never cuſtomary for any perſon to contradict the Emperor, they always coincided with his opinions, and pretended at leaſt to admire his extenſive abilities. This fully anſwered the intention of the Emperor; it induced his ſubjects to form a good opinion of his underſtanding, and he often collected ſome real information from the anſwers which his viſitors returned to his queſtions.

Sidi Mahomet paid more attention to military affairs than to his navy, though if any power refuſed to repair a frigate, it was a ſufficient inducement for him to threaten a war. He thought himſelf perfectly acquainted with the art of fortification, but his knowledge of it extended no farther than a few looſe hints which he had received upon the ſubject from thoſe Europeans who had viſited the court.

In his court and perſonal appearance, Sidi Mahomet affected great ſimplicity of manners, not allowing even his own ſons to appear in his preſence except in a plain Mooriſh dreſs. They then were obliged to uncover their cap or turban (for a Moor never pulls off either except when going to bed) and to wear inſtead of the haik the ſulam, which is a cloak made of white or blue woollen cloth, the front parts of which they were obliged to throw over their ſhoulders, and as ſoon as they ſaw the Emperor to proſtrate their heads to the ground, and kiſs it, exclaiming, "God ſave the King!" He then ordered them to approach and ſpeak to him.

Though in general of a ſtately demeanour, he was ſometimes known to unbend, and occaſionally took pleaſure in converſing with his courtiers on various ſubjects; but they were permitted to advance no opinion of their own, but merely to approve of what he ſaid. He frequently talked upon the ſubject of religion, and conſidered himſelf as well informed in that particular. He ſometimes endeavoured to explain to them different parts of the Koran, pointing out its beauties, and impreſſing on the minds of his auditors the moſt intolerant prejudices againſt Chriſtians.

The mixture of good and evil ſo incident to all human characters, was alſo to be found in Sidi Mahomet. Notwithſtanding what has been remarked of his avarice, his duplicity, and abſurd pretenſions to religion, there are ſome circumſtances which ſerve to leſſen our indignation, and theſe it is only conſiſtent with juſtice and candour to ſtate. It is generally allowed, that though he muſt neceſſarily ſuffer in a compariſon with the princes of free and civilized nations, yet when compared with his deſpotic predeceſſors, his character greatly riſes in the ſcale of humanity. He was ſeldom or never wantonly cruel. He was certainly ſometimes too haſty in pronouncing ſentence on criminals, for which he has been often known to expreſs the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of remorſe; and his deſire to prevent any ill effects from his paſſions has been already remarked.

In his adminiſtration of juſtice he generally acted very impartially, except indeed when his own intereſt was immediately concerned, and then every other feeling gave way. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that though himſelf a moſt notorious violator of the laws, he ſo far reſpected them that he never would permit others to follow his example. Though ſo extremely avaricious, it has been already ſtated

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that in ſome ſevere inſtances of public diſtreſs, he generouſly diſpenſed his treaſures to adminiſter relief to the ſufferers; and the number of poor people who were daily fed at his palace, of which I was an eye-witneſs, plainly evinced that he was not deſtitute of charity. Europeans met with greater encouragement, and the wheels of commerce were leſs clogged, during the reign of Sidi Mahomet than at any preceding period.

Thus was this monarch a ſingular compound of liberality and intolerance, of avarice and benevolence, of cruelty and compaſſion. It is perhaps only in a ſtate of deſpotiſm that we behold this confuſion of character. The legal reſtraints of civilized life, form themſelves into habits; and the eccentricities and caprices to which circumſtances, ſituation, the ſtate of the health, or perhaps the variations of climate, diſpoſe the human mind, are no longer found to exiſt in European countries, or exiſt in an inferior degree. Happy it is, when any reſtraints are impoſed upon us, to prevent us from doing evil. Man is a creature not formed for arbitrary power. So limited are his views, ſo variable his diſpoſition, ſo violent and tyrannical his paſſions, that the wiſeſt of men would certainly not wiſh for abſolute authority, and the beſt, if entruſted with it, would probably abuſe it.

The conduct of the Emperor towards foreign courts has already been noticed. His means of extracting money from them by threatening a war, which perhaps in reality he dreaded, has been likewiſe ſtated. It will probably not be unſeaſonable in this place to introduce a few remarks on their conduct towards him.

The obſervation that firſt and moſt naturally preſents itſelf upon this occaſion is—that nothing but groſs neglect or inexcuſeable ignorance could induce the European princes in general to remain in a kind of tributary ſtate to a prince, who had neither an army nor a fleet which deſerved the name, and a people whoſe diſpoſition is leſs ſuited to enterprize than perhaps any other.

What had they to fear from him? His whole fleet conſiſted only of a few ſmall frigates and row-boats, ill managed and worſe manned, the whole of which might have been deſtroyed in one day by two or three well-appointed European frigates. The entrances of thoſe ports where he laid up his ſhipping, if we except Tangier and Larache, are, as I before obſerved, ſo continually choaking up with ſand, that in a ſhort time they will only admit fiſhing-boats, or the very ſmalleſt craft. The towns are none of them regularly fortified, except Mogodore, and that hardly produces half a dozen men who underſtand the leaſt of working the guns. And yet this contemptible power gives laws to all the coaſts of Portugal and Spain, and may be ſaid in ſome meaſure to command the entrance of the Mediterranean!

It may be ſaid, he was too trifling a power to notice; if ſo, why laviſh immenſe preſents for the purpoſe of keeping him in temper? Thoſe who imagined they ſecured his friendſhip by theſe means were much miſtaken; on the contrary, they only added fuel to that flame of avarice which was not to be extinguiſhed. If he was one day preſented with a frigate, he aſked for two the next; and the more his requeſts were indulged, the more his inordinate deſires were increaſed.

It is well known to thoſe who have been converſant with the Moors, that to ſecure their friendſhip you muſt firſt aſſert your own ſuperiority, and then if you make them a trifling preſent, its value is trebled in their eſtimation. The ſame diſpoſition would have been found in Sidi Mahomet as in the common Moor. So far from courting an alliance, it would rather have been good policy at once to quarrel with him; the loſs of a few towns, and particularly Mogodore, to which he was much attached, from its being

being raiſed under his own auſpices, would ſoon have reduced him to good-humour and ſubmiſſion.

The Emperor's title is, "Emperor of Africa; Emperor of Morocco; King of Fez, Suz, and Gago; Lord of Dara and Guinea; and great Sharif of Mahomet."

The principal amuſement of the Emperor was latterly obſerving his ſoldiers fire with muſkets at targets, and rewarding thoſe who were ſucceſsful with ſmall pieces of money. He alſo occaſionally entertained himſelf with falcons; but in general he ſpent the greater part of his time with his women.

The Emperor received foreigners, and tranſacted all public buſineſs, either in his carriage or on horſeback, in ſome of the open ſpaces within the palace. Formerly, indeed, on ſuch occaſions, it was ſometimes cuſtomary to admit ſtrangers into one of the rooms; and then he obliged them to conform to the cuſtom of the country, by pulling off their ſhoes when in his preſence: but ſome ſpirited Europeans a few years ago having refuſed to pay that homage, he ever afterwards gave them audience in one of his court yards. The Spaniſh friars at Morocco only were an exception to this rule, for upon their informing him that they never pulled off their ſhoes to any power under God, he always permitted them to enter his room with them on.

Previous to a ſtranger, whether an European or Moor, obtaining an audience of His Mooriſh Majeſty, a preſent was always made to one of his miniſters, as an inducement to him to acquaint his ſovereign that a ſtranger ſolicited that honour. The firſt preſent, unleſs it was ſomething very handſome, did not always ſucceed; and it was frequently neceſſary to apply to two or three miniſters to procure a ſpeedy audience, or even to ſend in a preſent to one of the Sultanas, none of whom entertained any very uneaſy ſenſations about accepting the compliment. The latter was indeed the moſt certain mode of ſucceeding.

After having ſo far accompliſhed his wiſhes, the ſtranger was next liable to be detained a longer or a ſhorter time before the capricious monarch would fix on a day for receiving him. Even after this he would frequently ſend for him in a violent hurry to the palace, and when there keep him ſtanding in one of the open courts ſeveral hours; he would then ſend an excuſe for not admitting him on that day; and this diſagreeable proceſs was in many inſtances repeated three or four times. The tardineſs, inſolence, and irregularity of the court of Morocco is indeed beyond conception; and thoſe who have buſineſs there ought to be poſſeſſed of all the philoſophy and patience of a ſtoic, if they would avoid the deprivation of their ſenſes.

No perſon whatever, whether Moor or Chriſtian, was admitted into the preſence of the ſovereign, but when accompanied with an handſome preſent, more or leſs valuable, in proportion to the favour intended to be requeſted. Even the Emperor's own ſons were not exempted from this cuſtom, upon paying their firſt viſit after a previous abſence. The generoſity of the ſuitor muſt not even ſtop here; for when the audience is over, the maſter of the ceremonies with his ſervants and the porters of all the gates in the palace, which are rather numerous, have a claim for their perquiſites, and are not to be got rid of till they obtain ſomething. Indeed, as they receive no pay from their royal maſter, theſe perquiſites were the only means they had of obtaining a ſubſiſtence *.

After

* For the ſatisfaction of thoſe who may have occaſion to viſit the court of Morocco upon buſineſs, I have with difficulty obtained an account of the fees which are uſually paid by European merchants to the Emperor's attendants. Conſuls and ambaſſadors of courſe pay more in proportion.

Expences

After having completed the buſineſs at court, the obtaining of the final diſpatches was commonly attended with the ſame difficulties as the obtaining of an audience. The Emperor was not only naturally very forgetful, but ſometimes, from political motives, intentionally ſo. He was very well aware that the longer ſtrangers were detained at Morocco, the more his miniſters would be enriched by them; and as the money came at laſt, though by a circuitous courſe, into his own pocket, he uſed frequently to forget that ſtrangers were waiting for their diſpatches. The miniſters, an the other hand, unleſs ſtimulated by ſubſtantial preſents, were generally extremely dilatory in reminding him of them; and there have been many inſtances of foreigners being detained at Morocco five or ſix weeks, entirely owing to this circumſtance.

With reſpect to the court of Morocco, it latterly hardly deſerved that appellation. When the Emperor was young, his faculties clear, and his abilities in their prime, he entruſted to his miniſters a conſiderable ſhare of the public buſineſs; but within the few laſt years of his life, when his ſtrength of body as well as of mind were worn out by hard ſervices and old age, either from ſuſpicion or dotage, he took the reins of government entirely into his own hands. The miniſters and ſecretaries not daring to notice the miſtakes of the ſovereign, were obliged to write out letters and ſend orders, which were contradicted almoſt every hour, and which occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion. The court of Morocco, indeed, under the moſt advantageous circumſtances, was always notorious for its irregularity and contradiction; but a ſhort time previous to the Emperor's death the government could ſcarcely be ſaid to exiſt at all.

As an account of the officers employed about the court of the Emperor has never been particularly detailed to the public, a ſhort ſtatement of them will probably not be

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Expences at Court.

To the Emperor — A more or leſs valuable preſent, according to the favour which is expected.

To the maſter of the ceremonies for public audiences, who introduces ſtrangers to the Emperor — } The ſame in proportion.

	Ounces.
To the man who attends the Emperor at the Machoire	20
To — who cleans his muſkets	20
To — who has the care of his horſes	20
To — who makes tea for the Emperor	10
To — who has the care of his lance	10
To — who has the care of his umbrella,	5
To — who has the care of the Emperor's ſaddles	10
To the Emperor's coachman	5
To the man who has the care of the Emperor's ſpurs	5
To — who has the care of the Emperor's tents	10
To — who has the care of the Emperor's ſlippers	5
To — who gives the Emperor water to drink	5
To — who takes care of the Emperor's chair	5
To — who takes the flies off the Emperor's face	5
To — who takes care of the Emperor's ſword	5
To — who takes care of the Emperor's watch	5
To the porters of the Machoire, for ten gates	40
To the Emperor's gardeners	10
To calling for each audience	10
Total -	205

An ounce, as I have before obſerved, is a ſilver coin of nearly the ſame value as five pence Engliſh.

unin-

unintereſting: I ſhall therefore, in as few words as poſſible, point out their reſpective employments.

The Emperor's court conſiſted of,

1. A prime miniſter, named the effendi, or friend; who was the reſponſible man, and during that period when the government was carried on in a more regular manner, all letters and orders were ſigned by him before they were diſpatched.

2. A principle ſecretary to the treaſury, united with the office of effendi; who had the diſburſement at large of the Emperor's payments, with ſix Mooriſh and ſeven Jewiſh under-ſecretaries.

3. A maſter of the horſe, with one hundred and twenty aſſiſtants.

4. A grand chamberlain, a place commonly united with that of prime miniſter, with ſeventeen aſſiſtants; nine of whom were ſons of Spaniſh renegadoes, three ſons of negroes, and the others Moors.

5. A grand falconer, which is an hereditary place, and perhaps the only one in the country, with twenty aſſiſtants.

6. A keeper of the great ſeal.

7. Two grand ſtewards, with eight aſſiſtants.

8. Five inſpectors-general of all the Emperor's affairs, the principal of whom was the effendi.

9. Three maſters of ceremonies for public audiences, with forty aſſiſtants.

10. An interpreter-general for the German, Dutch, Engliſh, French, Spaniſh, and Latin languages; this man was a German renegado.

11. A ſecretary for the Spaniſh and Italian languages, who was a Genoeſe.

12. Two grand keepers of the jewels and plate.

13. A grand maſter of the baths.

14. Two grand keepers of the arſenal.

15. Two keepers of the Emperor's goods and warehouſes.

16. Three inſpectors of moſques, &c.

17. Five keepers of the proviſions.

18. Two keepers of the library.

19. Two aſtrologers.

20. Four maſters of the carriages, with two aſſiſtants.

21. Twelve ſons of renegadoes, who have never had beards, employed in drawing the ſmall carriages.

22. Three principal aſſiſtants for prayers, with ſeventeen deputies, ſons of the great people of the empire.

23. Three bearers of the umbrella, with nine aſſiſtants.

24. One bearer of the ſabre.

25. Two bearers of the baſon.

26. Two bearers of the lance.

27. One bearer of the watch.

28. Five bearers of the Emperor's own firelocks, who are all alcaides, with fifteen inferior aſſiſtants.

29. A bearer of the colours and ſtandard.

30. A phyſician and a ſurgeon, with ſeveral tradeſmen, too numerous to mention.

Upon taking a retroſpective view of the employments under the Emperor of Morocco, we ſhall not find that they differ ſo much from thoſe of other ſtates, as might have been imagined, from the ignorance of the European cuſtoms obſervable in this people in other reſpects. The places of effendi and principal ſecretary to the treaſury

being united in one perſon, bears conſiderable analogy to the union of the office of prime miniſter with thoſe of chancellor of the exchequer and firſt lord of the treaſury. The appointments of ſecretary of ſtate, maſter of the horſe, grand chamberlain, keeper of the great ſeal, and grand falconer, are all places which are well known in European courts; and many others have nearly the ſame correſpondence.

The principal difference between the court of Morocco and thoſe of Europe is, that the poſſeſſors of theſe appointments in European courts enjoy very lucrative incomes from their reſpective ſtates, while thoſe of Morocco receive none at all from the court. They depend ſolely on the perquiſites which are paid them by thoſe who have buſineſs to tranſact with the court. Even this, however, ſometimes forms a very inconſiderable income, though always ſubject to defalcation from the rapacious hand of their ſovereign, who ſeizes upon every thing with which he comes in contact.

The effendi to the Emperor had a degree of addreſs, and an elegance of manners, which would have done honour to an European courtier. He received a ſtranger with a pleaſing ſmile, and a reſpectful bow; ſhook him warmly by the hand, enquired after his health, invited him to his houſe, and offered him his ſervices. As he was rich, he was always extremely timid in the preſence of the Emperor, notwithſtanding he annually made him a large preſent to keep him in temper. Some of the princes, and many others, followed his example in this reſpect, judiciouſly preferring the enjoyment of a little with a certainty, to the running a riſk of the whole.

The Emperor of late had no regular court days, but fixed upon them as inclination or convenience dictated. On thoſe days all the princes who were at Morocco, and every perſon in the immediate ſervice of the Emperor, were obliged to attend at the machoire, an open part of the palace ſo named, where they, with the ſoldiers, were arranged in the form of a creſcent; the miniſters and ſtrangers in front, and the ſovereign, either on horſeback or in his carriage, in the centre. Upon theſe occaſions the public buſineſs in general was tranſacted, foreigners were received, grievances were ſtated, complaints heard (every perſon being at liberty to apply to the Emperor for redreſs,) and malefactors were puniſhed in the preſence of the ſovereign, and the whole court.

The revenues of the Emperor of Morocco conſiſt of a tenth on every article of conſumption, being the natural production of the country, as allowed him by the Koran; an annual tax upon the Jews; his cuſtom-houſe and exciſe duties; and the tributes which he exacts from his ſubjects, foreign ſtates, and European merchants, in the form of preſents. From the laſt articles he derives the moſt conſiderable part of his income.

The want of ſyſtem, and the caprice of Sidi Mahomet, was ſuch, that it is utterly impoſſible to ſay what was the annual amount of all theſe branches of revenue. The duties were frequently changed three or four times in the courſe of a year, and the tributes were ſubject to an equal degree of uncertainty. After all, it has been a matter of great doubt and ſpeculation whether Sidi Mahomet was wealthy. From the greater encouragement to commerce during his reign, the trifling expence of his court, every perſon engaged about it receiving little or no pay from the Emperor, the uncommonly ſevere exactions he enforced, and the numerous voluntary preſents he received, the natural concluſion was, that he muſt have been very rich. On the other hand, however, his expences at the ſieges of Melilla and Mazagan are known to have been very conſiderable; and theſe, united to the valuable preſents he annually tranſmitted to the Grand Seignior, and to the ſharifs of Mecca, are to be placed in the

oppoſite ſcale; and when this is done, it will perhaps appear that his wealth was far from conſiderable.

The land forces of the Emperor of Morocco conſiſt principally of black troops, the deſcendants of thoſe negroes which Muley Iſhmael imported from Guinea, and ſome few white, amounting altogether to an army of about thirty-ſix thouſand men upon the eſtabliſhment, two-thirds of which are cavalry. This eſtabliſhment, however, upon occaſion admits of a conſiderable increaſe, as every man is ſuppoſed to be a ſoldier, and when called upon is obliged to act in that capacity. About ſix thouſand of the ſtanding forces form the Emperor's body guard, and are always kept near his perſon; the remainder are quartered in the different towns of the empire, and are under the charge of the baſhaws of the provinces. They are all clothed by the Emperor, and receive a trifling pay; but their chief dependance is on plunder, which they have frequent opportunities of acquiring.

The ſoldiers have no diſtinction in dreſs from the other Moors, and are only marked by their accoutrements, which conſiſt of a ſabre, a very long muſket, a ſmall red leather box to hold their balls, which is fixed in front by means of a belt, and a powder-horn ſlung over their ſhoulders.

The army is under the direction of a commander in chief, four principal baſhaws, and alcaides who command diſtinct diviſions. With reſpect to the alcaides it is proper to remark, that there are three deſcriptions of perſons who bear this appellation: but thoſe to whom I at preſent allude are military officers, who command ſoldiers from a thouſand to five hundred, twenty-five, or even four men in a diviſion.

The black troops which I have been deſcribing are naturally of a very fiery diſpoſition; capable of enduring great fatigue, hunger, thirſt, and every difficulty to which a military life is expoſed. They appear well calculated for ſkirmiſhing parties, or for the purpoſe of haraſſing an enemy; but were they obliged to undergo a regular attack, from their total want of diſcipline they would ſoon be routed. In all their manœuvres they have no notion whatever of order and regularity, but have altogether more the appearance of a rabble than of an army.

Though theſe troops are ſuppoſed to be the ſtrongeſt ſupport of deſpotiſm, yet from their avarice and love of variety they frequently prove the moſt dangerous enemies to their monarchs; they are often known to excite ſedition and rebellion, and their inſolence has ſometimes proceeded to ſuch exceſſes as nearly to overturn the government. Their conduct is governed only by their paſſions. Thoſe who pay them beſt, and treat them with the greateſt attention, they will always be moſt ready to ſupport. This circumſtance, independent of every other, makes it the intereſt of the monarch to keep his ſubjects in as complete a ſtate of poverty as poſſible. The Moors are indeed remarkable for inſincerity in their attachments, and for their love of variety; a military force, in this kingdom eſpecially, is therefore the only means which a deſpotic monarch can employ for ſecuring himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the throne. Ignorant of every principle of rational liberty, whatever conteſts this devoted people may engage in with their tyrants are merely conteſts for the ſucceſſion; and the ſole object for which they ſpend their lives and their property is to exchange one mercileſs deſpot for another.

The Emperor's navy conſiſts of about fifteen ſmall frigates, a few xebecks, and between twenty and thirty row-gallies. The whole is commanded by one admiral; but as theſe veſſels are principally uſed for the purpoſes of piracy, they ſeldom unite in a fleet. The number of ſeamen in the ſervice are computed at ſix thouſand.

I have already noted the bad ſtate of the ports of Morocco, and the probability of their becoming ſtill worſe; it is therefore evident, that very little is to be apprehended from the Emperor as a naval power; and indeed I am apt to believe, that though a conſiderable part of his dominions is apparently maritime, he will in the courſe of ſome years be deſtitute both of fleets and harbours.

When deſcribing the Emperor's character, I obſerved, that there cannot exiſt a more abſolute government than that of Morocco; the lives and properties of the ſubjects depending entirely on the will or caprice of the monarch. The forms of order and juſtice are, however, ſtill preſerved, though but very little of the ſubſtance remains.

An officer is appointed by the Emperor for the government of every province, who, as I have already ſtated, is named a baſhaw; he is generally a Moor of ſome diſtinction, and frequently one of the Emperor's ſons. This officer, who is appointed or removed at the will of the ſovereign, has almoſt an unlimited power throughout the province which he commands; he can inflict every puniſhment but death, can levy taxes, impoſe fines, and in ſhort, can plunder any individual he pleaſes; and indeed, if the reader will not ſmile at the abuſe of words, the plundering of the public and of individuals may be conſidered as a part of the duties of his office. When by every ſpecies of rapacity he has amaſſed a large property, it then becomes the buſineſs of the Emperor to divert this treaſure into his own coffers. Some frivolous plea is therefore invented for the impriſoning of the baſhaw, which is immediately put into execution. The Emperor then ſeizes upon all his property, and afterwards reinſtates him in his government, in order that the ſame game may be played over again.—So perfectly acquainted with mankind in every ſtate and ſituation was our inimitable Shakeſpeare:

" *Roſencrantz.* Take you me for a ſpunge, my Lord?

" *Hamlet.* Aye, ſir; that ſoaks up the king's countenance, his rewards, his authorities. But ſuch officers do the king beſt ſervice in the end; he keeps them, like an ape, in the corner of his jaw; firſt mouthed, to be at laſt ſwallowed. When he needs what you have gleaned, it is but ſqueezing you, and, ſpunge, you ſhall be dry again."

Subordinate to the baſhaw, the Emperor appoints governors to each town, named alcaides; and officers with a ſimilar authority in every douhar or encampment, who are called ſhaiks. Theſe officers have the ſame power inveſted in them over their ſeveral diſtricts as the baſhaws have in their provinces. But in other reſpects their ſituation is worſe, as they are not only ſubject to the tyranny and caprice of the Emperor, but alſo of the baſhaw.

The alcaide, or governor, is inveſted with both the military and civil authority in the town where he reſides. As a military officer he commands a certain number of ſoldiers, whom he employs for the public defence and tranquillity, and alſo for enforcing the payment of taxes, for the puniſhing of delinquents, and to convey his orders and meſſages to court, or into the country. As a civil officer, he has the entire cognizance of all criminal matters, for which he diſcretionally inflicts any puniſhment ſhort of death.

If we only reflect on the dangerous extent of this almoſt unlimited power, it is eaſy to anticipate the abuſes of it in a country where ſo little attention is paid to juſtice or honour. For the moſt trifling offences the alcaide condemns the delinquent not only to be baſtinadoed very ſeverely and impriſoned, but alſo to pay him a ſum of money, or preſent him with ſome other article equal in value, which probably the priſoner has

been half his life in acquiring. It frequently happens, indeed, that falſe accuſations are invented purpoſely againſt individuals to plunder them of their property. This is not the only inconvenience ariſing from an abuſe of power; — for let a perſon commit the moſt notorious crime, if he can carry up a preſent to the governor of greater value than what was preſented by his accuſer, he is not only forgiven, but if he has the leaſt ingenuity he will find very little difficulty in even throwing the whole of the crime upon his antagoniſt. Indeed, in this country, juſtice, or rather judgment, is moſt eaſily procured by purchaſing it.

Under the alcaide is an officer named ell-hackum, or deputy governor, whoſe office bears ſome analogy to our principal bailiff or conſtable.

Beſides theſe officers, there is in every town a cadi, who is both a civil judge and the chief prieſt; for it is well known that the civil and religious inſtitutions are united in the Koran. When any diſpute happens between individuals, reſpecting matters of right or property, debts, inſults, &c. the perſon who ſuppoſes himſelf injured may apply for redreſs to the cadi, who is to determine the matter agreeably to the principles of the Koran. In the abſence of the cadi, any of the talbs, who are common prieſts, are equally authorized to act for him. If the parties chooſe to employ lawyers, the pleadings muſt be carried on in writing, otherwiſe they plead orally their own cauſes. Upon theſe occaſions the cadi or talbs cannot openly receive any payment, but it is well known that they are too frequently influenced by private preſents.

The chief of the cadis is the mufti, who is alſo the ſupreme head of the church.

When any party in a ſuit conceives that he has reaſon to complain of the juriſdiction of theſe officers, he has a right to appeal to the Emperor, who gives public audiences for the purpoſe of adminiſtering juſtice. This cuſtom would be a great alleviation to the evils of deſpotiſm, were the Emperor always to adminiſter juſtice impartially; but valuable preſents have ſometimes too powerful an influence even over the ſovereign himſelf. On this account, as well as on that of the great diſtance of many of the provinces from the ſeat of government, the people ſeldom embrace this laſt reſource in applying for juſtice.

The mode of puniſhing criminals in this country depends entirely upon the will of the ſovereign. Trifling offences are uſually puniſhed by impriſonment and the baſtinado, which is inflicting a certain number of ſtripes on the back and legs by leather ſtraps, and which is ſometimes executed with great ſeverity. For crimes of a more ſerious nature, in ſome caſes the hands are cut off, particularly for ſtealing, in others a leg and a hand. When I was at Morocco, four men who had committed murder, had both their hands and legs cut off, and were afterwards ſhot. Other criminals are run through with ſwords, knocked down with clubs, or are beheaded. Another mode of puniſhment is toſſing, which is ſo contrived that the victim falls immediately upon his head. There were ſeveral perſons about Sidi Mahomet, who from practice had acquired a habit of throwing perſons up, ſo as at pleaſure either to break the head, diſlocate the neck, fracture an arm, leg, or both, or to let them fall without receiving any material injury. When I was at Morocco, a man received the latter puniſhment in the morning, and in the afternoon the Emperor made him a handſome preſent, as a recompence for what he had ſuffered.

To ſum up all in a few words, there is no mode of cruelty known which has not been practiſed at Morocco. I am well aware that in the preſent uncivilized ſtate of the people, ſevere and exemplary puniſhments may be neceſſary to keep them in any degree of ſubjection; but it muſt be at leaſt allowed, that ſuch ſeverities ſhould

never be inflicted but when there is a full proof of guilt. The contrary of this I am afraid is too often the caſe at Morocco. The accuſed is ſeldom permitted to make his defence, but is ſent out of the world very frequently without knowing for what he ſuffers.

Theſe puniſhments were always inflicted in the preſence of the Emperor. The former monarchs of this country were their own executioners, and Sidi Mahomet acted in the ſame capacity when prince; but upon his acceſſion to the throne he reſigned that reſpectable office to his negro ſoldiers. I never was preſent at any of theſe executions, but was informed that legs and arms are taken off by a common knife and ſaw, and that the ſtump is afterwards dipped in boiling pitch, which is the only mode of ſtopping the hæmorrhage with which they are acquainted.

To evince in what a cool light all theſe things are conſidered by the Moors, one of the Emperor's ſons had undertaken to put a memorial from me into his father's hands, praying to be ſent home. Upon my calling upon him to aſk if he had complied with my requeſt, he informed me, that when he laſt ſaw his father an opportunity had not offered, as he was then very *buſy in putting ſome perſons to death.*

CHAP. X. —*Arrival of Muley Abſulem at Morocco — his pompous Entry. — Adventures of ſome Engliſh Captives. — Account of wild Arabs. — Interview with the Prince. — Flattering Expectations — diſappointed. — Unworthy Conduct of the Prince — his Departure for Mecca. — Diſagreeable Embarraſſments. — Efforts of the Author to procure Leave to return.*

ABOUT ten days after my interview with the Emperor, Muley Abſulem arrived from Tarudant, in his way to Mecca. As this prince was ſo diſtinguiſhed a favourite with the Emperor, his public entrance into Morocco was conducted in a much more magnificent ſtile than any other part of the royal family would perhaps have ventured upon. As ſoon as intelligence arrived that the prince was approaching the city, two of his brothers, Muley Slemma and Muley Ouſſine, who happened to be at Morocco at the time, the baſhaw, and all the principal perſons in the city, received orders to proceed on horſeback to meet him, which they did in great form, and found him encamped at the diſtance of about four miles. As ſoon as he had dined the cavalcade commenced, conſiſting firſt, of all the prince's alcaides, about twelve in number, in front, flanked on each ſide by one ſtandard-bearer, who carried each a red flag, and one lance-bearer, carrying a lance of an uncommon length. Behind them was Muley Abſulem in the centre; on the right of him Muley Slemma, and on the left Muley Ouſſine. The next in order was the baſhaw, with the principal perſons of the city; and the rear was brought up by a troop of one hundred cavalry, all abreaſt, partly negroes and partly Moors, who had the butt end of their muſkets reſting on their ſaddles, with the muzzles pointed perpendicularly. In this manner the prince advanced till he approached the walls of the town, where he received orders to halt till the Emperor came to him; an honour which had never been paid by Sidi Mahomet to any perſon before. The Emperor ſhortly after advanced on horſeback, with his ſuite, conſiſting of about fifty ſoldiers. Upon his approach, Muley Abſulem diſmounted and kiſſed the earth; upon which the Emperor commanded him to riſe, and approach cloſe to his perſon. He then bleſſed him, laying his hand on the prince's head, and afterwards embraced him with all the affection of a fond father. Having made many enquiries concerning his ſon's health, the Emperor took his leave, and each retired to their reſpective places of reſidence. As ſoon as the prince had

had got within the walls of his garden, his troops fired three vollies of muſketry in an irregular manner, as is cuſtomary on theſe occaſions, and there the ceremony concluded.

It may eaſily be imagined that I loſt no time in waiting on His Highneſs, and I received from him as flattering a reception as I could poſſibly wiſh. The prince informed me that he had continued recovering his ſight gradually, and that he found himſelf in every other reſpect in good health. I took this opportunity of repreſenting to him how diſagreeably I was ſituated with reſpect to the Emperor, and truſted that he would now clear up every doubt that might have ariſen on my account; and with this requeſt he promiſed to comply. On paying my ſecond viſit, the prince informed me that he had obtained the Emperor's permiſſion to have again recourſe to his medicines, and that he was certain he ſhould have influence ſufficient with his father to perſuade him to give me up the Engliſh captives, as a compliment for my ſervices.

The prince had brought along with him to Morocco the Engliſh captain, the only Engliſhman that had been left in ſlavery, the black having died ſome time before. My reader will eaſily conceive the pleaſure I felt at ſeeing my unfortunate countryman, who had been left alone in the hands of ſavages, now out of immediate ſlavery, and with the chearful proſpect, according to the promiſes of the prince, of being immediately ſent home to his friends and country. My ſenſations indeed on the occaſion may be much more eaſily felt than deſcribed. But if this circumſtance had ſuch an effect upon me, what muſt it have had upon this unfortunate officer, who for ſome months paſt had been ſeparated from his people, one of whom was a near relation, and without knowing whether they were dead or alive; who with the evils of ſlavery had experienced that of a ſevere fever, without having any perſon to conſole him, or afford him that aſſiſtance which is ſo neceſſary upon ſuch occaſions? To be redeemed under ſuch circumſtances from his inhoſpitable ſituation, to recover from his illneſs, and to meet with all his companions at Morocco, well taken care of by the Emperor, was a change which he had given up all expectation of ever beholding.

The captain was a well informed young man, and an agreeable companion. He had been brought up, as I before intimated, to the profeſſion of medicine and ſurgery, in both of which he had received a good education. His firſt eſſay in the world was as ſurgeon to a Guinea-man; after having made ſeveral voyages in this capacity, however, finding it a diſadvantageous employment, he obtained the command of a ſmall veſſel in the ſame trade, and this was his firſt voyage as commander.

Contrary to his inclination he was ordered by his owners to ſail between the Canaries and the coaſt of Africa, which is at all times conſidered as a dangerous navigation. As he approached towards the ſpot where his misfortune happened, which is inhabited by wild Arabs, he got into a ſtrong current, which drives directly towards the ſhore, and a perfect calm ſucceeding, the veſſel unavoidably ran aground. The crew immediately took to their boat, carried off all the money on board, which was about five hundred dollars, with a good ſhare of proviſions and water, and got ſafe to ſhore.

The part of the country where they were wrecked conſiſted of deep and heavy ſands. As upon their firſt landing they ſaw nothing to moleſt them, it was their intention to proceed on foot, along the coaſt to the northward, till they could reach Santa Cruz or Mogodore, where they could make their ſituation known. For this purpoſe they ſet off with their money, proviſions, and water, and met with no diſturbance

ance till the end of two days. They then obſerved a party of wild Arabs, armed with large clubs and knives, and rapidly advancing towards them: their firſt object was to bury their money in the ſands. Overpowered by numbers, they ſaw no chance of making a ſucceſsful defence, and therefore every moment expected inſtantaneous death. The ſavages, however, had a different object in view. They knew very well that what property the unfortunate people had about them was ſufficiently ſecure, without being under the neceſſity of deſtroying their lives in order to obtain it, and they were not ignorant of the value of their perſons when offered for ſale; their ultimate object therefore was, to bring them to market as ſlaves.

As each of their conquerors conceived himſelf equally intereſted in the capture, they were ſome time before they could agree among themſelves how they ſhould diſpoſe of their priſoners; in the mean time ſome of the people were knocked down, others had their pockets cut out, and the buttons torn from off their coats. They were at laſt ſeized on by different perſons, and carried away to different places of reſidence.

As I had an opportunity of ſeeing ſome of theſe ſavages at Morocco, and as they appeared to be in ſome reſpects different from thoſe Arabs whom I had met with in my travels, I ſhall beg leave to deſcribe them. Contrary to the cuſtom of the Moors, they wear the hair long, which is a dark black, and ſtarting from their heads like porcupine's quills. Their complexions are of a very dark brown, their noſes very pointed, their eyes dark and ſtaring, their beards long, and their features altogether ſuggeſt the idea of lunacy or raving madneſs. In their perſons they are very ſtrong and muſcular; and many of them go quite naked; others wear only a ſmall garment round their waiſts. — But to return to my narrative.

The Engliſh ſailors were put into miſerable huts or tents, where for ſeveral days they could procure no ſuſtenance, but juniper-berries, brackiſh water, and now and then a ſmall quantity of milk.

From theſe people they were ſoon diſpoſed of to others, who put them into the immediate employments of ſlavery; theſe employments were the carrying of water in ſkins, and performing various other kinds of drudgery, which was at all times accompanied with ſtripes.

After continuing in this ſtate between two and three months, they contrived to get a letter conveyed to the Engliſh vice-conſul at Mogodore, expreſſive of their ſituation, who forwarded it to the conſul-general at Tangier, and at the ſame time wrote to Muley Abſulem upon the ſubject. This prince, who commanded the province adjoining to that where Captain Irving and his people were detained, at the expiration of eight months from the time this accident happened, obtained the Emperor's permiſſion to redeem them out of ſlavery, with orders to ſend them up to Morocco, where His Mooriſh Majeſty thought proper to keep them, till they were expreſsly ſent for by our Sovereign; or, in other words, till he received an handſome preſent.

About four days after the prince's arrival, the flattering aſſurances which he had at firſt given me reſpecting theſe unfortunate perſons were apparently confirmed, by his informing me, that he had ſucceeded to his wiſhes with the Emperor, in what he had promiſed relative to the Engliſh captives; that in two or three days he was to ſet off for Fez, in his way to Mecca, and that he was to take us all with him as far as Sallee, whence a party was to be diſpatched to conduct us to Tangier.

Such

Such agreeable intelligence, and from ſuch authority, afforded me the moſt pleaſing hopes that my journey would yet end to my ſatisfaction. I eagerly flew to the captain to acquaint him with it; but he ſeemed too much accuſtomed to diſappointments to entertain any very ſanguine expectations from my information. I think, however, his ſpirits appeared ſomewhat revived upon the occaſion.

The day before the prince's departure I was deſired to ſtate the number of mules which would be neceſſary to convey my baggage; at the ſame time I was told, that in two days we were all to ſet off. To my very great ſurprize, however, on the ſame evening, I was for the firſt time refuſed permiſſion to ſee the prince; an excuſe being made that he was then buſy, and therefore wiſhed me to call in the morning. At the ſame time I ſaw every preparation making for the journey, and was poſitively told that the prince was to depart from Morocco the very next day.

As I could not help feeling uneaſy and alarmed at this circumſtance, I repaired early in the morning to the prince's habitation, to know the truth of what I had heard the day before; little enquiry however was neceſſary, ſince the firſt object that preſented itſelf was the baggage-mules ready loaded; and, in addition to this circumſtance, I was informed, that the prince was to ſet off in an hour's time.

It was in vain that I ſent in repeated meſſages to the prince, requeſting that he would permit me to ſee him. The only anſwer I could obtain was, that he was then engaged, and that I muſt wait a little. Wearied out at length by the urgency of my ſolicitations, a particular friend of His Highneſs came out and told me, that the prince had ſent me ten hard dollars, with orders to leave the garden immediately, as no perſon but the Emperor could ſend me home.

Enraged at this unworthy treatment, I deſired the Moor to acquaint the prince, that it was not money I wanted; I wiſhed him only to fulfil his engagement, and that till I had ſome proſpect of that being accompliſhed, I would not ſtir from the garden, unleſs compelled by force. The reſult of this meſſage was, that the ſame man returned with two dollars more, and ſaid that the prince had done all he could for me. If I chooſe to go to one of the Emperor's ſecretaries, whoſe name he mentioned, he would give me the Emperor's letter of diſpatch, and I then might proceed home in what manner I pleaſed, but that the prince had no further buſineſs with me. Finding that meſſages were fruitleſs, I determined to watch the opportunity of the prince's coming out of his houſe, and as ſoon as he had mounted his horſe I placed myſelf directly before him. In this laſt reſource, however, I found myſelf equally unſucceſsful as before, and experienced the laſt extreme of rudeneſs and ingratitude; for before my interpreter could pronounce a ſingle ſentence, the prince puſhed on, and rode haſtily by me, leaving me in as diſagreeable ſituation as can well be conceived.

To whatever point I directed my view, there appeared nothing comfortable in the proſpect. I had come purpoſely into the country to attend the prince, with his moſt poſitive aſſurances that I ſhould be ſent back again, when he had no further occaſion for my ſervices. How great then muſt be my mortification to find myſelf in a worſe ſituation than the crane in the fable? ſince inſtead of obtaining from him this negative favour, in return for all the fatigues and inconveniences which I had experienced on his account, I found myſelf deſerted entirely, and left in the charge of a haughty and perfidious Emperor! Doubt after doubt took poſſeſſion of my mind; and this, joined with the reflection of having ſo completely diſappointed the hopes of the unfortunate ſeamen, as well as the favourable accounts I had written to the conſul on the prince's

recovery,

recovery, preſſed ſo forcibly on my feelings, that for the ſpace of two or three hours I was in a ſtate little better than that of inſanity.

As ſoon as I found myſelf in ſome degree recovered, I went to the perſon to whom I was directed for my letter of diſpatch, and was informed that he had ſet off early that morning for Fez; and had the further ſatisfaction of diſcovering that the prince had availed himſelf of this excuſe, in order to avoid my importunity. As no ſtranger who is ſent for by the Emperor can ſtir from the court till he gets his diſpatches, I now conſidered myſelf in every reſpect a priſoner. Diſappointed in every hope of emancipation, I returned home, and immediately diſpatched expreſſes to the conſuls at Tangier and Mogodore, informing them of my ſituation, and earneſtly requeſting their immediate interference. In the mean time I omitted no other means which occurred to procure my diſpatches, but all without ſucceſs. The moſt probable ſtep which I could deviſe, or at leaſt which I could carry into effect, was to convey to the Emperor's hands the following memorial, by means of one of his ſons.

To His Imperial Majeſty of Morocco.

MOST AUGUST SOVEREIGN,

With all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion due to Your Majeſty's exalted ſtation, I take the liberty of informing Your Majeſty, that I had particular orders from the Governor of Gibraltar, under whoſe command I have the honour to ſerve, to return immediately to my duty, upon my ſervices being no longer neceſſary to Your Majeſty's ſon, the Prince Muley Abſulem. That now being the caſe, I only wait to know whether I am to have the honour of conveying Your Majeſty's commands to Tangier, either for Your Majeſty's ſon Muley Haſem, or for the Britiſh Conſul-general.

I have the honour to be, moſt reſpectfully,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and devoted ſervant,

W. LEMPRIERE.

I got the above letter tranſlated into Arabic, worded in the uſual compliments of the country, and having incloſed it in a ſilk handkerchief, the mode in which all letters are preſented to royal perſonages in Barbary, I carried it to Muley Omar, whom I had ſeen at Tarudant, with a preſent of Iriſh linen, in value about ſix dollars, wrapped up alſo in a ſilk handkerchief; and requeſted him to deliver it into his father's hands the firſt opportunity. The prince firſt received the preſent, and then told me, that as we were always old friends, I needed not to have troubled myſelf with bringing one; but that I might be aſſured he would ſettle the buſineſs to my entire ſatisfaction in a very ſhort time. The reſult of this application was, a promiſe from the Emperor of being ſent home immediately; but this was attended with the ſame inſincerity which I had uſually experienced.

My next effort was, by making preſents to the principal miniſters to bribe them over to my intereſt, as my delay might probably ariſe as much from the Emperor's want of memory as from any other cauſe; for his faculties were then ſo much impaired, that he was not able to recollect circumſtances from one hour to another. I was in hopes that by means of his miniſters he would be continually reminded of me; but, either becauſe my preſents were not ſufficiently large, or becauſe theſe rapacious miniſters were in hopes I would repeat them, I effected nothing by this plan.

CHAP. XI.—*Departure of Captain Irving.—Inſolence of the Populace to Chriſtians.—Manners and Character of the Moors.—Education of the Princes.—Perſons and Dreſs of the Moors.—Houſes and Furniture.—Ceremonies.—Couriers.—Anecdotes illuſtrative of Mooriſh Cuſtoms.—Topics of Converſation at Morocco.—Horſemanſhip.—Muſic and Poetry.—Religion.—Moſques.—Slaves.—Marriages.—Funerals.—Renegadoes.—Caravans to Mecca and Guinea.*

IN a fortnight after the prince's departure all the Engliſh captives were ordered to Mogodore, to remain under the care of a gentleman of that place, till our court ſhould think proper to ſend for them. Deprived by this circumſtance of the ſociety of the captain, whoſe good ſenſe and agreeable converſation leſſened in a great degree the uneaſineſs I experienced from the irkſomeneſs of my ſituation, I muſt confeſs my ſpirits did not receive much benefit from the change. My only reſource at preſent for ſociety was the French officer whom I formerly mentioned.

Limited as our ſociety was to that of each other, there exiſted a further impediment to amuſement; for we could not leave the Jewdry without being ſaluted with repeated ſhowers of ſtones, opprobrious names, and every inſult that bigotry and brutality could deviſe. The ignorant of every nation are intolerant; and there can ſcarcely exiſt a more deſperate or ſavage deſcription of people than the Lazzaroni of Morocco: they are a mixed race, conſiſting of the baſeſt of the citizens, with a number of ferocious mountaineers and wild Arabs, who have wandered thither in hopes of acquiring a ſubſiſtence either by labour or by theft.

The deſcription indeed of a mingled race will ſtill more extenſively apply even to the more civilized inhabitants of this country. In the towns particularly, the deſcendants of the different tribes from which they are ſprung may ſtill be traced, viz. thoſe of the native Moors, of their Turkiſh conquerors, and of the negroes who have been introduced in the manner already related.

The complexion of the two firſt is a ſallow white; and from this circumſtance, and from their intermarrying with each other, it is not poſſible always to determine the origin of each individual; I ſhall therefore claſs them both under the general appellation of Moors. But the negroes, though they form a large proportion of the Emperor's ſubjects, are now by no means ſo numerous as in the reign of Muley Iſhmael, who firſt introduced them into the country. They are better formed than the Moors, and as they are more lively, daring, and active, they are entruſted with an important ſhare in the executive part of government. They conſtitute in fact the moſt conſiderable part of the Emperor's army, and are generally appointed to the command of provinces and towns. This circumſtance naturally creates a jealouſy between them and the Moors, the latter conſidering the negroes as uſurpers of a power which they have no right to aſſume.

The negroes are blood-thirſty, capricious, and revengeful. As ſoldiers, they manifeſt ſufficient ardour when commanded by popular officers; but their attachment depends on the generoſity of their chief, and the energy, ſeverity, and cruelty of his diſpoſition: if he ſlackens in any of theſe particulars, they either deſert him, or deliver him up to his enemy.

Beſides the negroes which form the Emperor's army, there are a great many others in the country, who either are or have been ſlaves to private Moors: every Moor of conſequence, indeed, has his proportion of them in his ſervice. To the diſgrace of Europe, the Moors treat their ſlaves with humanity, employing them in looking after

their gardens, and in the domeſtic duties of their houſes. They allow them to marry among themſelves, and after a certain number of years ſpontaneouſly preſent them with the invaluable boon of liberty. They ſoon are initiated in the Mahometan perſuaſion, though they ſometimes intermix with it a few of their original ſuperſtitious cuſtoms. In every other reſpect they copy the dreſs and manners of the Moors; of which I ſhall endeavour to give the reader ſome general idea.

To think juſtly and with candour of the Mooriſh character, we muſt take into our conſideration the natural-effects of a total want of education, a moſt rigidly arbitrary government, and a climate calculated, as far as climate has influence, to ſtimulate and excite the vicious paſſions, as well as by its debilitating and relaxing influence to weaken and depreſs the nobler energies of the mind. To theſe we may add the diſadvantages ariſing from the want of a free intercourſe with other nations, and the influence of an abſurd and uncharitable religion.

In ſuch a ſtate of things the traveller is not to be ſurprized if he obſerves moſt of the vices of ſavage nations grafted upon thoſe of luxury and indolence; if he obſerves ſuperſtition, avarice, and luſt, the leading features of character, with their natural concomitants, deceit and jealouſy; he is not to be ſurpriſed if he finds but little of the amiable attachments and propenſities, little of friendſhip or ſocial union with each other, ſince the nature of the government, and the habits of his private life, are calculated to inſpire each man with a diſtruſt and ſuſpicion of his neighbour.

I will not aſſert, however, that this character will univerſally apply.—However the cuſtoms and government of a nation may militate againſt virtue and excellence, there are always ſplendid exceptions to the prevalent vices of every ſociety. There are certainly among the Moors many whoſe private virtues would do honour to any civilized nation; but I am ſorry to add, that thoſe characters are not numerous. Groaning under the ſevereſt oppreſſions of deſpotiſm, they loſe all ſpirit for induſtry and improvement, and ſuffer indolence and ignorance to reign without controul. Senſible of the uncertainty of enjoying the fruits of labour and ingenuity, the great majority of the people remain content with the bare neceſſaries of life, or when in power endeavour to enrich themſelves by the ſame means which had before kept them in a ſtate of poverty.

Arts and ſciences ſeem to be almoſt unknown here, or, if at all cultivated, it is only by the Jews, who indeed are the only induſtrious and ingenious people in the country. The Moors in general may be conſidered as exiſting in the paſtoral ſtate, following only a few mechanical trades, and leaving every thing that requires invention to the Jews, who have likewiſe the principal management of their commercial and pecuniary matters; and even thoſe few of the Moors who are merchants are obliged to have Jew agents for the purpoſe of tranſacting their buſineſs.

Fearful of having it diſcovered that they are rich, ſooner than part with money, which under ſuch circumſtances is of little or no uſe to them, they deprive themſelves of the luxuries and even comforts of life; they hoard up and conceal their treaſures, though ſeldom ſo artfully but they are at length detected, and conſequently plundered by the baſhaw, the prince, or the emperor. To conceal more effectually their riches, they are obliged to have recourſe to every form of diſſimulation and deceit; and being exerciſed in theſe qualities during the early part of life, at a more advanced period they become an eſtabliſhed part of their character.

The Moors are naturally of a grave and penſive diſpoſition, fervid in profeſſions of friendſhip, but very inſincere in their attachments. They have no curioſity, no ambition of knowledge; an indolent habit, united to the want of mental cultivation, renders

renders them perhaps even more callous than other unenlightened people to every delicate ſenſation, and they require more than ordinary excitement to render them ſenſible of pleaſure or of pain. It is to this circumſtance, and to their religion, which teaches them to impute every thing to a blind predeſtination, that we may attribute that paſſive obedience which the Moors diſcover under all their misfortunes and oppreſſions. This langour of ſentiment is, however, unaccompanied with the ſmalleſt ſpark of courage or fortitude. When in adverſity, they manifeſt the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to their ſuperiors, and in proſperity their tyranny and pride is inſupportable. They frequently ſmile, but ſeldom are heard to laugh loud. The moſt infallible mark of internal tranquillity and enjoyment is, when they amuſe themſelves with ſtroking or playing with their beard. When roused by reſentment, their diſputes rarely proceed further than violently to abuſe each other in the moſt opprobrious language. They never fight or box with their fiſts, like our peaſantry, but when a quarrel proceeds to great extremities, they collar each other, and ſometimes terminate a diſpute by aſſaſſination.

It has been ſomewhere remarked, that whatever debaſes the human ſpirit corrupts at the ſame time and depraves the heart. That abjectneſs of diſpoſition, which a ſtate of ſlavery induces, eradicates every noble, every generous ſentiment. The Moors are diſhonourable and unfair in all their dealings; nor are the greateſt among them exempt from propenſities which would diſgrace the meaneſt of the civilized inhabitants of Europe. When the Emperor's army was at Tangier, one of the conſuls invited the Mooriſh general and his particular friend to tea. Soon after their departure the conſul miſſed one of his tea-ſpoons, and knowing the diſpoſitions of the Moors, ſent to the general for it; who immediately returned it, and ſimply apologized, by ſaying he had put it into his pocket by miſtake.

When we treat of national genius or character, it were to be wiſhed that language ſupplied us with ſome term which might ſerve to indicate that habit or cuſtom is the great framer of the characters of nations. Of this truth there can be no ſtronger evidence than Morocco affords. Torpid and inſenſible as I have repreſented the Moors in general to be, this character is by no means applicable to them in early life. In the ſtate of childhood they poſſeſs an uncommon ſhare of vivacity and acuteneſs, but they ſink gradually into indolence and ſtupidity as they advance in life. It is evident, therefore, that to the want of education only this circumſtance is to be attributed. While at ſchool they are ſcarcely leſs remarkable for attention than ability; and as they commit their leſſons to memory, no ſmall ſhare of application is required. This courſe is, however, extremely limited, and continues for a very ſhort period; it conſiſts at moſt of being inſtructed in certain parts of the Koran, and perhaps learning to write. After this all attention to learning ceaſes; and though their parents never indulge them, yet they are rarely chaſtiſed, and are left to themſelves in general almoſt in a ſtate of nature.

A late eloquent writer has remarked, that "the ancients did not, like Archimedes, want a ſpot on which to fix their engines, but they wanted an engine to move the moral world. The preſs is that engine," — and to the want of it may fairly be attributed the ignorance, the ſtupidity, the ſlavery of the African nations. The art of printing is entirely prohibited and unknown in Barbary; and, from ſome inexplicable cauſe, moſt of the manuſcripts which were poſſeſſed by their Saracen anceſtors are loſt to the preſent generation of Moors. A few indeed are ſtill in being, which treat of aſtronomy, aſtrology, and phyſic; but thoſe on aſtrology only are at preſent ſtudied.

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If any thing could effect an important and beneficial change in theſe people, it would be the example of ſome great and magnanimous monarch, who by ſome ſingular revolution might be raiſed to the throne of Morocco. In ſo deſpotic a government, where religion conſpires with habit in teaching the ſubject to conſider his prince as ſomething more than man, much more might be effected by example, than in a free country, where the ſovereign is merely conſidered as an individual placed on the throne for the public good, ſubject to all the imperfections and frailties incident to human nature, and where the mind, by being allowed a free ſcope for reflection, diſdains all authority but that of reaſon and truth.

The plan adopted, however, for the education of the princes of Morocco, ſo far from tending to the improvement of their minds, or the enlargement of their ideas, ſerves, on the contrary, too frequently to render them ſtill more remarkable for vice and brutality than even the worſt of their ſubjects. As ſoon as they become of an age that renders it imprudent to truſt them any longer within the walls of the harem, they are taken out, and put under the care of one of their father's confidential negroes, with whom they ſoon form a cloſe intimacy, from whom they imbibe all the bad qualities which are inſeparable from a ſtate of ſlavery, and by whom they are alſo initiated in vices of every kind, in debauchery, cruelty, and oppreſſion. Their education extends no further than to read and write; and their knowledge of the world is confined to what they can obſerve and learn in the courſe of a pilgrimage to Mecca. They are totally unacquainted with the political hiſtory of every foreign power; and their knowledge of their own government is confined principally to its worſt parts. To acquaint themſelves with the reſources of the country, and the improvements which from its ſituation it would admit of, or to direct any part of their attention to thoſe regulations in their government which might tend to the advantage and eaſe of their ſubjects, or to their own real aggrandizement, is as much out of the line of their education, as the principia of Newton. Thus they aſcend the throne with all the prejudices of ignorance, with all the vices of barbariſm, with a pride that teaches them to look upon their fellow-creatures as inferior beings, and without any ſentiments of tenderneſs, compaſſion, or true policy, to reſtrain the arm of deſpotiſm from its moſt cruel and fatal exceſſes. Thus ill-qualified in general are the ſovereigns of Morocco for effecting a reformation in the manners and character of their people.

The ignorance of the Moors is, however, no bar to their loquacity. They ſpeak very loud, and generally two or three at a time, as they are not very exact in waiting for a reply. Uſeleſs as the forms of politeneſs may appear in the eye of the philoſopher, there are ſome of them which probably conduce in no trifling degree to even our intellectual excellence and improvement.

Perſonal cleanlineſs has been pointed out by modern philoſophers as one of thoſe circumſtances which ſerve to mark and determine the civilization of a people. It was in vain that Mahomet enjoined the frequency of ablution as a religious duty to the Moors. Their dreſs, which ſhould be white, is but ſeldom waſhed, and their whole appearance evinces that they perform this branch of their religious ceremonies in but a ſlovenly manner. With this degree of negligence as to their perſons, we may be juſtly ſurpriſed to find united a moſt ſcrupulous nicety in their habitations and apartments. They enter their chambers barefooted, and cannot bear the ſlighteſt degree of contamination near the place where they are ſeated. This delicacy again is much confined to the inſides of their houſes. The ſtreets receive the whole of their rubbiſh and filth, and by theſe means the ground is ſo raiſed in moſt parts of the city of Morocco, that the new buildings always ſtand conſiderably higher than the old.

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The perſons of the Mooriſh men are ſo diſguiſed by their dreſs, that it is impoſſible to acquire any good idea of their form or proportion. In height they are commonly above the middle ſize, and they are rather meagre than fat. Their compexions in general are ſallow in the northern parts of the empire, but are darker in proportion to their ſituation towards the ſouth. Their features have univerſally a great fameneſs. Their eyes are black and full, they have an aquiline noſe, and in general a good ſet of teeth.

The dreſs of the men * conſiſts of a ſhort linen ſhirt, with large and looſe ſleeves hanging half-way down to the ground. A pair of looſe linen drawers, reaching almoſt to the ankle; over which they wear another looſe pair, made of woollen cloth. Over the ſhirt they wear two or three woollen cloth waiſtcoats of different colours, and of European manufacture; theſe garments are made full as looſe as our great coats; they are connected before by very ſmall buttons, and are faſtened tight round the waiſt by a ſilk belt. Over theſe waiſtcoats they throw a velvet cord, which croſſes the right ſhoulder, and ſuſpends on the left ſide a curved dagger or knife, ſheathed in a braſs caſe. This is the dreſs the Moors wear when in their houſes; but when they go abroad they cover it with the haick, a part of dreſs which has been already noticed. It is thrown over the whole of their other cloathing in a careleſs but eaſy manner, ſomething ſimilar to the Scotch plaid. When the weather is wet or cold, inſtead of the haick, the Moors ſubſtitute the ſulam; which is a large hooded cloak, reaching to the heels, all of one piece, and made of blue or white woollen cloth of European manufacture, without ſeams, cloſe before, and ornamented with ſilk fringes at the extremities, on the breaſt, and the ends of the hood terminating with a ſilk taſſel. The latter part of the dreſs is fixed on the head by means of a ſtrong cord of camel's hair; and among the common people it often ſupplies the place of a cap or turban.

Thoſe Moors who have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca are entitled to wear a turban, and are named Ell-hatch. They are always treated with peculiar reſpect. Even thoſe beaſts of burden indeed which have performed this journey are held in great veneration, and upon their return are exempted from labour. The other claſs of Moors wear only plain red caps. The Moors in general ſhave their heads cloſe, leaving on the upper part a ſingle lock, and wear their beards long. They uſe no ſtockings or ſhoes, but ſubſtitute in the place of the latter yellow ſlippers. They are very fond of beads, of which the better order always carry a roſary in their hands; but they uſe them more as a matter of amuſement than for any religious purpoſe. Many alſo wear plain gold rings on their fingers; and thoſe whoſe circumſtances will allow them to go to that expenſe, poſſeſs likewiſe watches, which, like the roſary, they conſider rather as an ornament than an article from which any great utility can be derived. Very few, in fact, are properly acquainted with their uſe.

This may ſerve to give ſome idea of the dreſs of the rich; but among the poorer claſs of people ſome wear the linen drawers, ſhirt, and one woollen waiſtcoat, and over it the haick; and others have merely a coarſe woollen frock, belted round the waiſt, and covered with the haick.

The houſes in moſt of the towns in this empire appear at a little diſtance like vaulted tombs in a church-yard; and the entrance into the beſt of them has but a mean appearance. They are of a ſquare form, their apartments are ſeldom built higher than the ground-floor, and their outer walls are univerſally white-waſhed, which, in the ſtreets, and particularly when the ſun is out, produce a very unpleaſant ſenſation to

* The dreſs, and general remarks on the Mooriſh women will be introduced hereafter, when we ſpeak of the Emperor's harem.

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the eyes. All theſe circumſtances, united to the want of windows, the filthineſs and irregularity of the ſtreets, the dirty appearance and rude behaviour of the inhabitants, and their total ignorance of every art and ſcience, leaves at firſt ſight an unfavourable impreſſion on the mind of the traveller, which perhaps while he continues in the country he can never do away. As the roofs of the houſes are all terraces, they ſerve as *verandos*, where the Mooriſh women commonly ſit for the benefit of the air, and in ſome places it is poſſible to paſs nearly over the whole town, without having occaſion to deſcend into the ſtreet.

As the beſt apartments are all backwards, a ſtable, or perhaps ſomething worſe, is the place to which viſitors are firſt introduced. Upon entering the houſe the ſtranger is either detained in this place, or in the ſtreet, till all the women are diſpatched out of the way; he is then allowed to enter a ſquare court, into which four narrow and long rooms open by means of large folding doors, which, as they have no windows, ſerve likewiſe to introduce light into the apartments. The court has generally in its centre a fountain, and if it is the houſe of a Moor of property, it is floored with blue and white checquered tiling. The doors are uſually painted of various colours in a chequered form, and the upper parts of them are frequently ornamented with very curious carved work.—None of the chambers have fire-places, and their victuals are always dreſſed in the court-yard, in an earthen ſtove, heated with charcoal.

When the viſitor enters the room where he is received by the maſter of the houſe, he finds him ſitting croſs-legged and barefooted on a mattreſs, covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor, or elſe on a common mat. This, with a narrow piece of carpeting, is in general the only furniture he will meet with in Mooriſh houſes; though they are not deſtitute of other ornaments. In ſome, for inſtance, he will find the walls decorated with looking-glaſſes of different ſizes. In others, watches and clocks in glaſs caſes; and in ſome the apartments are hung with the ſkins of lions or tigers, or adorned with a diſplay of muſkets and ſabres. In the houſes of thoſe who live in the very firſt ſtyle, an European mahogany bedſtead, with one or two mattreſſes, covered with fine white linen, is ſometimes placed at each end of the room. Theſe, however, are only conſidered as ornaments, as the Moors always ſleep on a mattreſs, or a mat placed upon the floor, and covered only with their haick, or perhaps a quilt.

As the law of Mahomet ſtrictly proſcribes the uſe of pictures of every deſcription, this delightful ſpecies of ornament finds no place in the houſes of the Moors. I was however acquainted with a Moor at Morocco, who uſed to exhibit a raree-ſhow to his friends and acquaintance, all of whom appeared to expreſs infinite ſurpriſe and admiration at his exhibition. This, indeed,' was not the only inſtance in which he was guilty of violating the Mahometan law. He ſcrupled not to drink very freely his bottle of port or claret, which, as it was manufactured by Chriſtians, was from that circumſtance an aggravated offence. He employed me to procure for him from Mogodore three dozen of claret, which appeared to adminiſter to him infinite comfort and ſatisfaction. This affection indeed for the productions of Europe made him perhaps more than uſually favourable to its natives. However this may be, he was the only man who ſhewed me much attention during my reſidence at Morocco. He repeatedly took me to his houſe, and made me little preſents of various kinds, which at that place proved very acceptable.

When a Moor receives his gueſts he never riſes from his ſeat, but ſhakes hands, enquires after their health, and deſires them to ſit down, either on a carpet or a cuſhion placed on the floor for that purpoſe. Whatever be the time of day, tea is then brought

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in on a tea-board with ſhort feet. This is the higheſt compliment that can be offered by a Moor; for tea is a very expenſive and ſcarce article in Barbary, and is only drank by the rich and luxurious. Their manner of preparing it is by putting ſome green tea, a ſmall quantity of tanſey, the ſame portion of mint, and a large portion of ſugar (for the Moors drink their tea very ſweet) into the tea-pot at the ſame time, and filling it up with boiling water. When theſe articles are infuſed a proper time, the fluid is then poured into remarkably ſmall cups of the beſt India china, the ſmaller the more genteel, without any milk, and, accompanied with ſome cakes or ſweetmeats, it is handed round to the company. From the great eſteem in which this beverage is held by the Moors, it is generally drank by very ſmall and ſlow ſips, that its flavour may be the longer enjoyed; and as they uſually drink a conſiderable quantity whenever it is introduced, this entertainment is ſeldom finiſhed in leſs time than two hours.

The other luxuries of the Moors are ſnuff, of which they are uncommonly fond, and ſmoaking tobacco, for which the greater part uſe wooden pipes about four feet in length, with an earthen bowl; but the princes or Emperor generally have the bowls made of ſolid gold. Inſtead of the indulgence of opium, which, from the heavy duty impoſed upon that article by the Emperor, is too expenſive to be uſed by the Moors, they ſubſtitute the achicha, a ſpecies of flax. This they powder and infuſe in water in ſmall quantities. The Moors aſſert, that it produces agreeable ideas, but own that when it is taken to exceſs it moſt powerfully intoxicates. In order to produce this effect, they likewiſe mix with their tobacco an herb, named in this country khaf, which by ſmoking occaſions all the inebriating effects of the achicha. The uſe of ſpirits as well as wine is ſtrictly forbidden by the Koran; there are, however, very few among the Moors who do not joyfully embrace every private opportunity of drinking both to exceſs.

With reſpect to the hours for eating, the people of this country are remarkably regular. Very ſoon after day-break they take their breakfaſt, which is generally a compoſition of flour and water boiled thin, together with an herb which gives it a yellow tinge. The male part of the family eat in one apartment, and the female in another. The children are not permitted to eat with their parents, but take their meals afterwards with the ſervants; indeed in moſt other reſpects they are treated exactly as ſervants or ſlaves by their parents. The meſs is put into an earthen bowl, and brought in upon a round wooden tray. It is placed in the centre of the gueſts, who ſit croſs-legged either on a mat or on the floor, and who form a circle for the purpoſe. Having previouſly waſhed themſelves, a ceremony always performed before and after meals, each perſon with his ſpoon attacks vigorouſly the bowl, while they diverſify the entertainment by eating with it fruit or bread. At twelve o'clock they dine, performing the ſame ceremonies as at breakfaſt. For dinner, from the Emperor down to the peaſant, their diſh is univerſally cuſcoſoo, the mode of preparing which has been already deſcribed. I believe I have intimated more than once that neither chairs, tables, knives or forks, are made uſe of in this country. The diſh is therefore brought in upon a round tray and placed on the floor, round which the family ſit as at breakfaſt, and with their fingers commit a violent aſſault on its contents; they are at the ſame time, however, attended by a ſlave or domeſtic, who preſents them with water and a towel occaſionally to waſh their hands. From the want of the ſimple and convenient invention of knives and forks, it is not uncommon in this country to ſee three or four people pulling to pieces the ſame piece of meat, and afterwards with their fingers ſtirring up the paſte or cuſcoſoo, of which they often take a whole handful at once into their mouth. Their manner of eating indeed was to me ſo diſguſting, that though

cuſcoo is in reality a very good diſh, yet it required ſome time to get rid of my prejudice ſo far as to be induced to reliſh it. At ſun-ſet they ſup upon the ſame diſh, and indeed ſupper is their principal meal.

Such the general mode of living among the principal people in towns. There are conſiderable multitudes, however, who do not fare ſo well, but are obliged to content themſelves with a little bread and fruit inſtead of animal food, and to ſleep in the open air. This kind of exiſtence ſeems ill calculated to endure even in an inactive ſtate; far more ſevere muſt it therefore be to thoſe who exerciſe the laborious employment of couriers in this country, who travel on foot a journey of three or four hundred miles, at the rate of between thirty and forty miles a day, without taking any other nourishment than a little bread, a few figs, and ſome water, and who have no better ſhelter at night than a tree. It is wonderful with what alacrity and perſeverance theſe people perform the moſt fatiguing journies at all ſeaſons of the year. There is a regular company of them in every town, who are ready to be diſpatched at a moment's warning to any part of the country their employers may have occaſion to ſend them. They conſtitute in this empire the only mode of conveyance for all public and private diſpatches; and as they are well known in the place to which they belong, they are very punctual in delivering every thing that is put into their hands. From their ſteady pace in travelling, at the rate of about four miles an hour, and from their being able to paſs over parts which from the mountainous ſtate of the country, and from the want of good roads, perſons on horſeback would find inacceſſible, they are indeed by far the moſt expeditious meſſengers that could be employed. As a proof of the amazing exertions of which they are capable, I need only mention, that there have been repeated inſtances of a courier proceeding from Morocco to Tangier, which is a journey of above three hundred and thirty miles, in ſix days.

As none but the very vulgar go on foot in this country; for the purpoſe of viſiting, mules are conſidered as more genteel than horſes; and the greateſt pride of a Moor is to have ſuch as walk remarkably faſt, and keep his footmen, which the number is proportionable to the rank and conſequence of the maſter, on a continued run.

As the Moors are not fond of admitting men into their houſes, except upon particular occaſions, if the weather is fine they place a mat, and ſometimes a carpet, on the ground before their door, ſeat themſelves upon it croſs-legged, and receive their friends, who form a circle, ſitting in the ſame manner, with their attendants on the outſide of the groupe. Upon theſe occaſions they either drink tea, or ſmoke and converſe. The ſtreets are ſometimes crowded with parties of this kind; ſome engaged in playing at an inferior kind of cheſs or drafts, at which they are very expert, but the majority in converſation. The people of this country, indeed, are ſo decidedly averſe to ſtanding up, or walking about, that if only two or three people meet, they ſquat themſelves down in the firſt clean place they can find, if the converſation is to laſt but for a few minutes.

At Morocco, when I viſited Muley Ouſſine, one of Sidi Mahomet's ſons, I was always received in the manner which I have now deſcribed. I found him ſitting croſs-legged on a common mat, in the ſame open place where his horſes were kept, and his friends forming a ſemicircle round him. I was immediately deſired to form one of the groupe, and was helped to tea upon the occaſion. In the courſe of our converſation, the prince told me, that the Chriſtians and Moors were brothers; that the Engliſh were very good men; but that he had a particular averſion to the friars, for they

they were a determined ſet of knaves; and were neither friends to Chriſtia[illegible] Moors.

I found this prince a handſome young man, of about the age of ſix-and[illegible] of rather a dark complexion, but accompanied with an open and generou[illegible] nance. He had been a few years ago appointed to the government o[illegible]t where he ſo far gained the affections of the people under his government, [illegible] an proclaimed him king; and he for ſome time governed with all the [illegible]d was authority of a ſovereign. This circumſtance obliged the Emperor t[illegible]t as his army againſt him, upon the arrival of which he immediately ſurrend[illegible]r indeed. brought to Morocco, where he was deprived of all his property, every perſon power; and when I was in the country, he lived in a very retired [illegible] the ſame diſ- When at Tafilet, he had the character of acting very liberally towa[illegible] his favourite with whom he was connected; at Morocco he manifeſted ſome pr[illegible]ich I had poſſeſſion poſition towards me: merely for a trifling attention which I ſhe[illegible] black, he preſented me with a horſe, that proved as good as any [illegible] of drinking to a very while in the country.

The only vice to which this young man was addicted w[illegible]able than all the reſt of his great exceſs. In this reſpect, however, he was not more [illegible]efore dinner ſix tumblers of royal brothers. He told me, that if he did not daily t[illegible]irits of wine, he would not be aquadent, a ſpecies of brandy ſomething weaker th[illegible]e wiſhed to know if this cuſtom [illegible]le to hold up his head the remainder of the d[illegible]iſe him to do. I recommended to ab[illegible] bad for his health; and if ſo, what I wo[illegible]ce with wine; which he might either was[illegible]he diſuſe of ſpirits, and to ſupply th[illegible]ogodore, or he might uſe the wine which him t[illegible] from the European merchants [illegible]ever, the prince obſerved he could not follow, procure[illegible] by the Jews. This advice [illegible]larly forbade the uſe of wine than that of ſpirits. was made [illegible]ahometan law more p[illegible]ne ſtrict letter of the law; but when wine was uſed ſince the M[illegible]d, might be true[illegible]ger wine. This idea I found ſatisfied the ſcruples of the This, I repli[illegible] it became no[illegible]llow my advice.

as a medicine, [illegible]romiſe[illegible] to Muley Slemma, another of the Emperor's ſons, who, prince, and he [illegible]rds [illegible] Muley Yezid, was the offspring of a woman whoſe parents

I was afterwa[illegible]his prince, who is about thirty-eight years of age, and of a tall with the late Em[illegible]earance, with a very expreſſive and lively countenance, ſhewed me were Engliſh. T[illegible]tion the whole time I was at Morocco. His pavillion, where he received and majeſtic app[illegible] tranſacted buſineſs, was ſituated at the extremity of a long walk, in a uncommon atte[illegible]range-trees. It conſiſted of one large room on the ground floor, fitted ſtrangers, and[illegible]me ſtile as that[illegible] of Muley Abſulem at Tarudant. The prince was ſitting garden of o[illegible]ed on a large mattreſs, [illegible]covered with fine white linen, and placed on the up in the [illegible]ed on a large mattreſs, [illegible] Mooriſh viſitors on each ſide of him, forming croſs-leg[illegible]nting the door-way, with his [illegible]ion he expreſſed uncommon pleaſure at ſeeing floor fr[illegible]ircle. Upon my firſt introduct[illegible]and added, that the Engliſh were his brothers a ſemic[illegible]xclaiming, *Bono, Bono Anglaiſe!* [illegible]o feel his pulſe, and to inform him whether me, e[illegible]beſt friends. I was then directed [illegible]ſſured him he was perfectly well, he deſired and [illegible] not he was in health; as ſoon as I a[illegible]h was placed on the floor for the purpoſe, or[illegible]me to be ſeated on a narrow carpet, whi[illegible]o bring in tea, though ſo late as twelve and he then ordered one of his pages [illegible] for the Moors ſeldom uſe it, the prince ſent o'clock at noon. Out of compliment to me, [illegible]lways drank it with their tea, he would for milk, and ſaid, as he knew the Engliſh a[illegible]t enjoy the cuſtom of my own country. preſent me with a milch cow, that I migh[illegible]

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This promiſe, however, entirely eſcaped His royal Highneſs's memory, and the cow never made her appearance.

In the courſe of our converſation the prince manifeſted many indications of good nature and addreſs; told me, that whilſt he was on his travels in Turkey, he had been conducted from one port to another in the Mediterranean by an Engliſh frigate, the captain of which ſhewed him ſo much attention, that he ſhould always bear it in remembrance. As ſoon as the ceremony of tea was concluded, the prince ordered out his horſe, which was a very beautiful young animal, with a ſaddle ornamented with a rich velvet cover, and gold ſtirrups. He then mounted him, and went through all the manœuvres of managing a horſe with which the Moors are acquainted, ſuch as putting him upon the full ſpeed, and ſtopping him inſtantaneouſly, riſing up on the ſaddle and firing a muſket when the horſe is on the full gallop, &c., in the performance of all which exerciſes he ſeemed very dexterous. The prince then aſked me if we could do ſuch things in England; and without waiting for a reply, ordered one of his attendants to catch a ſheep out of his ground, and take it home to my lodgings. He ſaid, that as he always was fond of ſeeing his brothers the Engliſh, he wiſhed I would viſit him twice a day during my continuance at Morocco, and then gallopped off. — But to return to my obſervations.

The manner of ſalutation among the Moors is, when two equals meet, by a quick motion they ſhake hands, and afterwards kiſs each other's hand. When an inferior meets a ſuperior, ſuch as an officer of rank, a judge, or a governor, he kiſſes that part of his haick which covers the arm, and ſometimes, as a higher mark of reſpect, he will kiſs his feet. But the compliment due to the Emperor, or any of the princes of the blood, is to take off the cap or turban, and to proſtrate the head to the ground. When two particular friends or relations meet, they anxiouſly embrace and kiſs each other's faces and beards for a few minutes, make a number of enquiries about the health of each party, as well as that of their families, but ſeldom allow time for a reply.

The common topics for converſation among theſe people, are the occurrences of the place, religion, their women, and their horſes. As curioſity is a quality which naturally attaches to all indolent people, it may eaſily be conjectured that the Moors are not deficient in this reſpect. It is incredible with what avidity they lay hold of any trifling circumſtance which may occur in the neighbourhood; what pleaſure and what pride they ſeem to take in communicating it; nor are they deficient in the arts of magnifying or adorning the tale with every addition which may ſerve to render it more palatable, or give it a greater appearance of plauſibility.

Religion is alſo a favourite topic; but this ſubject is confined principally to thoſe ſocieties which are frequented by their talbs, or men of letters. As theſe gentlemen, however, are not a little proud of their acquirements in reading and writing, they do not fail to embrace every opportunity of manifeſting their ſuperiority over thoſe who are not ſo happy as to be diſtinguiſhed by thoſe accompliſhments.

Decency of manners and delicacy in converſation are among the moſt certain marks of refinement and civilization, and the contrary vices are equally univerſal characteriſtics of ignorance and barbariſm. The converſation of the Moors concerning their women is of the moſt trifling and diſguſting deſcription, and conſiſts of abſurd and vulgar obſervations, equally repugnant to decency and common ſenſe.

The ſubject, however, on which, like our young men of faſhion in England, they appear moſt calculated to ſhine, is their horſes. It would indeed be truly diſgraceful not to be accompliſhed upon this topic, ſince it appears to occupy both day and night,

by far the greateſt portion of their attention. I have formerly intimated that theſe animals are ſeldom kept in ſtables in Morocco. They are watered and fed only once a day, the former at one o'clock at noon, and the latter at ſun-ſet; and the only mode which they uſe to clean them, is by waſhing them all over in a river two or three times a week, and ſuffering them to dry themſelves.

Notwithſtanding the attachment which the Moors manifeſt to their horſes, they moſt certainly uſe them with great cruelty. Their higheſt pleaſure, and one of their firſt accompliſhments is, by means of long and ſharp ſpurs to make the horſe go full ſpeed, and then to ſtop him inſtantaneouſly; and in this they certainly manifeſt uncommon dexterity. The iron-work of their bridles is ſo conſtructed that by its preſſure on the horſe's tongue and lower jaw, with the leaſt exertion of the rider, it fills his mouth full of blood, and if not uſed with the utmoſt caution throws him inevitably on his back. The bridle has only a ſingle rein, which is ſo very long that it ſerves the purpoſe of both whip and bridle. The Mooriſh ſaddle is in ſome degree ſimilar to the Spaniſh, but the pummel is ſtill higher and more peaked. Their ſtirrups, in which they ride very ſhort, are ſo formed as to cover the whole of the foot. They either plate or gild them, according to the dignity, opulence, or fancy of the poſſeſſor. Their ſaddles, which are covered with red woollen cloth, or, if belonging to a perſon of conſequence, with red ſatin or damaſk, are faſtened with one ſtrong girt round the body, in the European ſtyle, and another round the ſhoulders.

The Moors frequently amuſe themſelves by riding with the utmoſt apparent violence againſt a wall; and a ſtranger would conceive it impoſſible for them to avoid being daſhed to pieces, when juſt as the horſe's head touches the wall, they ſtop him with the utmoſt accuracy. To ſtrangers on horſeback or on foot it is alſo a common ſpecies of compliment to ride violently up to them, as if intending to trample them to pieces, and then to ſtop their horſes ſhort and fire a muſket in their faces. This compliment I have experienced, and could very well have diſpenſed with their politeneſs. Upon theſe occaſions, they are very proud in diſcovering their dexterity in horſemanſhip, by making the animal rear up, ſo as almoſt to throw him on his back, putting him immediately after on the full ſpeed for a few yards, then ſtopping him inſtantaneouſly, and all this is accompanied by loud and hollow cries.

There is another favourite amuſement, which diſplays perhaps ſuperior agility: A number of perſons on horſeback ſtart at the ſame moment, accompanied with loud ſhouts, gallop at full ſpeed to an appointed ſpot, when they ſtand up ſtraight in the ſtirrups, put the rein, which I have juſt obſerved is very long, in their mouths, level their pieces and fire them off; throw their firelocks immediately over their right ſhoulders, and ſtop their horſes nearly at the ſame inſtant. This I am told is their manner of engaging in an action.

Though I am willing to allow the Moors the merit of ſitting a horſe well, and, as far as is neceſſary for the above-mentioned exerciſe, of having a great command over him, yet their horſes are ill-bred, and they entirely neglect to teach them thoſe paces which in Europe are conſidered as the moſt agreeable for the common purpoſes of riding. As none of theſe animals in Morocco are geldings, and as the Moors are unacquainted with the uſe of the ring, they are obliged to break them in when very young by taking them long and fatiguing journies, particularly over the mountainous and rocky part of the country, where they ſoon reduce their ſpirit; they then take the opportunity of teaching them to rear up, ſtand fire, gallop, and ſtop ſhort in the manner already related, and having accompliſhed this they are ſatisfied without any further qualification. For this reaſon a Barbary horſe ſeldom can perform any other

pace

pace than a full gallop or a walk; and from being broken in and worked hard before they have acquired their full ſtrength, theſe horſes in a very few years become unfit for ſervice. The Moors ſeldom ride the mares, but keep them in the country for breeding; and, contrary to the general opinion in Europe, they conſider them ſo much more valuable than horſes, that they are never permitted to be exported.

Like all barbarous nations, the Moors are paſſionately fond of muſic, and ſome few have a taſte for poetry. Their ſlow airs, for want of that variety which is introduced when the ſcience has attained a degree of perfection, have a very melancholy ſameneſs; but ſome of their quick tunes are beautiful and ſimple, and partake in ſome degree of the characteriſtic melody of the Scotch airs. The poetry of their ſongs, the conſtant ſubject of which is love, though there are few nations perhaps who are leſs ſenſible of that paſſion, has certainly leſs merit than the muſic.

Their inſtruments are a kind of hautboy, which differs from ours only in having no keys; the mandoline, which they have learnt to play upon from their neighbours the Spaniards, another inſtrument bearing ſome reſemblance to a violin, and played upon in a ſimilar manner, but with only two ſtrings; the large drum, the common pipe, and the tabor. Theſe united, and accompanied with a certain number of voices, upon many occaſions form a band, though ſolo muſic is more common in this unſocial country.

Upon all days of rejoicing this kind of muſic, repeated vollies of muſquetry, either by men on horſeback or on foot, and in the evening a grand attack upon the cuſcoſou, conſtitute the principal part of the public entertainments. Mountebanks and jugglers alſo of every deſcription meet with great encouragement from the Moors.

There are no other places of reception for the accommodation of travellers in this country, except in their fondaks, which are only to be met with in large towns. Theſe conſiſt of a certain number of dirty apartments, with no other accommodation whatever but the walls and roof to protect the ſtranger from the inclemency of the weather; and he muſt furniſh himſelf with every article of which he may be in want, both in reſpect to proviſions and bedding. There is at the ſame time an open court, where the horſes of all travellers are intermixed.

In moſt of the towns there are regular ſchools, where thoſe children whoſe parents have the means of doing it, and have ſenſe enough to ſend them, (which indeed are but few in proportion to the whole), are inſtructed by the talbs in reading and writing, and ſometimes in the firſt rules of arithmetic. The greater part of the people, however, learn very little more than to read a few prayers ſelected from the Koran, which are in common uſe, and are written in Arabic characters, on paper which is paſted on a board.

To ſpeak particularly on the religion of the Moors would require a volume, and ſuch a volume as would certainly be more extenſive than entertaining. It is well known they profeſs the Mahometan faith, and I may add, that they attend very rigidly to all the bigotry and ſuperſtition which is peculiar to that religion.

Since every ſtranger who enters a moſque is either put to death or is obliged to conform to their religion, a very exact account of their places of worſhip is not to be expected from an European. The obſervations I made *en paſſant*, the doors, which are very large, being in the day-time always open, I ſhall endeavour to relate.

The moſque is uſually a large ſquare building, compoſed of the ſame materials as the houſes, conſiſting of broad and lofty piazzas, opening into a ſquare court, in a manner in ſome degree ſimilar to the Royal Exchange of London. In the centre of the court is a large fountain, and a ſmall ſtream ſurrounds the piazzas, where the

Moors

Moors perform the ceremony of ablution. The court and piazzas are floored with blue and white checquered tiling, and the latter are covered with matting, upon which the Moors kneel while repeating their prayers. In the moſt conſpicuous part of the moſque, fronting the eaſt, ſtands a kind of pulpit, where the talb or prieſt occaſionally preaches. The Moors always enter this place of worſhip barefooted, leaving their ſlippers at the door. On the top of the moſque is a ſquare ſteeple with a flag-ſtaff, whither at ſtated hours the talb aſcends, hoiſts a white flag (for they have no bells,) and calls the people to prayers, repeating in Arabic three times, and addreſſing himſelf each time to a different part of the town, *How great is God! Mahomet is his prophet! Come all ye faithful; come to prayer.* From this high ſituation the voice is heard at a conſiderable diſtance, and the talbs, have a monotonous mode of enunciation, the voice ſinking at the end of every ſhort ſentence, which in ſome meaſure reſembles the ſound of a bell.

The moment the flag is diſplayed every perſon forſakes his employment, and goes to prayers. If they are near a moſque, they perform their devotions within it, otherwiſe immediately on the ſpot where they happen to be, and always with their faces towards the eaſt, in honour of the prophet Mahomet, who it is well known was buried at Medina. The prayer which is generally repeated on theſe occaſions is a chapter from the Koran, acknowledging the goodneſs of God and Mahomet; and it is accompanied with various geſtures, ſuch as lifting the hands above the head, bowing twice, performing two genuflexions, bowing again twice, and kiſſing the ground. The whole of this ceremony they repeat three times.

Their Sabbath is on our Friday, and commences from ſix o'clock the preceding evening. On this day they uſe a blue flag inſtead of the white one. As it has been propheſied that they are to be conquered by the Chriſtians on the Sabbath-day, the gates of all the towns and of the Emperor's palaces are ſhut when at divine ſervice on that day, in order to avoid being ſurpriſed during that period. Their talbs are not diſtinguiſhed by any particular dreſs.

The Moors have three ſolemn devotional periods in the courſe of the year. The firſt, which is named aid de cabier, is held in commemoration of the birth of Mahomet. It continues ſeven days, during which period every perſon who can afford the expence kills a ſheep as a ſacrifice, and divides it among his friends. The ſecond is the Ramadan. This is a rigorous faſt or lent, held at the ſeaſon when Mahomet diſappeared in his flight from Mecca to Medina; and is conducted by the Moors with ſo much ſuperſtition, that for thirty days, from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet, they lay aſide all worldly acts, and devote their whole attention to exerciſes of piety; carefully abſtaining from eating, drinking, ſmoaking, waſhing their mouths, or even ſwallowing their ſaliva; and they are indulged with their uſual cuſtom of bathing only upon condition that they avoid ſuffering the water to approach their heads, leſt any of it ſhould enter the mouth or ears. To make amends for this ſtrict obſervance of their lent during the day, they appropriate the whole night to the indulgence of every gratification, and at the expiration of the faſt, a general feſtival takes place, named the Beyran, which continues ſeven days. The third is named Llaſhore, and is a day ſet apart by Mahomet for every perſon to compute the value of his property, in order for the payment of Zakat, that is, one-tenth of their income to the poor, and other pious uſes. Although this feaſt only laſts a ſingle day, yet it is celebrated with far greater magnificence than either of the others.

There is alſo a ſuperſtitious cuſtom among the Moors, when any thing of moment is to be undertaken, ſuch as going on a dangerous journey or voyage, the diſpoſal of their

their children in marriage, &c. for ſome grave perſon to make an harangue to the multitude, upon which his auditors call for the key of direction. By this is meant the performance of joining the hands, looking ſtedfaſtly on the palms during the admonition, then by a joint concurrence calling on God and the prophet, and concluding the ceremony by ſtroking their faces with both hands, and joining in chorus, ſaying *Salem*, *Salem*, (peace be with you) with much devotion. The due performance of this ceremony they conceive will enſure them certain ſucceſs in all their undertakings.

The Moors compute time by lunar months, and count the days of the week by the firſt, ſecond, third, &c. beginning from our Sunday. They uſe a common reed for writing, and begin their manuſcripts from right to left.

The Moors marry very young, many of their females not being more than twelve years of age at their nuptials. As Mahometans, it is well known that their religion admits of polygamy to the extent of four wives, and as many concubines as they pleaſe; but if we except the very opulent, the people ſeldom avail themſelves of this indulgence, ſince it entails on them a vaſt additional expence in houſe-keeping, and in providing for a large family. Whatever inſtitution is contrary to truth and ſound morality will in practice refute itſelf; nor is any further argument than this ſingle obſervation wanting to anſwer all the abſurdities which have been advanced in favour of a plurality of wives. In contracting marriage the parents of both parties are the only agents, and the intended bride and bridegroom never ſee each other till the ceremony is performed. The marriage ſettlements are made before the cadi, and then the friends of the bride produce her portion, or if not, the huſband agrees to ſettle a certain ſum upon her, in caſe he ſhould die, or divorce her on account of barrenneſs, or any other cauſe. The children of the wives have all an equal claim to the effects of their father and mother, but thoſe of the concubines can each only claim half a ſhare.

When the marriage is finally agreed upon, the bride is kept at home eight days, to receive her female friends, who pay congratulatory viſits every day. At the ſame time a talb attends upon her, to converſe with her relative to the ſolemn engagement on which ſhe is about to enter; on theſe occaſions he commonly accompanies his admonitions with ſinging a pious hymn, which is adapted to the ſolemnity. The bride alſo with her near relations goes through the ceremony of being painted afreſh; the nature of which cuſtom I ſhall deſcribe when I ſpeak of the harem.

During this proceſs the bridegroom on the other hand receives viſits from his male friends in the morning, and in the evening rides through the town accompanied by them, ſome playing on hautboys and drums, while others are employed in firing vollies of muſquetry. In all their feſtivals the diſcharge of muſquetry indeed forms a principal part of the entertainment. Contrary to the European mode, which particularly aims at firing with exactneſs, the Moors diſcharge their pieces as irregularly as poſſible, ſo as to have a continual ſucceſſion of reports for a few minutes.

On the day of marriage, the bride in the evening is put into a ſquare or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, which is covered with fine white linen, and ſometimes with gauzes and ſilks of various colours. In this vehicle, which is placed on a mule, ſhe is paraded round the ſtreets, accompanied by her relations and friends, ſome carrying lighted torches, others playing on hautboys, and a third party again firing vollies of muſquetry.

In this manner ſhe is carried to the houſe of her intended huſband, who returns about the ſame time from performing ſimilar ceremonies. On her arrival ſhe is placed

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in an apartment by herſelf, and her huſband is introduced to her alone for the firſt time, who finds her ſitting on a ſilk or velvet cuſhion, ſuppoſing her to be a perſon of conſequence, with a ſmall table before her, upon which are two wax candles lighted. Her ſhift, or more properly ſhirt, hangs down like a train behind her, and over it is a ſilk or velvet robe with cloſe ſleeves, which at the breaſt and wriſts is embroidered with gold; this dreſs reaches ſomething lower than the calf of the leg. Round her head is tied a black ſilk ſcarf, which hangs behind as low as the ground. Thus attired, the bride ſits with her hands over her eyes, when her huſband appears and receives her as his wife, without any further ceremony *: for the agreement made by the friends before the cadi is the only ſpecific contract which is thought neceſſary.

If the huſband ſhould have any reaſon to ſuſpect that his wife has not been ſtrictly virtuous, he is at liberty to divorce her and take another. For ſome time after marriage the family and friends are engaged in much feaſting and a variety of amuſements, which laſt a longer or ſhorter time, according to the circumſtances of the parties. It is uſually cuſtomary for the man to remain at home eight days and the woman eight months after they are firſt married; and the woman is at liberty to divorce herſelf from her huſband if ſhe can prove that he does not provide her with a proper ſubſiſtence. If he curſes her, the law obliges him to pay her, for the firſt offence, eight ducats; for the ſecond, a rich dreſs of ſtill greater value; and the third time ſhe may leave him entirely. He is then at liberty to marry again in two months.

At the birth of a child, it is cuſtomary for the parents to grieve eight days, at the expiration of which they ſacrifice a goat or a ſheep, and invite their friends and acquaintance to partake of the feaſt. Women ſuffer but little inconvenience in this country from child-bearing; they are frequently up the next day, and go through all the duties of the houſe with the infant upon their backs. They do not adopt the method of teaching their children to walk which is cuſtomary in Europe, but when they are twelve months old they put them on the floor, where from firſt crawling they naturally in a ſhort time acquire the habit of walking, and as ſoon as they can be made in the leaſt degree uſeful they are put to the various kinds of labour adapted to their age and ſtrength. Others, whoſe parents are in better circumſtances, are, as I before obſerved, ſometimes ſent to ſchool; and thoſe who are intended for the church uſually continue their ſtudies till they have nearly learnt the Koran by rote. In that caſe they are enrolled among the talbs or learned men of the law; and upon leaving ſchool are paraded round the ſtreets on a horſe, accompanied by muſic and a large concourſe of people. The proceſſion is conducted in the following manner. Upon the day appointed, one of the moſt ſhewy horſes in the place is procured for the youth to ride on, who, if he is a perſon of conſequence, is dreſt in all the gaiety which ſilks and brocades can afford, wearing a turban richly ornamented with gold and jewels, and interſperſed with flowers. Thus arrayed he mounts his horſe, which alſo is not without its decorations, carrying in his hand his prayers paſted on a board, on which he looks with ſtedfaſt attention; and he proceeds with all the ſedateneſs and compoſed gravity of old age to the different places appointed for the purpoſe, accompanied by muſic, and all his ſchoolfellows on horſeback, dreſſed according to their circumſtances. At laſt they meet at the houſe of the head boy of the ſchool, where they are treated with a collection of ſweetmeats. This cuſtom, which is evidently adopted with a view of promoting an emulation in

* Interim duæ miniſtræ nigræ exſpectant foris, ut notitiam habeant conſummationis; quod cum pro certo cognoverint, cantus buccinarum, & bombardarum emiſſio factum annunciant.

their

their youths, is one of the very few good inſtitutions which are obſervable among theſe people.

In celebrating the rite of circumciſion, the child is dreſſed very ſumptuouſly, and carried on a mule, or, if the parents are in poor circumſtances, on an aſs, accompanied with flags flying and muſicians playing on hautboys and beating drums. In this manner they proceed to the moſque, where the ceremony is performed.

When any perſon dies, a certain number of women are hired for the purpoſe of lamentation (for the men are ſeldom obſerved to weep for the loſs of a friend), in the performance of which nothing can be more grating to the ear, or more unpleaſant, than their frightful moans or rather howlings: at the ſame time theſe mercenary mourners beat their heads and breaſts, and tear their cheeks with their nails. The bodies are uſually buried a few hours after death. Previous to interment the corpſe is waſhed very clean, and ſewed up in a ſhroud compoſed of ſeven pieces of fine linen united together, with the right hand under the head, which is pointed towards Mecca: it is carried on a bier ſupported upon men's ſhoulders to the burying-place, which is always, with great propriety, on the outſide of the town, for they never bury their dead in the moſques or within the bounds of an inhabited place. The bier is accompanied by numbers of people, two abreaſt, who walk very faſt, calling upon God and Mahomet, and ſinging hymns adapted to the occaſion. The grave is made very wide at the bottom, and narrow at the top, and the body is depoſited without any other ceremony than ſinging and praying in the ſame manner as on their way to the grave.

They have no tombs in this country, but long and plain ſtones; and it is frequently cuſtomary for the female friends of the departed to weep over their graves for ſeveral days after the funeral. The Moors will not allow Chriſtians or Jews to paſs over their places of interment; as they have a ſuperſtitious idea, which is perhaps more prevalent among the lower claſs of people, than thoſe who are better informed, that the dead ſuffer pain from having their graves trodden upon by infidels; and I recollect when at Tangier, I received a very ſevere rebuke from a Moor, for accidentally having paſſed through one of their burying-grounds.

When a woman loſes her huſband ſhe mourns four months and eight days, during which period ſhe is to wear no ſilver or gold; and if ſhe happens to be pregnant, ſhe is to mourn till ſhe is brought to bed. For the above time the relations of her late huſband are obliged to ſupport her. I could not learn that any mourning was due from the huſband for the loſs of his wife; but it is cuſtomary, particularly among the great people, for a ſon to mourn for his father by not ſhaving his head or any part of his beard, and by not cutting his nails for a certain period.

When a Jew or a Chriſtian is converted to the Mahometan faith, he is immediately dreſſed in a Mooriſh habit, and paraded round the ſtreets on horſeback, accompanied with muſic and a great concourſe of people. He then chuſes himſelf a Mooriſh name, and fixes on a perſon who adopts him as a child, and is ever afterwards called his father. This adoption, however, is only nominal, for he is by no means bound to ſupport him. The new convert is not allowed to marry any other woman than a negro, or the daughter of a renegado; and his deſcendants are not conſidered as genuine Moors till the fourth generation.

The renegadoes in the empire of Morocco are principally Spaniards, though there are ſome few of other nations in the country, who have deſerted from Ceuta or Spain, to avoid the hand of juſtice for ſome capital crime or miſdemeanor — commonly, indeed, murder. I met with many of theſe people at Morocco, who frankly acknowledged to me that murder had been the cauſe of their deſertion. Though the Emperor may

for various reaſons find it convenient to countenance renegadoes, yet the Moors in general ſo thoroughly deteſt them, that they cannot be induced upon any terms to allow them to form a part of their ſociety.

I cannot better conclude this ſection than by ſubmitting to the reader the following account of the caravans to Mecca and Guinea, which I received from a genleman reſident in Barbary, on whoſe veracity I could place the utmoſt confidence.

Seven months before the feaſt Aid de Cabier, or the commemoration of the birth of Mahomet, pilgrims from every quarter aſſemble at Fez, in order to join the caravan which at that ſeaſon proceeds for Mecca. They are compoſed of three claſſes of people: Firſt, The mountaineers, named brebes: Secondly, The Mooriſh merchants: and, Thirdly, Perſons in public employments, or who are engaged about the court of the Emperor. Thus religion and intereſt conſpire to draw together a large and motley groupe, and to induce them to undertake a journey which is as fatiguing and dangerous as it is expenſive.

The firſt claſs are not required to aſk permiſſion to join the caravan. The ſecond are obliged to preſent themſelves to their reſpective governors, as well to avoid the inconveniences of debts on their own account, as on that of their families, who might be ſubject to be moleſted by creditors during their abſence. If a merchant has the leaſt connection with the court, it is expected that he alſo preſent himſelf to the Emperor, who, as he feels diſpoſed, grants or refuſes him permiſſion to enter upon the journey. Thoſe of the third claſs muſt have an expreſs permiſſion from the Emperor, who never allows any to go whoſe circumſtances will not ſufficiently enable them to defray the expences of the pilgrimage.

As there are two modes of performing this pilgrimage, by ſea and by land, thoſe who prefer the former are ſubjected to an examination by the governor of the port whence they embark, to ſee that they pay the freight of the veſſel, and to inform himſelf whether they have ſufficient means to go and return from this ſacred object of Mahometan devotion, without being under the neceſſity of borrowing, or being ſuſpected of uſing any baſe and diſhonourable means of obtaining a ſubſiſtence. Thoſe who proceed by land are liable to be examined alſo, but not ſo rigorouſly as the others, the ſhaik of the caravan having the power to puniſh thoſe who are guilty of any irregularities.

The place whence the caravan ſets out by land, is from Teza, a town in the province of Tedla, ſome diſtance to the eaſt of the city of Fez, the latter being the firſt place of rendezvous. At Fez, the moſt commercial city in the whole empire, and abounding with proviſions of every deſcription, each perſon furniſhes himſelf in the beſt manner he is able, according to his rank and circumſtances, with a ſufficient ſupply to laſt till he reaches Tripoli or Tunis at leaſt.

This grand caravan is always accompanied by many others, of which one goes to Algiers, another to Tunis, and a third to Grand Cairo, &c. Thoſe perſons who go to Algiers and Tunis are not under the neceſſity of aſking permiſſion, as they are perſons who are accuſtomed to carry on a trade with thoſe two places; whence they return with a quantity of their reſpective manufactures. The caps of Tunis are of great uſe in the empire of Morocco, and their ſilks alſo ſell at a very good price, though upon the whole thoſe of Algiers are preferable for the girdles uſed by the Moors, curtains, womens' dreſs, and furniture for beds and rooms. The manufactures indeed of both Algiers and Tunis are brought to a greater perfection than thoſe of Morocco. The merchants who go upon theſe expeditions carry with them ready money, haicks, and ſlippers, which are the manufactures of Morocco, and diſpoſe of the

the two laſt articles to the Arabs and inhabitants of the towns in the neighbourhood of Algiers and Tunis, who, though they do not wear the haick as a part of their dreſs, yet make uſe of them for a variety of other purpoſes.

Some time within the firſt fifteen days of the month Jumeth Tenii, every proper preparation being previouſly made, the grand caravan ſets off from Teza in the following order: After having invoked the true and ſole God, and his prophet Mahomet, to give every benediction to this ſacred journey, they all meet near the tent of the chief conductor, who is named, in Arabic, Scheck Rebeck, and commence their devotions to the ſound of clarinets, tambours, &c. The unloaded camels and mules are then firſt put in motion, attended by the cooks, watermen, &c. Next to this party follow thoſe who travel on foot, either from devotion or neceſſity; to theſe is entruſted the care of the loaded mules and camels. And the rear is brought up by thoſe who are mounted either on horſes or mules. The caravan is put in motion at ſun-riſe, ſtops at twelve o'clock at noon to dine, and about four in the afternoon the people encamp in the ſame manner as they did at Teza.

The courſe which they take is through the interior parts of the country, leaving Tremecen, Algiers, and Tunis to their left. Some of them, indeed, make excurſions to the two latter places, and afterwards join the caravan. By theſe means they are enabled both to obtain a freſh ſupply of proviſions for themſelves and beaſts, and to ſell to the Arabs haicks, ſlippers and old caps, for which they uſually receive a very good price; and the profits enable them frequently to make advantageous purchaſes at Mecca, Alexandria, and Cairo.

Upon their arrival, after a journey of two months and a half, at that part of the ſea-coaſt where the tower of Salines is ſituated, and which is about half a day's ride from the city of Tripoli, they reſt themſelves ten days. At this place all the pilgrims ſupply themſelves with forty or fifty days proviſions, which is generally ſufficient to ſupport them to Alexandria or Grand Cairo; and on their return they purchaſe in the neighbourhood of Tunis and Tripoli a large ſupply of mules, frequently giving only twenty-five hard dollars for what they afterwards ſell in Morocco for eighty or an hundred.

From the tower of Salines they continue their route as far as Alexandria and Grand Cairo, where they furniſh themſelves, in the ſame manner as at Tripoli, with ſufficient proviſions for the remainder of the journey, which requires altogether near ſeven months to accompliſh. To thoſe who undertake this journey for the purpoſe of trade, it generally anſwers extremely well. By purchaſing goods at one place, and ſelling them at another, they contrive to make upon each ſale a profit of ten per cent.

The Arabs from Fez as far as Alexandria and Grand Cairo, though a rude claſs of people, are very warmly attached to their religion, and on that account give the pilgrims a friendly reception, furniſhing them with barley, butter, eggs, mutton, beef, &c. From that place, however, to Mecca the route is not ſo eaſy, as the Arabs, inſtead of the benefactors, frequently become the plunderers of theſe holy travellers. On theſe occaſions they ſpare nothing, and leave them not ſo much as the neceſſaries of life; particularly if they refuſe the contributions which they uſually demand for permitting the caravan to paſs peaceably through the country. Within the laſt ſeven or eight years this paſſage is become more dangerous than ever. The banditti now aſſemble in very conſiderable bodies in theſe deſerts, and at certain paſſes the travellers may be aſſailed with great advantage. In paſſing the iſthmus of Suez, for inſtance, above Alexandria, the caravan may be defeated by an hundred men. Theſe robbers,

therefore, generally endeavour to poſt themſelves in ſuch a manner as to attack it in this place.

Thoſe people who carry on a petty trade endeavour to convert their little ſtock into ready money upon their arrival at Mecca; where, with the remainder of the caravan, and other Mahometan pilgrims, they commemorate by a feaſt the nativity of the great prophet Mahomet, when every perſon is obliged to ſacrifice at leaſt one ſheep. It is computed that on this day, which is the tenth of the moon Dalaja, above two millions of ſheep are ſlaughtered at Mecca.

After the performance of this ſolemn rite the majority of the travellers employ themſelves in laying out their money to the beſt advantage. Some purchaſe muſlins, Levant ſilks, &c.; others eſſence of roſes, amber, muſk, Perſian ſilks, &c.; while another part of them ſave their money to lay it out at Grand Cairo, where they purchaſe a good ſtock of raw ſilk, cottons, and manufactured ſilks of different kinds. In this city, indeed, every article may be had at nearly the ſame price as at Mecca. On the whole, we may aſſert, at a moderate computation, that the value of the articles contained in one of theſe caravans, joined with the ready money, amounts to two millions of hard dollars.

Thoſe perſons who proceed by ſea join the caravan after diſembarking at Alexandria, and paying the freight of the veſſel in which they ſet ſail. On their return alſo conſiderable numbers embark at Alexandria, and land at Tetuan or Tangier, whence they depart for their reſpective homes, and ſell the commodities they bring with them for perhaps a third more than their original price. Others continue their journey by land, and add to the riches brought from the Levant the merchandizes of Tunis and Algiers, which are held in great eſteem throughout the empire of Morocco. By theſe means they double the capital they provided themſelves with at firſt ſetting out.

It would be no very difficult matter for a Chriſtian to join one of theſe caravans, provided he obtained the recommendation and expreſs permiſſion of his Mooriſh Majeſty, or the ſhaik of the caravan, who would take him under his protection. This obſtacle would be ſtill further removed, if the Chriſtian would conſent to wear the Turkiſh habit, or dreſs himſelf in the manner they are obliged to adopt at Grand Cairo. By theſe means he would obviate every inconvenience to which the European dreſs ſubjects a traveller, both with reſpect to the wild Arabs, and to the weak and illiberal people of the caravan. As the caravan, however, does not go far into the interior parts of the country, the object of diſcovery would hardly be ſufficient to counterbalance the fatigues and dangers of the expedition.

There are no caravans which go directly into the interior parts of the country. It would, in fact, be as dangerous for a Mahometan as for a Chriſtian to penetrate an hundred leagues beyond the known limits of the empire of Morocco, as the inhabitants of theſe parts are ſavage, avaricious, and capable of committing any crime for a very trifling emolument. A fatal proof of the cruelty of theſe Arabs occurred in the year 1786, when forty pilgrims, on their return from Mecca, were maſſacred. Theſe people demanded hoſpitality from the mountaineers of Zamor, near Mequinez, for only one night; but as they brought ſome valuable goods with them, it is ſuppoſed that it was owing to that circumſtance that they were all put to death.

The country beyond the mountains of Atlas, about ſix days journey to the eaſt of Morocco, is not even known, though it is probable it might be penetrated with ſafety, provided the ſame means were uſed as are employed by the caravans which go to the ſouth; that is, a ſmall proportion of force, and a ſmall proportion of generoſity.

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There is no particular caravan ſo conſiderable for the ſouth as that which goes to Mecca. As theſe indeed are intended merely for the purpoſes of commerce, they ſeldom conſiſt of more than one hundred and fifty, or perhaps two, or at moſt three hundred perſons, including the muleteers, camel-drivers, and other ſervants. Some of theſe caravans ſet out from Morocco, while others go from Tarudant, Fez, and Tetuan. The firſt paſs by way of Domnet, while the others meet at Tafilet, and thence purſue their journey towards the deſert. Theſe caravans go no further than Tombut, where there are ſome merchants of Morocco eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of carrying on a trade with the inland parts of Guinea, where they traffic for ſlaves, ivory, gold duſt, &c. The merchandizes which the caravans carry from Morocco, Tarudant, &c. conſiſt of haicks and blue cloths, for which they find a good ſale throughout the country of the Mohafres and at Thouat.

The city of Thouat is in the interior parts of the country, about thirty days journey from Tafilet. From Thouat the caravans proceed directly to Tombut. There is much greater danger in paſſing the two deſerts between Tafilet and Thouat, than between the latter place and Tombut. As the Arabs of the deſerts are much addicted to rapine, the caravans are obliged to make them trifling preſents, to enable them to travel without being moleſted. The other Arabs, who purchaſe merchandize, ſuch as blue cloths, ſmall daggers, looking-glaſſes, &c. pay generally in return oſtrich-feathers; and this traffic is attended with very tolerable profits.

The articles which the caravans carry immediately to Tombut, are tobacco and ſalt. It is neceſſary to pay attention to what camels may be wanted for the purpoſes of carrying water through the deſerts, as in ſome parts they travel four and in others nine days without meeting with a drop of water. It is in a great meaſure on this account that the camel becomes ſo uſeful an animal in hot climates. Their ſtomachs, it is well known, are ſo conſtructed as to allow them to paſs many days without food or drink. In the inner coats of their ſtomachs there are a number of little cells, in which they retain a large proportion of water for a length of time, nature having provided them with a method of regurgitating it when thirſty. From the ſize of the ſtomach alſo it admits of a large portion of food to be taken in at a time, to which they have recourſe by rumination when their appetite calls for a ſupply of nouriſhment. Their owners, therefore, have only to give them plenty of barley and water at the entrance of the deſerts, and that proves ſufficient to laſt them till a freſh ſupply can be conveniently procured.

Theſe extraordinary animals are able to carry a very great weight in proportion to their ſize, and to perform very long journies without much apparent fatigue. They are uſed both for the purpoſes of riding and carrying burdens. Their ſteps are very long and ſlow, and they are tractable and eaſily managed. They are taught to kneel down when they are loaded; and when uſed for the ſaddle are entirely managed by a ſhort and thick ſtick, which both ſerves the purpoſes of bridle and whip. It is not uncommon in Barbary to ſee three perſons, with furniture in proportion, mounted upon one camel.

Upon the arrival of the caravans at Tombut, they exchange their tobacco and ſalt for ſlaves, gold duſt, and ivory, which are brought thither from Guinea. Four thouſand ſlaves are ſuppoſed to be annually carried from Tombut, great part of whom are ſent to Maſcar, Algiers, and Tunis. It but ſeldom happens that any eunuchs are brought away, unleſs by a particular commiſſion from the Emperor or ſome of the princes, no other perſon in the country being permitted to keep them. It is indeed extremely difficult to procure them at all. The place whence they are uſually brought

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is the kingdom of Bambara. In Muley Iſhmael's reign the number of eunuchs in the empire of Morocco was ſuppoſed to amount to ſeven hundred; but they are now ſo reduced, that one hundred is the utmoſt that could be muſtered in the whole empire.

Thoſe perſons who have been concerned in the trade to Tombut for the laſt twenty years, compute the value of the merchandizes tranſported annually thither from the empire of Morocco to amount to at leaſt a million of hard dollars; and the commodities received in return, ſuch as oſtrich-feathers, ivory, gold duſt, amber, and Guinea ſlaves, to ten millions; two-thirds of which are carried to Algiers, Tunis, &c. The ſlaves are purchaſed near Tombut, at a very cheap rate, there having been inſtances of a fine negro boy being bought for ſix pounds of ſalt.

As a proof that Chriſtians may proceed along the ſhore by land from Guinea to Morocco, two Frenchmen, in the year 1781, came from Senegal to Morocco, and brought intelligence of ſome forts having been taken from the Engliſh on that river. It is, however, proper to remark, that they were provided with eſcorts from one place to another.

CHAP. XII. — *Summons to appear before the Emperor. — Admiſſion into the Royal Harem. — Attendance on Lalla Zara. — Introduction to Lalla Batoom, the chief Sultana. — Introduction to Lalla Douyaw, the favourite Wife of the Emperor — her Hiſtory. — Deſcription of the Harem — its Oeconomy. — Concubines of the Emperor. — Adventure and Altercation with one of thoſe Ladies. — Dreſs of the Ladies in the Harem. — Opinion of the Moors concerning the Female Sex. — Emperor's Children. — Dreſs, Manners, and Situation of the Female Sex in Barbary.*

FROM the unſucceſsful efforts which I had made for the purpoſe of procuring my diſpatches, I had begun to reconcile myſelf to the idea of remaining a priſoner at Morocco, when, to my great ſurprize, at the expiration of a month from the time of the prince's departure, His Mooriſh Majeſty ſent to me in particular haſte to repair to the palace.

Upon receiving this meſſage my beſt hopes were excited. I naturally expected an immediate emancipation, as it is neceſſary that every ſtranger ſhould ſee the Emperor previous to his departure; and I flew to the palace with all the alacrity which ſuch an expectation was certain to inſpire. What then was my aſtoniſhment, when, upon my arrival at the palace, a meſſenger brought orders from the Emperor, the purport of which was, that I ſhould immediately examine one of his ſultanas who was indiſpoſed, and in the afternoon return with proper medicines, and at the ſame time report my opinion on her caſe to His Majeſty.

It is difficult to ſay whether diſappointment or ſurprize were the predominant emotion in my mind on receiving this order. After the prejudices which from his diſlike to the Engliſh, and his ignorance of the effects of internal medicines, the Emperor was known to have entertained againſt me, and after having detained me at Morocco for ſuch a length of time, with no apparent view but that of manifeſting his contempt of me as an Engliſhman, it appeared unaccountable that he ſhould give orders for my admiſſion into the harem, where, in addition to the former objections, there were alſo ſome ſtill ſtronger in the eyes of the Moors; as the admiſſion of one of our ſex into that ſacred depoſitory of female charms was almoſt unprecedented, and I believe totally ſo with reſpect to the harem of the Emperor.

Whatever might be the motives with His Imperial Majeſty for the violation of Mooriſh decorum in this inſtance, I did not conceive that I had much reaſon to rejoice

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at the event. I had already experienced too much ingratitude from the prince, as well as too much ungenerous treatment from the Emperor, to encourage me to undertake any future engagement of the kind in this country; and the difficulties and prejudices which from experience I knew I had to encounter, when employed in my profeſſional line by the Moors, united to the uncertainty of removing the lady's complaint, rendered it altogether not very ſafe to adminiſter my advice under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances; and even that curioſity which would naturally be excited in moſt perſons on ſuch an occaſion, was not ſufficient to reconcile me to this new employment.

Unfortunately in this dilemma I had very little time allowed me to determine, ſince the meſſenger was waiting to conduct me to the gate of the harem. My embarraſſment, however, continued only for a ſhort period; for I ſoon recollected that it was in vain to oppoſe the Emperor's order. I therefore deferred giving a deciſive anſwer till I had ſeen my patient, and made myſelf fully acquainted with the nature of her complaint.

The public and uſual entrance to the harem is through a very large arched doorway, guarded on the outſide by ten body guards, which leads to a lofty hall, where the captain or alcaide, with a guard of ſeventeen eunuchs, are poſted. No perſon is admitted into this hall, but thoſe who are known to have buſineſs in the harem.

The Emperor's order being delivered on the outſide of the door to the alcaide, I was immediately, with my interpreter, conducted into the harem, by one of the negro eunuchs. Upon entering the court into which the womens' apartments open, I diſcovered a motley groupe of concubines, domeſtics, and negro ſlaves, who were variouſly employed. Thoſe of the firſt deſcription had formed themſelves into circles, ſeated on the ground in the open court, and were apparently engaged in converſation. —The domeſtics and ſlaves were partly employed in needle-work, and partly in preparing their cuſcoſoo. My appearance in the court, however, ſoon attracted their attention, and a conſiderable number of them, upon obſerving me, unacquainted with the means by which I had been admitted into the harem, retreated with the utmoſt precipitancy into their apartments, while others more courageous approached, and enquired of my black attendant who I was, and by whoſe orders he had brought me thither.

The moment it was known that I was of the medical profeſſion, parties of them were detached to inform thoſe who had fled that I was ſent in by order of the Emperor, to attend Lalla Zara, my intended patient's name, and requeſting of them to come back and look at the Chriſtian. Seranio tibib! Chriſtian doctor! reſounded from one end of the harem to the other; and in the courſe of a few minutes I was ſo completely ſurrounded by women and children, that I was unable to move a ſingle ſtep.

Every one of them appeared ſolicitous to find out ſome complaint on which ſhe might conſult me, and thoſe who had not ingenuity enough to invent one, obliged me to feel their pulſe; and were highly diſpleaſed if I did not evince my excellence in my profeſſion by the diſcovery of ſome ailment or other. All of them ſeemed ſo urgent to be attended to at the ſame time, that while I was feeling the pulſe of one, others were behind, pulling my coat and intreating me to examine their complaints, while a third party were upbraiding me for not paying them the ſame attention. Their ideas of delicacy did not at all correſpond with thoſe of our European ladies, for they exhibited the beauties of their limbs and form with a degree of freedom that in any

other country would have been thought indecent; and their converſation was equally unreſtrained.

This apparent laxity of conduct in the Mooriſh ladies does not proceed from a depravity in principle. As the female ſex in this country are not entruſted with the guardianſhip of their own honour, there is no virtue in reſerve. A depraved education even ſerves to corrupt inſtead of to reſtrain them. They are not regarded as rational or moral agents; they are only conſidered as beings created entirely to be ſubſervient to the pleaſure of man. To excite the paſſions, and to do and ſay every thing which may inflame a licentious imagination, become therefore neceſſary accompliſhments in the female ſex, and their manners and conduct naturally aſſume a caſt totally different from thoſe of women in a more refined and more liberal ſtate of ſociety. In thoſe inſtances to which I refer, they were not conſcious of treſpaſſing the limits of decency; and in others they manifeſted a ſingular attention to what they conceived to be decorum. When I requeſted to ſee the tongues of ſome patients who complained of feveriſh ſymptoms, they refuſed to comply, conſidering it as inconſiſtent with their modeſty and virtue; ſome of them indeed laughed at the ſingularity of the requeſt, and attributed it either to an impertinent curioſity, or an inclination to impoſe on their underſtandings.

As the number of my patients continued to increaſe rather than to diminiſh, there appeared but little proſpect of an introduction to the ſultana Lalla Zara, whom I was firſt directed to attend, in any reaſonable time. The eunuch, however, wearied out with waiting, exerted all the vigour of authority which his natural effeminacy would admit of in obliging them to diſperſe, and which was ſo far effectual at leaſt as to allow me room to paſs, though this female crowd ſtill followed me till I had nearly reached the lady's apartment.

From the firſt court into which I had been introduced I paſſed through two or three ſimilar, till I at length arrived at the chamber of my intended patient. I was here detained a little time in the court, till my patient and her apartment were ready to receive me. Upon my entrance I found the lady ſitting croſs-legged on a mattreſs placed upon the floor, and covered with fine linen, with twelve white and negro attendants, ſeated on the floor alſo, in different parts of the chamber. A round cuſhion was placed for me next to the lady, on which I was deſired to be ſeated. I ſhould have remarked, that, contrary to my expectations, I found that none of the Emperor's women diſguiſed their faces in the manner which I had experienced in the prince's harem, but I ſaw them all with the ſame familiarity as if I had been introduced into the houſe of an European.

Lalla Zara *, who was of Mooriſh parents, was about eight years ago remarkable for her beauty and accompliſhments; on which account ſhe was then in every reſpect the favourite wife of the Emperor. So dangerous a pre-eminence could not be enjoyed without exciting the jealouſy of thoſe females whoſe charms were leſs conſpicuous; and who, beſides the mortification of having a leſs ſhare of beauty, experienced alſo the diſgrace of being deſerted by their lord.

Determined to effect her ruin, they contrived to mix ſome poiſon (moſt probably arſenic) in her food, and conducted the deteſtable plot with ſo much art and addreſs, that it was not perceived till the deleterious drug had began its baneful operations. She was ſeized with moſt violent ſpaſms and a continual vomiting; and had ſhe not been poſſeſſed of an uncommonly ſtrong conſtitution, ſhe muſt immediately have fallen a

* Lalla ſignifies lady or miſtreſs, but is only applied in this country to the ſultanas.

victim to the machinations of her rivals. After a ſevere ſtruggle, however, between life and death, the effects of the poiſon in ſome degree abated; but it left the unhappy lady in a ſtate of dreadful debility and irritation, and particularly in the ſtomach, from which it was not perhaps in the power of medicine to extricate her. Her beauty too, the fatal cauſe of her misfortune, was completely deſtroyed, and her enemies, though diſappointed in their aim of deſtroying her life, yet enjoyed the malignant triumph of ſeeing thoſe charms which had excited their uneaſineſs reduced below the ſtandard of ordinary women.

When I ſaw her, ſhe had ſuch a weakneſs of digeſtion, that every ſpecies of food which ſhe took, after remaining a few hours on her ſtomach, was returned perfectly crude and undigeſted. As ſhe did not receive proper nouriſhment, her body had waſted away to a ſhadow, and her frame was in ſo weak a ſtate, as not to allow her to walk without aſſiſtance. Her complexion was entirely altered. Her ſkin, from being naturally clear and fair, as I was informed, was changed to a ſickly brown, which, joined to a ruined ſet of teeth, and a ghaſtly countenance, had effaced every trace of that beauty, which ſhe before might have poſſeſſed. Upon my firſt entering her apartment, though from my profeſſion accuſtomed to behold objects of diſtreſs and miſery, yet I was ſo forcibly ſtruck with her unhappy ſituation and wretched appearance, that I was obliged to exert all the fortitude of which I was maſter, to avoid the diſcovery of my feelings.

Lalla Zara was at this time about ſix-and-thirty years of age, and though in ſo weak a ſtate, had two beautiful young children; the firſt was in its ſixth year, and the youngeſt, which was then under the care of a wet-nurſe, was very little more than a twelvemonth old. I was quite aſtoniſhed to obſerve ſuch ſtrong and apparently healthy children, the offspring of a mother whoſe conſtitution was ſo dreadfully impaired. It was certainly, however, a very fortunate circumſtance for Lalla Zara that ſhe had theſe children; ſince by the Mahometan law a man cannot divorce his wife provided ſhe bear him children; ſo that though the Emperor took very little notice of this poor lady, yet he was, for the above reaſon, obliged to maintain, both herſelf and her offspring.

From the wretched ſituation in which I have deſcribed this unfortunate female, it is eaſy to conceive that her ſpirits muſt revive at the moſt diſtant proſpect of procuring relief in her diſagreeable complaint. Such, indeed, was the caſe. She received me with all that ſatisfaction which hope, united with ſome degree of confidence, moſt naturally inſpires.

Under theſe circumſtances the predicament in which I felt myſelf was, I muſt confeſs, moſt truly embarraſſing. It was one of thoſe unpleaſant ſituations, in which duty and intereſt are completely in oppoſition to each other, or rather when the ſympathetic feelings ſtand oppoſed to perſonal ſafety. Humanity pointed out to me that it was my duty to relieve her if poſſible; on the other hand, ſelf-preſervation no leſs ſtrongly dictated, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to my ſafety and happineſs to embrace the firſt opportunity of leaving a country where I exiſted in the moſt critical and moſt diſagreeable ſituation. Both theſe ſentiments for ſome time preſſed equally on my mind, and left me at a loſs how to determine. I at length, however, fixed on a middle plan of conduct, which appeared likely to effect the ſafety of the lady, without endangering my own. This was, to give a proper courſe of medicines a fair trial for a fortnight; and then, if the leaſt proſpect of amendment ſhould appear in conſequence of them, I could leave her more, with ſuch directions as might enable her to uſe them without medical attendance.

This plan I conceived it moſt prudent not to communicate immediately to my patient: I therefore, without affording her any very flattering hopes of a cure, aſſured her, that I would uſe every means with which I was acquainted for the reſtoration of her conſtitution. Contrary to moſt other Mooriſh females, I found Lalla Zara in every reſpect affable and polite; though deprived of her health, ſhe retained her natural vivacity, and with the ravages of her inveterate malady ſhe ſtill remained a pleaſing and an intereſting character.

I was upon the point of taking my leave of Lalla Zara, when a female meſſenger appeared to requeſt my attendance upon Lalla Batoom, who, from the priority of her marriage, is called the firſt wife of the Emperor, and is more properly entitled to the denomination of Sultana than any of the others.

As the Emperor had given directions for my admiſſion to Lalla Zara only, and as I ſoon perceived that the eunuch regarded me with the moſt jealous eye, I muſt confeſs that, however my curioſity might be excited, yet when ſolicited to viſit the other ladies, I could not help feeling ſome apprehenſions of the danger which I incurred by tranſgreſſing the Emperor's order. On the other hand, I reflected, that both the eunuch and the women would be equally involved in the conſequences of a diſcovery; the firſt for conducting me, and the others for admitting me into their apartments; and therefore that it was as much their intereſt as mine to be cautious, as well in preventing the circumſtance from reaching the Emperor's ears, as in not receiving me in their apartments at a time when he was likely to enter the harem. All theſe arguments, united to the deſire which I felt to avail myſelf of ſo favourable an opportunity of ſeeing a place where no European had ever before been admitted, had ſo much weight, that my objections were ſpeedily removed.

I found Lalla Batoom to be a perfect Mooriſh beauty; ſhe was moſt immoderately fat, about forty years of age, with round and prominent cheeks which were painted a deep red, ſmall black eyes, and a viſage completely guiltleſs of expreſſion. She was ſitting upon a mattraſs on the floor, which, as uſual, was covered with fine white linen, and ſhe was ſurrounded with a large party of concubines, whom I was informed ſhe had invited to be her viſitors on the occaſion. Her room bore a much greater appearance of grandeur than that of Lalla Zara, and ſhe was indulged with a whole ſquare to herſelf.

As ſoon as I entered her apartment, Lalla Batoom requeſted of me to be ſeated cloſe by her ſide, and to feel her pulſe. Her complaint was a ſlight cold, of which an unconquerable deſire of ſeeing me had moſt probably been the occaſion. As ſoon as I had felt her pulſe, and pronounced my opinion, I was employed in going through the ſame ceremony with all the other ladies in the room, who deſired I would acquaint them with all their complaints, without any further enquiries. From the great experience which I had acquired in this kind of practice at Tarudant, and from the knowledge which I had attained of their complaints, which in general proceeded from too violent an attack upon the coſcoſoo, I was enabled to make no deſpicable figure in this myſterious art, and was very ſucceſsful in my opinions.

From the ſubject of their own health, the converſation preſently changed to criticiſms upon my dreſs. There was not a ſingle part of it which was not examined, and commented on with their uſual loquacity. My interpreter was then aſked if I was a married man, and if ſo, whether I had brought my wife with me, with a variety of equally important queſtions. In the midſt of this converſation, tea was introduced, though at eleven o'clock in the morning. A ſmall tea-board, with four very ſhort feet, ſupplied the place of a table, and held the tea equipage. The cups were about the

ſize of large walnut-ſhells, of the very beſt Indian china, and of which a very conſiderable number was drank.

After I had concluded my viſit to the Queen of the harem, I was next conducted to Lalla Douyaw, the favourite wife of the Emperor, whom I found to be what would be termed in Europe a very fine and beautiful woman. She is a native of Genoa, and was, with her mother, ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Barbary, whence they became the Emperor's captives. At that period, though but eight years of age, her perſonal charms were ſo very promiſing and attractive, that they induced the Emperor to order her to be taken forcibly from her mother, and placed in his harem, where, though at ſo early a period of life, every means where in vain employed to entice her to change her religion, till at length the Emperor threatened to pull up every hair of her head by the roots if ſhe deſiſted any longer; and ſhe then found herſelf obliged to ſubmit to his inclinations.

After remaining ſome time in the character of a concubine, the Emperor married her; and from her great beauty, addreſs, and ſuperior mental accompliſhments, ſhe ſoon gained his beſt affections, which ſhe ever after poſſeſſed. She had, indeed, ſo much influence over him, that though he was naturally of a very ſtubborn diſpoſition, ſhe was never known to fail in any favour ſhe ſolicited, provided ſhe perſevered in her requeſt.

When I ſaw her ſhe was about thirty years of age; in her perſon rather corpulent, and her face was diſtinguiſhed by that expreſſive beauty which is almoſt peculiar to the Italian women. Her addreſs was pleaſing, and her behaviour polite and attentive. In the harem, from her accompliſhments in reading and writing well the Arabic language, ſhe was conſidered by the other females as a ſuperior being.

From the circumſtance of being taken ſo young into the harem, ſhe had nearly forgotten her native language, and could only converſe fluently in Arabic, having but a diſtant recollection of the events which firſt brought her into her preſent ſituation. She, however, informed me that we were brother and ſiſter (a common phraſe uſed by the Moors to expreſs the affinity which Chriſtians bear to each other in a religious ſenſe), and had diſcernment enough to obſerve that ſhe was among a very uncouth and ignorant people. She added, that her mother, whom I had afterwards an opportunity of ſeeing at a Venetian merchant's houſe at Mamora, was ſtill a Chriſtian, though ſhe herſelf was no longer ſuch, and that ſhe hoped I would viſit her every time I came to the harem.

Her complaint was a ſcorbutic affection of the gums, which threatened the loſs of ſome of her front teeth. This circumſtance gave her the greateſt uneaſineſs, as ſhe was fearful it might diſfigure her other features, and by that means cauſe an abatement in the affection of the Emperor. On this account ſhe was extremely anxious to have my advice, though when I was in her apartment ſhe always experienced the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions leſt my attendance on her ſhould come to the Emperor's knowledge, which might be attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences to us both.

Lalla Zara, owing to her bad ſtate of health, and the conſequent ruin of her perſonal charms, had long been neglected by the Emperor, who, moſt probably, admitted of my attendance on her more for the ſake of exonerating himſelf from her conſtant importunities to ſee me (for it was a conſiderable time before ſhe could gain his conſent) than from any great anxiety on his part for her recovery. With reſpect to a perſon of ſuch a deſcription, it was perhaps a matter of indifference to the Emperor by whom

ſhe was ſeen or known, and therefore there was no ground for that jealouſy to which the Moors in general are ſo notoriouſly addicted.

Lalla Douyaw was very differently ſituated. She was in the bloom of health and beauty, with all thoſe exterior accompliſhments which were likely to excite the moſt ardent paſſion; and indeed the Emperor's attachment to her was unexampled. Under theſe circumſtances, when we conſider with what caution the Moors in general endeavour to prevent any foreign intercourſe with their women, it could not be ſuppoſed that the Emperor would reliſh the idea of an European in particular being admitted frequently, and almoſt alone, to this firſt object of his deareſt affections.

Lalla Douyaw, however, to prevent the poſſibility of detection, enjoined her female ſlaves to be particularly aſſiduous to inform her when there was the ſmalleſt reaſon for an alarm; while, on the other hand, ſhe was continually making preſents to the eunuch who attended me, cautioning him at the ſame time not to intimate to any perſon out of the harem that I had been admitted into her apartment. She ſo far gained an aſcendancy over him, that I have frequently remained with her for an hour at a time, converſing upon European cuſtoms; and though ſhe knew but little of them, yet the ſubject always ſeemed to afford her the higheſt pleaſure. As ſoon as ſhe thought it would be imprudent for me to remain any longer, ſhe requeſted of me to go, but with a promiſe to call upon her the next time I viſited the harem. Her apprehenſion of a diſcovery was not confined to the chance of an alarm from the Emperor, or from the perfidy of the eunuch; it was likewiſe extended to the jealouſy of the other women in the harem, who might probably rejoice in an opportunity of effecting her ruin. It was, however, perhaps a fortunate circumſtance for us both, that by moſt of them admitting me into their apartments, it was equally their intereſt to be ſilent, ſince a diſcovery of the one would inevitably lead to a detection of the others.

The fourth wife, who is daughter to an Engliſh renegado, and mother to the reigning Emperor, being at Fez at the time when I viſited the harem, I had not an opportunity of ſeeing.

When I waited on the Emperor in conſequence of my viſit to the harem, I was honoured with quite a private audience; for he received me in the court cloſe to his houſe, where no perſon is permitted to be preſent while the Emperor is there, but a few pages, and the people who immediately belong to his carriage.

The Sovereign was in an open four-wheeled carriage, hung very low, of a ſize juſt large enough to admit one perſon, and drawn by the ſons of four Spaniſh renegadoes. As ſoon as I was obſerved by him, His Majeſty ordered me with my interpreter to approach, and carry him the medicines, deſiring me to taſte them before him, to convince him, I imagine, that there was nothing in them that was improper. He then examined them with great attention, and ordered me to explain to him what they were, and in what manner they were expected to act. When required to give my opinion concerning the caſe of my patient, I informed His Majeſty, that the Sultana's complaint was of ſuch a nature as to require a very long courſe of medicines, but which I apprehended it would not be neceſſary to change; that therefore I propoſed to attend her for a fortnight, and then leave her a proper ſupply, with ſuch directions as might enable her to take them almoſt with the ſame advantage as if I was preſent. I added, that I had received orders from the governor of Gibraltar to return to the garriſon immediately, which if I diſobeyed I ſhould certainly loſe a very good employment; and that, as I was convinced of the Emperor's kind intentions towards me, by

the promiſes which he had made at my firſt audience, I was perſuaded His Majeſty would not detain me a day longer than the period I mentioned. In reply, the Emperor ſaid, that he only wiſhed me to attend the Sultana for about ten days, at the expiration of which, if the medicines proved likely to be uſeful, I ſhould then leave her a proper ſupply, and he would ſend me home (to uſe his expreſſion) upon a fine horſe. He then gave orders to his prime miniſter to pay me ten hard dollars as a preſent; and commanded that free admittance ſhould be granted me into the royal harem, whenever I thought it neceſſary.

The harem, as I before obſerved, forms a part of the palace or ſeraglio, without any other immediate communication with it than a private door, uſed only by the Emperor himſelf.

The apartments, which are all on the ground floor, are ſquare, very lofty, and four of them encloſe a ſpacious ſquare court, into which they open by means of large folding-doors. Theſe, as in other Mooriſh houſes, which in general have no windows, ſerve the purpoſe of admitting light into the apartments. In the centre of theſe courts, which are floored with blue and white chequered tiling, is a fountain, ſupplied by pipes from a large reſervoir on the outſide of the palace, which ſerves for the frequent ablutions recommended by the Mahometan religion, as well as for other purpoſes.

The whole of the harem conſiſts of about twelve of theſe ſquare courts, communicating with each other by narrow paſſages, which afford a free acceſs from one part of it to another, and of which all the women are allowed to avail themſelves.

The apartments are ornamented externally with beautiful carved wood, much ſuperior to any I have ever ſeen in Europe, as well for the difficulty of the workmanſhip, as for the taſte with which it is finiſhed. In the inſide moſt of the rooms are hung, with rich damaſk of various colours; the floors are covered with beautiful carpets, and there are mattreſſes diſpoſed at different diſtances for the purpoſes of ſitting and ſleeping.

Beſides theſe, the apartments are furniſhed at each extremity with an elegant European mahogany bedſtead, hung with damaſk, having on it ſeveral mattreſſes placed one over the other, which are covered with various coloured ſilks; but theſe beds are merely placed there to ornament the room. In all the apartments without exception the ceiling is wood, carved and painted. The principal ornaments in ſome, were large and valuable looking-glaſſes, hung on different parts of the walls. In others, clocks and watches of different ſizes, in glaſs caſes, were diſpoſed in the ſame manner. In ſome of the apartments I obſerved a projection from the wall, which reached about half way to the ceiling, on which were placed ſeveral mattreſſes over each other, and each covered with ſilks of different colours. Above and below this projection the wall was hung with pieces of ſattin, velvet, and damaſk, of different colours, ornamented on each edge with a broad ſtrip of black velvet, which was embroidered in its centre with gold.

The whole harem was under the management of the principal Sultana Lalla Batoom: that is in general ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by the title of miſtreſs of the harem, without having any particular controul over the women. This lady and Lalla Douyaw, the favourite, were indulged with a whole ſquare to themſelves; but Lalla Zara, and all the concubines were only allowed each a ſingle room.

Each female had a ſeparate daily allowance from the Emperor, proportioned to the eſtimation in which they were held by him. Out of this they were expected to furniſh themſelves with every article of which they might be in want; the

harem

harem is therefore to be conſidered as a place where ſo many diſtinct lodgers have apartments without paying for them, and the principal Sultana is the miſtreſs of the whole.

The daily allowance which each woman received from the Emperor for her ſubſiſtence was very trifling indeed. Lalla Douyaw, the favourite Sultana, had very little more than half-a-crown Engliſh *per diem*, and the others leſs in proportion. It muſt be allowed, that the Emperor made them occaſional preſents of money, dreſs, and trinkets; but this could never be ſufficient to ſupport the number of domeſtics and other expences they muſt incur. Their greateſt dependance, therefore, was on the preſents they received from thoſe Europeans and Moors who viſited the court, and who employed their influence in obtaining ſome particular favour from the Emperor. Nor had the monarch ſufficient delicacy to diſcourage this mode of negotiation. He well knew that if his women had not obtained ſupplies by other means, they muſt have had recourſe to his purſe; and as he had taken too good precautions to allow any miſchief to ariſe from this cuſtom, he was always well pleaſed to have buſineſs tranſacted through that channel. Ambaſſadors, conſuls, and merchants indeed, who were acquainted with the nature of the court, perfectly knew that this was always the moſt ſucceſsful mode that could be adopted. As an illuſtration of this aſſertion, when I was at Morocco, a Jew, deſirous of obtaining a very advantageous favour from the Emperor, for which he had been a long time unſucceſsfully ſoliciting, ſent to all the principal ladies of the harem preſents of pearls to a very conſiderable amount; the conſequence was, that they all went in a body to the Emperor, and immediately obtained the wiſhed-for conceſſion.

The ladies ſeparately furniſh their own rooms, hire their own domeſtics, and in fact, do what they pleaſe in the harem; but they are not permitted to go out without an expreſs order from the Emperor, who very ſeldom grants them that favour, except when they are to be removed from one palace to another. In that caſe a party of ſoldiers is diſpatched a little diſtance before them, to diſperſe the male paſſengers in particular, and to prevent the poſſibility of their being ſeen. This previous ſtep being taken, a piece of linen cloth is tied round the lower part of the face, and afterwards theſe miſerable females cover themſelves entirely with their haicks, and either mount mules, which they ride like men, or, what is more uſual, are put into a ſquare carriage or litter, conſtructed for this purpoſe, which by its lattice-work allows them to ſee without being ſeen. In this manner they ſet off under the charge of a guard of black eunuchs. This journey, and ſometimes a walk within the bounds of the palace, with which they are, however, ſeldom indulged, is the only exerciſe they are permitted to take.

The Emperor's harem conſiſted of between ſixty and a hundred females, beſides their domeſtics and ſlaves, which were very numerous. The four wives which I have already noted are by no means to be conſidered as the firſt ſet of which the Emperor was poſſeſſed, ſince ſome died, and others were repudiated *. So that it is a difficult matter to determine what was the preciſe number of Sidi Mahomet's wives.

Many of the concubines were Mooriſh women, who had been preſented to the Emperor, as the Moors conſider it an honour to have their daughters in the harem; ſeveral were European ſlaves, who had been either made captives or purchaſed by the Emperor, and ſome were negroes.

* The Mahometan law allows a man to divorce his wife, provided ſhe does not produce him any children, and he returns her the portion which was agreed upon when the marriage firſt took place.

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In this groupe the Europeans, or their deſcendants, had by far the greateſt claim to the character of handſome. There was one in particular, who was a native of Spain, and taken into the harem at about the ſame age as Lalla Douyaw, who was indeed a perfect beauty. Nor was this lady quite ſingular in that reſpect, for many others were almoſt equally handſome.

The Mooriſh women have in general an inexpreſſive countenance, and a ruſtic ſimplicity of manners. Their perſons are below the middle ſtature, of a remarkably fat and ſquare make, with very large hands and feet. Their complexions are either a clear brown, or, what is more uſual, of a fallow caſt. Their faces are round, and their eyes in general black; the noſe and mouth very ſmall, and the latter is uſually accompanied with a good ſet of teeth.

Among my patients in the harem, was one of the Mooriſh concubines, who with a handſome ſet of features had united an intolerable ſhare of pride and affectation, the effects of which I experienced in the moſt diſguſting degree. I was deſired to adminiſter to her a remedy for a ſlight complaint of the ſtomach, with which ſhe had been affected for a few days. The medicine was to be of ſo gentle a nature as not to create the ſlighteſt degree of pain, or any inconvenience whatever. Determined that ſhe ſhould have no reaſon to complain on that account, I prepared her a powder, which, had ſhe given it to a new-born infant, would have proved as inoffenſive as to herſelf.

The lady, however, ſtill apprehenſive of its bad effects, obliged her younger ſiſter, who was likewiſe a concubine in the harem, to take it by way of trial; and then, if it agreed, it was her intention to have had another doſe for herſelf. Unfortunately for me, the young lady, at the idea of being compelled to take a medicine of which ſhe was not in want, ſoon after ſhe had ſwallowed it, became very ſick, which ſo alarmed her ſiſter, that ſhe immediately ſent for me, and upbraided me in the ſevereſt language, for ſending a medicine which had nearly deſtroyed the young lady, who had been in the moſt violent agonies the whole day; adding, that had ſhe not been poſſeſſed of a very ſtrong conſtitution, ſhe muſt inevitably have periſhed. She tauntingly obſerved, that ſhe had formed a better opinion of the Chriſtians than ſhe now found they deſerved; and aſked me imperiouſly whether I was a proper perſon to undertake the cure of the ſultana? As it was impoſſible that I could be pleaſed with theſe ignorant and unmerited reproaches, and as I was well aware that ſince I had no directions to attend any perſon but Lalla Zara, it was entirely a matter of favour in me to comply at all with her requeſt, I embraced the opportunity of at once ſilencing her ill-timed loquacity, and effectually putting a ſtop to ſimilar impertinence from any other quarter. I explained to her in the firſt place, that ſo far from the medicines having the tendency of which ſhe accuſed them, that they in reality were of much too mild a nature for a perſon of her conſtitution. I added, that ſince ſhe entertained ſuch ſuſpicions of them from the firſt, how could ſhe be ſo deſtitute of affection and feeling as to compel her ſiſter to take what ſhe would not venture upon herſelf, without regard to the difference of her age, or to the ſtate of her health? That her ungrateful behaviour would operate as a diſcouragement to me, and would perhaps prevent my affording aſſiſtance to many of the other ladies, whoſe complaints might require much more attention than hers did; and that in future ſhe could not expect to receive from me, if it ſhould even be neceſſary, the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. She now began to relent, and acknowledged ſhe had been rather too warm, adding many apologies, and concluded with wiſhing me a happy return to my country and friends.

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I could adduce many other anecdotes to illuſtrate the ignorance and pride of theſe unfortunate women; but this I think will be ſufficiently convincing to anſwer the purpoſe. It may not be improper to add, that this little altercation proved afterwards of great ſervice to me in the harem, by convincing the ignorant part of it that I paid very little attention to their caprice.

Obſerving that the eunuchs kept a very cloſe and watchful eye over me when I viſited the harem, I always took care that my deportment in their preſence ſhould be ſuch as to give them no reaſon for any complaint againſt me. When in the apartments of my patients I ſometimes ſo far forgot myſelf, as to enter into a pretty long converſation; but I found that the eunuch was always diſpoſed to interrupt our entertainment, by hinting that I had already ſtaid too long, and muſt therefore depart. With Lalla Douyaw, however, they ſeemed to have leſs influence; and though ſhe thought it prudent to make them occaſional preſents, yet ſhe never would ſuffer me to leave the room till by her own requeſt.

In one of my viſits, I obſerved a proceſſion, which upon enquiry I found was intended as an invocation to God and Mahomet for rain, of which there had been a ſcarcity for ſeveral preceding months. The proceſſion was commenced by the youngeſt children in the harem, who were barely able to walk, two abreaſt, and theſe were followed by the next in age, till at length a great part of the women fell into the groupe, making altogether upwards of a hundred perſons. They carried on their heads their prayers written on paper, paſted on a ſquare board, and proceeded through all the courts ſinging hymns, the purport of which was adapted to the ſolemn occaſion. I was informed that they had continued this ceremony every day during the whole of the dry weather, and were to repeat it till their prayers were attended with ſucceſs.

Though the Emperor occaſionally came into the harem, yet it was more uſual for him to give notice to thoſe ladies whoſe company he wiſhed, to attend in his apartment; when they made a point of ſetting off their charms to the beſt advantage. When in his preſence, they paid him every attention which a common ſlave would ſhew to his maſter, and never ventured to offer their opinion, except by his approbation.—But to return to the Mooriſh ladies.

From the idea which is ſo prevalent with this people, that corpulency is the moſt infallible mark of beauty, the women uſe a grain which they name Ellhouba, for the purpoſe of acquiring that degree of perſonal excellence at which they aſpire: this they powder, and eat with their cuſcoſoo. They likewiſe take, with the ſame intention, large quantities of paſte, heated by the ſteam of boiling water, which they ſwallow in the form of boluſes. It is certainly true, that the number of corpulent women in this country is very conſiderable, but it is probable that this circumſtance ariſes as much from their very confined and inactive mode of life, as from any of the particular means which they employ to produce that effect.

The dreſs of the ladies conſiſts of a ſhirt, with remarkably full and looſe ſleeves, hanging almoſt to the ground, the neck and breaſt of which are left open, and their edges are neatly embroidered with gold. They wear linen drawers, and over the ſhirt a caftan, which is a dreſs ſomething ſimilar in form to a looſe great coat without ſleeves, hanging nearly to the feet, and is made either of ſilk and cotton or gold tiſſue. A ſaſh of fine linen or cotton folded, is tied gracefully round the waiſt, and its extremities fall below the knees. To this ſaſh two broad ſtraps are annexed, and paſſing under each arm over the ſhoulders form a croſs on the breaſt, and to that part of it which paſſes between the breaſt and ſhoulder of each arm is fixed a gold tortoiſe, careleſsly

leſsly ſuſpending in front a gold chain. Over the whole dreſs is extended a broad ſilk band of the Fez manufacture, which ſurrounds the waiſt, and completes the dreſs, except when they go abroad, and then they inveſt themſelves in a careleſs manner with the haick.

The hair is plaited from the front of the head backwards in different folds, which hang looſe behind, and at the bottom are all fixed together with twiſted ſilk. Over their heads they wear a long piece of ſilk about half a yard wide, which they tie cloſe to the head, and ſuffer the long ends, which are edged with twiſted ſilk, to hang behind in an eaſy manner nearly to the ground. The remainder of the head-dreſs is completed by a common ſilk handkerchief, which ſurrounds the head like a woman's cloſe cap, differing from it only by being fixed in a full bow behind inſtead of in front. At the upper part of each ear hangs a ſmall gold ring, half open, which has at one end a cluſter of precious ſtones, ſufficient nearly to fill up the vacancy occaſioned by the opening of the ring. At the tip, or lower part of the ear, is likewiſe ſuſpended a broad and ſolid gold ring, which is ſo large that it reaches as low as the neck, and which, as well as the other, has a cluſter of precious ſtones, in proportion to the ſize of the ring. The ladies wear on their fingers ſeveral ſmall gold rings, ſet with diamonds or other precious ſtones, and on the wriſts broad and ſolid gold bracelets, ſometimes alſo ſet with precious ſtones. Their necks are ornamented with a great variety of bead and pearl necklaces. Below theſe a gold chain ſurrounds the neck, and ſuſpends in front a gold ornament.

Like the men, the Mooriſh women wear no ſtockings, but uſe red ſlippers, curiouſly embroidered with gold, which they take off when they enter their rooms. Immediately above the ancle each leg is ſurrounded with a large ſolid gold ring, which is narrow in front, but very broad behind.

The ladies paint their cheeks of a deep red, and ſtain their eye-lids and eye-brows with a black powder, which I apprehend to be antimony. It is a branch of artificial beauty in this country, to produce a long black mark on the forehead, another on the tip of the noſe, and ſeveral others on each cheek. The chin is ſtained of a deep red, and thence down to the throat runs a long black ſtripe. The inſide of the hands and the nails are ſtained of a deep red, ſo deep indeed that in moſt lights it borders on black; and the back of the hands have ſeveral fancy marks of the ſame colour. The feet are painted in a ſimilar manner with the hands.

I ſeldom obſerved in the harem the women at any employment but that of forming themſelves into different circles for the purpoſe of converſation, ſometimes in the open courts, at others in the different apartments. As they are not permitted to enter the moſques, they pray at the appointed times in their own chambers. The Moors, indeed, entertain the prejudice which is commonly attributed to the Muſſulmen in general, that the female ſex are altogether an inferior ſpecies of animals, merely formed to be ſlaves to the pleaſures of men, whoſe ſalvation is conſequently not of ſo much importance; and with this ſentiment the conduct of the men towards them in every inſtance correſponds. The Moors likewiſe aſſign other reaſons for not permitting their females to enter their places of worſhip: they aſſert, that it would be not only contrary to the cuſtom which prevails in the country, of not allowing the ſexes to meet together in any particular ſpot, but it might alſo, by creating looſe and improper ideas, draw off the attention from their devotion.

The women have their talbas as well as the men their talbs. Theſe perſons, who are either wives or concubines, juſt as it happens, and whoſe principal qualifications appear to be reading and writing, teach the younger part of the harem to repeat their prayers, and the older females they inſtruct in the laws and principles of their religion.

All the Emperor's daughters, and the children of his concubines, as ſoon as they were of a proper age, were ſent to Tafilet, where they finiſhed their education, and by intermarrying with the deſcendants of his anceſtors, they ſerved to people that extraordinary city — extraordinary on this account, that the inhabitants of it are all ſharifs, or the ſuppoſed lineal deſcendants of Mahomet, and are moſt of them collaterally or otherwiſe related to the preſent royal family of Morocco. Muley Iſhmael, who, as I before obſerved, was grandfather to the late Emperor, had three hundred children at Tafilet, and their deſcendants are now ſuppoſed to amount to nine thouſand, who all live in the ſame place.

The ſons of the Emperor's wives are conſidered as princes, who have each an equal claim to the empire, and as ſuch are always reſpected. If they have not diſobliged their father, they are generally appointed to the government of ſome of the provinces, where, in the capacity of baſhaws, their principal object is the accumulation of riches.

The reader will have obſerved that I reſerved my obſervations on the female part of ſociety in this country, till I had given ſuch a general account of the harem as might ſerve for a proper introduction to that part of my ſubject. By this arrangement I have relieved myſelf from the tedioufneſs of repetition, and my readers from that obſcurity which naturally enſues when information is imparted in a diſjointed ſtate. A few obſervations will ſerve to complete the deſcription.

The Mooriſh women may be divided into two claſſes; the black or negro women, and the white.

The firſt are either ſlaves, or have been ſo formerly; and from their ſervices, or through the favour of their proprietors, have obtained their freedom. Theſe women have all the characters, both with reſpect to diſpoſition, features, and complexion, peculiar to the country from which they are brought. Many of them are in the ſituation of concubines, and others in that of domeſtics. Their male children are all brought up to ſerve in the army of the Emperor. — To this claſs may be added the mulattoes, both male and female, which are the production of a Moor and a negro woman, and are conſequently very numerous in this empire; but as they differ but little in character from the negroes, and are only diſtinguiſhed from them by being indulged with their freedom, I ſhall paſs them over without any further obſervations.

Thoſe of the female ſex who may be properly conſidered as natives of the country, are of a white, or rather a ſallow complexion. From the very limited ſphere in which they are allowed to act, and the contempt in which they are held as members of ſociety, their characters admit of very little of that variety which diſtinguiſhes the European women. Happy, perhaps, it is for them, that the ſun of knowledge has never beamed upon their gloomy priſons, ſince it could only ſerve to enlighten them to a ſenſe of their own miſery, diſgrace, and ſervitude! Happy is that accommodating power, which Providence has vouchſafed to human kind, which adapts them to their ſeveral ſituations! and happy it is that the information of mankind is generally ſuch as ſuits the ſphere in which they are deſtined to act!

Educated with no other view than for the ſenſual purpoſes of their maſter, or huſband, the chief object of the female ſex of this country is to adminiſter to his pleaſure, and by the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to alleviate the rigours of that ſervitude to which they are doomed. When in the preſence of their deſpot, both wives and concubines are obliged to manifeſt the ſame reſpect as his common ſlaves; and though all are not confined cloſely to their houſes, as is cuſtomary in the Emperor's harem,

yet when they do go out they are obliged to be extremely circumſpect in concealing their faces, and cautious in every part of their demeanour. Women of diſtinction, however, are very ſeldom allowed to go abroad, it is only thoſe of the loweſt claſs which are uſually ſeen in the ſtreets, and even theſe are ſo diſguiſed and wrapped up in their haicks, that they appear more like a bale of cloth put in motion, than a human form.

If they happen to meet an European in the country, at a time when no Moor is in ſight, they ſeldom miſs the opportunity of diſplaying their features, by throwing the haick on one ſide, and even to laugh and converſe with him, though always with the utmoſt riſk, as the eye of jealouſy, it is well known, never ſlumbers.

If an European or a Jew ſhould be caught in a clandeſtine connection with a Mooriſh woman, he is obliged to become a convert to the Mahometan faith, or his life would be forfeit; and the woman, I was informed, is puniſhed either by burning or drowning, though I cannot ſay I ever knew an inſtance of that dreadful ſentence being put in execution. A man, indeed, muſt have uncommon addreſs, and no ſmall ſhare of caution, to carry on an intrigue of that kind, though on the part of the women of this country he will ſeldom want for encouragement.

It muſt, however, be allowed, that the means which the Moors employ for the prevention of intrigues, very often tend to the encouragement of them. By dreſſing themſelves in the female habit, men may very eaſily paſs the ſtreets unobſerved, as they may reſt aſſured they will not be addreſſed or even looked at by the Moors; and if they contrive to call at the houſe when the maſter is from home, they need be under no apprehenſions of being detected when he returns. If he ſees a ſtrange woman's ſlippers at the door of his harem, he concludes it is a female neighbour, and never approaches the room till the ſlippers are removed.

The dreſs of the opulent females among the Moors is ſimilar to that of the Emperor's ladies, differing only in the value of the materials. Thoſe of the inferior claſs wear linen drawers, and over them a coarſe woollen frock, tied round the waiſt with a band. They plait the hair in two folds, from the upper part of the head all the way down behind, wearing over it a common handkerchief tied cloſe to the head, and when they go out they wear the haick.

CHAP. XIII. — *Duplicity of the Emperor. — Plan of the Author to effect his Emancipation — unſucceſsful. — Application through another Channel — Curious Preſent from the Emperor. — Striking Inſtance of Tyranny. — Perſonal Application to the Emperor. — Traits of Deſpotiſm. — The Emperor's Diſpatches obtained. — Commiſſions from the Ladies in the Harem. — Anecdotes of an Engliſh Mulatto. — Journey to Buluane — Deſcription of that Fortreſs. — Singular Mode of paſſing the River. — Arrival at Salle — at Tangier. — Preſent from the Emperor. — Return to Gibraltar.*

TEN days having elapſed ſince my firſt attendance on Lalla Zara, the Emperor deſired my patient to acquaint him what effect the medicines had produced; and being informed that ſhe was apparently in a ſtate of recovery, he ſent into the harem a doubloon piece, wrapped up in one corner of a ſilk handkerchief, and ordered the lady to preſent me with it as a compliment for the ſervice I had already rendered her, accompanied with ſplendid promiſes, if I ſucceeded in reſtoring her to perfect health

Little reflection was requiſite to convince me, that theſe manœuvres had an aim and tendency very different from that of fulfilling the Emperor's engagements relative to

my return. It required, therefore, ſome conſideration to determine, whether it wo be moſt prudent to continue my attendance, or exert myſelf immediately with redoul vigour to accompliſh my emancipation. The latter mode of conduct I reſolved up for the following reaſons.

In the firſt place, I had been abſent from the garriſon much longer than y originally intended by government; it was, therefore, impoſſible to ſay how far protraction of my reſidence in Morocco might interfere with the arrangements of ſuperiors, or affect the ſervice. Secondly, every European with whom I conver or correſponded, adviſed me by all means to embrace the firſt opportunity of returni ſince, though my patient was for the preſent in a recovering ſtate, yet, from the cap and ignorance of the Moors, there was ſome reaſon to apprehend that ſhe might tir her medicines; and conſidering the matter in the moſt favourable point of v ſuppoſing ſhe could be relieved entirely from her complaint, it was not improb that the women, who had been the original occaſion of her illneſs, upon obſerving recovery, might, with the ſame diabolical malignity which induced them to admin the firſt doſe of poiſon, be inclined to avail themſelves of my attendance, and injure conſtitution a ſecond time; while all the ill conſequences would infallibly be attribut to my treatment. The age and infirmities of the Emperor alſo rendering my ſituati very precarious, determined me to employ the earlieſt opportunity in effecting eſcape; and the following was the plan which appeared to promiſe the moſt pro ſucceſs.

I told my patient that I had brought with me very little more medicine than wa ſufficient for the cure of Muley Abſulem; and that thoſe which I had adminiſtered t her were the few which had not been uſed; that as they muſt neceſſarily ſoon b exhauſted, and as my attendance on her without medicines could anſwer no purpo whatever, I would recommend her, for her own ſake, to adviſe the Emperor to ſen me to Gibraltar for a freſh ſupply. "Ah!" exclaimed the lady, "there is no occa for your going, the Emperor can write to the conſul for them." For a reply o kind I was not wholly unprepared; and as I had found it neceſſary to act a pa this occaſion, I determined to go through with it, and reluctantly to play the empir informing my patient that the compoſition of theſe medicines was known to no p but myſelf; and therefore to write for them would be totally uſeleſs. This ſtate appeared unanſwerable, and my plan was ſo far crowned with ſucceſs. An applic on my account, was immediately made to the Emperor by all the principal wo whom Lalla Zara had engaged in her ſervice for that purpoſe.

The Emperor, however, whoſe diſcernment had been excellent in his youth whoſe intellect was at intervals as vigorous as ever, was not to be impoſe He promiſed the women more than he ever intended to perform, and ten more elapſed, when I found myſelf as near returning as on my firſt arri Morocco.

Thus baffled in my attempt, though my indefatigable female agents repeated application not ſeldomer than twice every day, I applied to a German renegado ſpoke the Engliſh language, and who, from his ſituation at court, had fre opportunities of ſeeing the Emperor privately, and intreated of him to procure licence to depart. But all that he was able to obtain in my favour, was a rene the ſame fair promiſes which had been ſo frequently made, and made with the ſincerity. I muſt not omit, however, to relate, that in a few days after this a tion, I received from the Emperor a preſent of two horſes, accompanied with a p aſſurance of being diſpatched immediately home.

One of the horſes was young, but was in ſo wretched and emaciated a ſtate, that he appeared better calculated to afford food for the canine race than to prove of any utility to a traveller. The other, it muſt be confeſſed, was not in ſo ſtarved and miſerable a condition, but then he was completely ſuperannuated, and conſequently quite as uſeleſs as his companion. He had been preſented to the Emperor in the morning by a poor man, who, for ſome trifling diſgrace which he had incurred, had brought this horſe as an atonement; the man, however, was committed to priſon, and in the afternoon the horſe was preſented to me.

Before I could get theſe unparalleled courſers out of the walls of the palace, I was ſtopped by the porters of four gates, who each demanded a hard dollar as a perquiſite annexed to their places. On my arrival at home, two deputy maſters of horſe alſo came to my apartment for a preſent for themſelves, and for their chief; ſo that the reader may eaſily judge how far I was a gainer by the Emperor's munificence!

After this circumſtance, ſeveral days having elapſed without any proſpect of accompliſhing my wiſhes, I was adviſed by an European, who had come from Mogodore to Morocco upon buſineſs, as the ſureſt means of ſucceeding, to ſeize the firſt opportunity that offered of the Emperor's appearing in public, which he ſeldom did ſo as to be ſeen by ſtrangers, and, truſting no longer to other agents, at once aſk His Majeſty for my diſpatches. Fortunately, as I thought, the Emperor afforded me an opportunity of ſeeing him the following day; and, though the ſoldiers would not allow me to approach him ſo near as to enable me to ſpeak to him, yet I took care to place myſelf in a conſpicuous ſituation; but after continuing about half an hour, he retired without taking the leaſt notice of me, or even appearing to obſerve me.

The Emperor, upon this occaſion, was in one of his open courts on horſeback, with a large umbrella ſuſpended over his head by a ſoldier of the negro infantry, who was ſtanding in front of the horſe; while two other attendants were on each ſide, and with pieces of ſilk fixed to a cane, were, by an eaſy but conſtant motion, guarding off the flies from the Emperor's face. The miniſters of ſtate were placed in front, and behind them were about a hundred foot ſoldiers in different diviſions, forming altogether a kind of creſcent. Some of theſe troops were armed with muſquets, which they held in a ſtiff manner cloſe to their bodies, with the muzzles pointed perpendicularly, while others had no weapon of defence but thick clubs.

The ſovereign being at this moment in a good humour, was converſing with his miniſters; and, as my interpreter informed me, he was boaſting to them of the mighty actions which the Moors had performed againſt the Chriſtians; remarking, that his predeceſſors had deprived them of nearly all the places they had formerly poſſeſſed in Barbary, and that he had the ſatisfaction of having taken Mazagan from the Portugueze. The miniſters entered very little further into the converſation than to repeat at the concluſion of each ſentence, Alla Cormus Sidi! in Engliſh, May God preſerve the King! which was communicated to the neareſt party of ſoldiers, and from thoſe to the next, till they made the palace echo with their voices.

My ill ſucceſs upon this occaſion did not deter me from making an experiment upon another favourable opportunity which offered, after the lapſe of a few days. I then had influence enough with the ſoldiers to allow me to approach ſo very near the Emperor's perſon, as rendered it utterly impoſſible for him to avoid obſerving me, though not ſufficiently cloſe to enable me to ſpeak to him. A meſſenger was conſequently diſpatched by the ſovereign to know (uſing his own expreſſion) what the pa[illegible]chriſtian wanted. I returned for anſwer, that I came to thank His Majeſty for the pla[illegible] honour

honour he had conferred on me, by preſenting me with the two horſes, at the ſam time to remind him of his royal promiſe to ſend me immediately home. In conſequenc of his attention on firſt ſeeing me, I expected every moment to be ordered into h immediate preſence, but in that reſpect I was diſappointed; for, after converſing nea half an hour with his miniſters, he retired, and left me in the ſame ſtate of ſuſpen which I had a few days before experienced. The Emperor was on horſeback, and w endeavouring to explain to his auditors the beauties of various parts of the Koran, a laid a particular ſtreſs on thoſe paſſages which teach the followers of Mahomet to dete the Chriſtians.

Such repeated diſappointments, after having exerted myſelf to the utmoſt in ever mode I could deviſe, it muſt be allowed were ſufficient to induce me to conſider my ſituation as deſperate; and I felt myſelf totally at a loſs what further ſteps could be adopted in this very critical ſituation. The uneaſineſs I experienced at this momen was happily not of long continuance, for the day following the German renegad brought me the Emperor's letter of diſpatch, conſiſting merely of a few lines addreſſed to the governor of Tangier, ordering him to permit me to embark, with my two horſes, for Gibraltar.

The reader will too eaſily anticipate the extreme pleaſure I felt at the idea of ſhortly leaving a country where I had experienced ſuch a continued ſeries of ingratitude, di appointment, and uneaſineſs, to render it at all neceſſary for me to enlarge upon tha topic. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that I loſt no time in making the neceſſary prepa rations for the journey, and in availing myſelf of the earlieſt opportunity to tak my leave of the ladies in the harem, moſt carefully avoiding to communicate to them the contents of the Emperor's letter. Had they known, indeed, that I was not t return, it is probable they would have employed the ſame influence for my detention which they had before exerted in favour of my liberation, and moſt likely with greate ſucceſs.

It is humiliating and unpleaſant in the higheſt degree to ſtoop to deception upo any occaſion; to be obliged, therefore, in juſtice to myſelf, and for my own perſon ſafety, to carry on a ſyſtematical plan of duplicity, was not the leaſt of the hardſhips which I was compelled to ſubmit in this country. I could not, however, now retreat and as I knew that Gibraltar furniſhed many articles which were not to be procured in Barbary, I made an offer of my ſervices to the ladies; and received the following commiſſions, for the faithful execution of which, on my return from Gibraltar, I was obliged to pledge myſelf.

For Lalla Batoom, the Queen of the harem, a ſet of elegant, but very ſmall cups and ſaucers.

For Lalla Douyaw, the Emperor's favourite wife, a neat mahogany tea-board, with four ſhort feet, to have two drawers, and to be elegantly ornamented with glaſſes; a ſet of very ſmall Indian cups and ſaucers; a ſet of different kinds of perfumed waters.

For Lalla Zara, my patient, nine yards of yellow, the ſame of crimſon, and the ſame of cochineal coloured damaſks; the ſame quantities and colours in ſatins; one dozen of Indian cups and ſaucers; one hundred large red beads; one cheſt of tea and ſugar; a large quantity of coffee and nutmegs.

For one of the concubines, a large portion of different coloured ſatins and ſilks; a variety of handſome pearls; a ſet of Indian cups and ſaucers; two ſmall mahogany boxes for cloaths; two japanned tea-boards, the one to be white and the other yellow.

For

For another concubine, ſome perfumed waters; a mahogany bedſtead and poſts; a green Dutch box.

For Lalla Talba, a prieſteſs, a handſome preſent, which ſhe leaves to my taſte and choice.

For the daughter of Muley Haſem, a mahogany cheſt with two drawers; a flaſk of lavender water.

For Lalla Zara's nurſe, twelve large red beads.

For two of the eunuchs, each a ſilver watch.

Theſe commiſſions may perhaps appear too trifling to deſerve inſertion; but I have brought them forward to the reader only becauſe theſe little circumſtances frequently diſplay the peculiar taſte, the manners, the genius of a country, much better than thoſe weighty and important tranſactions in which the paſſions common to human nature muſt be intereſted, and in which, of conſequence, all people in ſimilar circumſtances muſt act and feel alike.

It would have required no trifling ſum of money to purchaſe all theſe articles; and even when that obſtacle was removed, there would ariſe one ſtill greater from the difficulty of tranſportation in this country. As Morocco is an inland city, I was entirely precluded from the ſafeſt and eaſieſt of carriages; and by land, many of the articles were ſo cumberſome and weighty, that in the bad roads it would have been impracticable to employ mules. I ſhould therefore have been reduced to the neceſſity of hiring camels, the expence of which, joined to that of the commiſſions, would conſequently have been enormous.

Having ſupplied Lalla Zara with the few medicines which remained, and taken my final leave of the harem, my next object was to find out a new interpreter, ſince the perſon whom I had procured at Mogodore, had it not in his power to accompany me to Tangier. In his place I fixed upon a mulatto, who was born a Chriſtian in one of the Engliſh Weſt India Iſlands, and upon coming to Mogodore as a ſeaman in an Engliſh veſſel, was immediately, on account of his complexion, claimed by the Moors as a countryman. They committed him immediately to priſon, and, by the influence of hard uſage, at length compelled him to become a convert to their religion. This man, who is between ſixty and ſeventy years of age, has been in the country about ſeven years, and was occaſionally employed in the public works by the late Emperor. He can ſpeak the Engliſh, French, Spaniſh, Italian, and Arabic languages, but the Engliſh is moſt familiar to him.

The horſe preſented to me by Muley Abſulem I mounted myſelf, and made my interpreter ride thoſe of the Emperor alternately, that I might give them every poſſible chance of reaching Tangier alive, in caſe I could not diſpoſe of them on the road. Theſe, with three horſe-ſoldiers allowed by the Emperor, two mules for my baggage, and a muleteer to take charge of them, formed the whole of my ſuite on the journey.

We departed from Morocco on the 12th of February 1790, and in three days arrived at the caſtle of Buluane, which is a journey of about eighty miles, conſiſting of an uninterrupted ſeries of wild uncultivated heath. This caſtle was the firſt piece of architecture which offered itſelf to our view ſince we left Morocco; the country being very thinly inhabited by only a few Arabs, who live in tents. In theſe douhars or encampments I endeavoured, on the ſcore of ſafety, nightly to pitch my tent.

The caſtle is ſituated on the ſummit of a very high and rugged hill, forming on its northern ſide a ſteep precipice, at the bottom of which runs a deep and rapid river, named the Morbeya, which I had previouſly paſſed at its termination in the ocean at Azamore. As a piece of architecture this caſtle has no recommendation but the ſtrength

ſtrength of its walls: it is inhabited by ſome negroes who were baniſhed to this [illegible] at the time when Sidi Mahomet thought proper to diſband a conſiderable portion of his black troops; intending, by that means, to prevent their raiſing a mutiny or rebellion in the country, to which, as I have intimated, they are always inclined. To diſpoſe of them in this manner, therefore, was found policy, as, though they were out of the way of miſchief for the preſent, they might eaſily be embodied upon any preſſing emergency.

The eminent ſituation of this fortreſs, the ſteep and rugged precipice, the depth and rapidity of the river below, with the wildneſs of the neighbouring country, fill the mind with a mixture of admiration and ſublime horror. But what attracted my attention more than any other circumſtance was the mode in which they paſs this dangerous river. At Azamore, Sallee, Mamora, Larache, &c. where the rivers are too deep to be forded, the traveller is ferried over; and yet at this part, though at no very great diſtance from any of the above places, the people are totally ignorant what kind of machine a boat is. What is ſtill more remarkable, the firſt people in the country, who are obliged to paſs this river in their way from Morocco to all the northern provinces, and who are as well acquainted with the uſe of boats as the Europeans, are content to ſubmit to the crazy ſubſtitute which they find here, rather than impart to the inhabitants of the caſtle this eaſy piece of information.

The mode in which theſe people croſs the river, ſerved to remind me of a puerile amuſement, in which moſt boys at one period or other have taken delight. A raft is formed of eight ſheep ſkins, filled with air, and tied together with ſmall cords; a few ſlender poles are laid over them, to which they are faſtened, and this is the only means uſed at Buluane to conduct travellers with their baggage over the river.

As ſoon as the raft is loaded, in other words, as ſoon as it is charged with as much weight as it will bear without ſinking, a man ſtrips, jumps into the water, and ſwims with one hand, while he pulls the raft after him with the other; and in the mean time a ſecond places himſelf behind, puſhing and ſwimming in a ſimilar manner. The current at firſt carries the apparatus a conſiderable way down the river, but by the activity of the ſwimmers it is ſpeedily extricated, and its contents as quickly landed. The horſes, mules, &c. having every article removed from their backs, are driven in a body to the water ſide, where the Moors immediately get behind them, and by the violence of their ſhouts ſo completely terrify the animals, that one or two of them ſpeedily take to flight, and ſet the example, by ſwimming, to the reſt, when they immediately follow.

Four days after leaving this river, we arrived at Sallee, which is about a hundred and ten miles from Buluane, and one hundred and ninety from Morocco, without the occurrence of a circumſtance worth relating; the country proving a continuance of the ſame uncultivated heath as far as Menſooria, which has been deſcribed in a former part of this Tour.

Sallee being the firſt town I had ſeen ſince my departure from Morocco, which was ſeven days, I was happy to avail myſelf of my former introduction to the French conſul, and remain with him a couple of nights. After this agreeable relaxation, I departed for Tangier, where I arrived on the 26th of February.

As it was evident that the horſes which had been preſented to me by the Emperor, were not worth the expence of exportation, and indeed ſeemed ſcarcely able to encounter the journey, I took every opportunity that offered on the road to diſpoſe of them, but my efforts were not attended with ſucceſs; and by the time I arrived at Mamora, they were ſo completely tired, that they would certainly have died had I

[illegible]ſed

uſed them another day. I therefore found it neceſſary to leave them in the care of a Venetian gentleman who reſided at Mamora, with a requeſt to diſpoſe of them in the beſt manner he could; and, as I did not like to loſe the advantage of the order for embarkation, which is always to be conſidered as very valuable, ſince no horſes are exported but by an expreſs order of the Emperor, under his ſign manual, I requeſted this gentleman to purchaſe for me two of the beſt that were to be procured in the province, and to ſend them after me to Tangier; but they unfortunately did not arrive in time.

In about a fortnight after my arrival at Tangier, an order came down from the Emperor, deſiring the governor to purchaſe, at the expence of his royal treaſury, two oxen, ten ſheep, ten milch goats with their kids, a hundred fowls, and a large proportion of fruit and vegetables of every deſcription. Theſe articles were to be preſented to me as from the Emperor, in return for my attendance on Lalla Zara; and I was to be allowed permiſſion to embark them free of all duty, for Gibraltar. The ſame order brought likewiſe a requeſt from the Emperor, that I would engage to ſend my patient a freſh ſupply of medicines.

On the 27th of March I arrived at Gibraltar. It would be trifling with my reader to deſcribe my feelings on the firſt view of a ſpot, protected by Engliſh laws, and decorated by Engliſh manners. My ſenſations, indeed, may be more eaſily conceived than they can be expreſſed. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that no wretch, eſcaped from the gloomy horrors of a dungeon, could experience more lively pleaſure on firſt contemplating the light of day, than I felt on the firſt view of an Engliſh garriſon.

As the communication between the garriſon and Barbary was not open at the time of my arrival, the preſent of the Emperor proved more valuable than I at firſt conceived it. It is obvious, however, that its amount, and indeed the total of all which I received during my reſidence in the country, could ſcarcely be more than adequate to my expences; much leſs could it be conſidered as a compenſation for the great riſk, the trouble, and the anxiety which I had encountered. I had been under the neceſſity of drawing upon the conſul for conſiderable ſums, beſides what I received through other channels; ſo that I returned from my expedition with my curioſity ſatisfied, my mind, I truſt, in ſome degree enlightened, as far as the obſervation of a different country, and different manners, ſerves to improve our ſtock of knowledge; but, in a pecuniary view, I certainly returned very little better than I went *.

* It is certainly incumbent on me to add, that my ſervices in Barbary have ſince been handſomely rewarded in the appointment of ſurgeon to the 20th or Jamaica regiment of light dragoons.

EXTRACT

FROM

THE RELATION RESPECTING EGYPT

OF

ABD ALLATIF,

AN ARABIAN PHYSICIAN OF BAGDAD,*

Tranſlated into French by

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BOOK I.

CHAP. IV.—*Deſcription of the Ancient Monuments ſeen in Egypt by the Author.*

OF all the countries I have viſited, or known by report of others, there are not any can compare with Egypt for the number of its ancient monuments.

The pyramids are one of its wonders: they have engaged the attention of a multitude of writers, who have given in their works the deſcription and dimenſions of theſe edifices.

* The phyſician from whoſe work this relation is compiled, abridged from one of much greater volume which he repreſents himſelf to have compoſed reſpecting Egypt, and into which much detail entered on matters communicated to him by others, which is ſuppreſſed in this, that he might relate that only which he had ſeen himſelf. He was deſcended from a family reſident at Mouſul, but born at Bagdad, and, ſeparate from his other names and titles, is beſt known among the Arabians by the name of Ebn-Allabad (the ſon of the felt-monger): he was an individual whoſe celebrity, great even in his life-time, was much increaſed by the diffuſion of his works, which denote a man of conſiderable reſearch, deep learning, and ſound judgment. His abridged relation reſpecting Egypt was compoſed in the year of the hejra 600, anſwering to our 1203, at Cairo, whither he had travelled, and where he was in the year 597, when that country, owing to the failure of the riſing of the Nile, was viſited by a famine. This he deſcribes, and it was aſſuredly in its conſequences more ſhockingly dreadful than any mentioned in hiſtory: to that department of ſcience rather than to a relation of voyages it belongs to paint the horrible picture.

The abridgement is divided into two books, the firſt ſubdivided into ſix, the ſecond into three chapters. The firſt chapter of the firſt book contains general obſervations on Egypt, the ſecond a deſcription of plants peculiar to the country, the third its animals, the fourth its ancient monuments, the fifth its buildings and boats, and the ſixth the food of the inhabitants.

Of the ſecond book the firſt chapter treats of the Nile, its riſe, and the cauſe and progreſs of this phenomenon; the ſecond details the lamentable events of the year of the hejra 597; the third the calamities and events of the year 598 when much of Syria was affected by earthquakes.

† Paris, 4to. 1810.

Of

edifices. They are numerous, and are all of them ſituate on the ſame ſide of the river as Giſeh, on the ſame line as the ancient capital of Egypt, and are comprized within the ſpace of two days' journey. At Bouſir* alſo there are many. Some of the pyramids are large, others ſmall; ſome are formed of earth and brick, but the major part of ſtone: part of them are conſtructed ſo as to preſent ſteps, or ſtairs; moſtly, however, they are of an exact pyramidal ſhape, with even ſurfaces.

Formerly there was a great number of pyramids, ſmall, indeed, at Gizeh; but theſe were deſtroyed in the time of Salah-eddin Yooſoof the ſon of Ayyout. Their ruin was effected by Karakouſh, a Greek eunuch, one of the âmeers of the army of that prince, and a man of genius. To him was entruſted the ſuperintendence of the buildings of the capital; and he it was who cauſed the ſtone wall to be erected which ſurrounds Foſtat, Cairo, the ſpace between the two towns, and the citadel on Mount Mokattam †. He likewiſe conſtructed this citadel, and dug the two wells‡ which it ſtill poſſeſſes. Theſe wells themſelves are with juſtice reckoned among the wonders of Egypt; they are deſcended by a ſtaircaſe of nearly three hundred ſteps. The arches, yet ſtanding at Giſeh §, were built with the materials of the ſmall pyramids he cauſed to be demoliſhed; they are ſtructures worthy of admiration, and vie with the works of the giants. There were at one time more than forty of theſe arches; but this year, the 597th of the hejra (of J. C. 1200), the care of the arches being entruſted to a raſh and ignorant man, he had them filled up, flattering himſelf by this means, that the waters, ſtopped in their courſe as by a dam, would ſpread over the territory of Gizeh, and allow it to participate in the advantages of the inundation. The reſult of the experiment was adverſe: the ſtreſs of the waters on the arches was ſo great that three of them broke and gave way, without any benefit to the lands which this man expected to improve by the flood.

Part of the pyramids ruinated by Karakouſh, that is to ſay, the materials of which the kernel and interior of theſe edifices were formed, are ſtill viſible. As they conſiſted nearly of the wreck of buildings and ſmall ſtones, of no utility in the ſtructure of the arches of which I have ſpoken, they were left on the ſpot.

As to thoſe pyramids, the object of ſo many recitals, to which I ſhall now advert; pyramids diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, and the ſuperior ſize of which excites admiration, the number of them is three; and they ſtand in a line at Gizeh, in front of Foſtat, at a ſhort diſtance aſunder, their angles pointing to each other, and towards the eaſt ‖. Two of theſe pyramids are of enormous dimenſions. The poets who have deſcribed them, have given the reins to that enthuſiaſm they are ſo well calculated to inſpire; they

Of theſe, as modern information is given reſpecting this country, which is perfectly minute and largely detailed by a variety of authors, but eſpecially by the French *Sçavans* who accompanied the expedition of Buonaparte to Egypt; the fourth chapter of the firſt book alone is given in this collection. This is exceedingly curious, throwing much light on the monuments of this country of wonders, exhibiting the ſtate of many of them ſix centuries ago, and by this exhibition preſenting a refutation of the unſubſtantial theory of Volney and others reſpecting their former condition and the object of them.

Attached to the tranſlation of Mr. de Sacy are many notes of conſiderable length: of theſe ſuch as appeared indiſpenſible for the illuſtration of particular paſſages have been copied, or given, where too voluminous, in ſubſtance; others, curious and erudite, but at the ſame time little pertaining to a work of this deſcription, have been altogether omitted.

* The *Buſiris* of Pliny, Mr. de Sacy imagines the pyramids of Bouſir to be thoſe now called of Sakhara, and the word Buſiris to ſignify, not the *tomb of Oſiris*, as reputed by Eudoxius, cited by Plutarch and by La Croze, but *pertaining to Oſiris*.

† See Note I. ‡ See Note II. § See Note III. ‖ See Note IV.

compare

compare them to two immenſe breaſts riſing from the boſom of Egypt. They are very near to each other, and are built of white ſtone: the third, a fourth part leſs than the others, is of red granite marked with points *, and ſo extremely hard, that iron with difficulty makes impreſſion on it. The laſt appears ſmall compared with the other two, but viewed at a ſhort diſtance, and to the excluſion of theſe, it excites in the mind a ſingular oppreſſion, and cannot be contemplated without painfully affecting the ſight.

The ſhape choſen for the pyramids, and their ſolidity, are alike admirable. To their form is owing the advantage of their having reſiſted the attack of centuries; but reſiſt, do I ſay, it ſeems as if even time itſelf ſtood only on defence againſt theſe everlaſting monuments †. In fact, after mature reflection on the ſtructure of the pyramids, one is forced to acknowledge a combination of efforts of the moſt intelligent men, an exhauſtion of the genius of the moſt ſubtil; that the moſt enlightened minds exerciſed with profuſion, in favour of theſe edifices, all the talents they poſſeſſed; and that the moſt learned theory of geometry called forth the whole of its reſources, to ſhew in theſe wonders the utmoſt term of human ability. We may likewiſe affirm, that theſe ſtructures hold diſcourſe with us, even in the preſent day, reſpecting thoſe who were their founders, teach us their hiſtory, in a manner intelligible to all, relate their progreſs in the ſciences, and the excellence of their genius, and, in ſhort, effectually deſcribe their life and actions.

The moſt ſingularly remarkable fact preſented by theſe edifices is the pyramidal form adopted in their ſtructure, a form which commences with a ſquare baſe, and finiſhes in a point. Now, one of the properties of this form is, that the centre of gravity is the centre of the building itſelf; ſo that it leans on itſelf, itſelf ſupports the whole preſſure of its maſs, all its parts bear reſpectively one upon the other, and it does not preſs on any external point.

Another admirable peculiarity is the diſpoſition of the ſquare of them, in ſuch a manner that each of their angles fronts one of the four cardinal points ‡. For, the violence of the wind is broken when cut by an angle, which would not be the caſe if it encountered a plane ſurface.

To return to the two pyramids. Thoſe who have taken their dimenſions pronounce the baſe of each to be four hundred cubits long, by as many broad, and their perpendicular height likewiſe four hundred cubits; the cubit uſed in the menſuration being the black cubit. Their pyramidal ſhape is truncated above, and preſents at the ſummit a level of ten cubits ſquare. Of the following fact I was myſelf an eye-witneſs. When I viſited them, we had an archer in our company, who ſhot an arrow in the direction of the perpendicular height of one of theſe pyramids, and another in that of its breadth, at its baſe, and the arrow fell at about the middle of this ſpace. We were told that in a neighbouring village there were people accuſtomed to mount to the ſummit of the pyramids, and who effected it without difficulty §. We ſent for one of theſe men, who for a trifle aſcended one of the pyramids in the ſame manner as, and even quicker than, we ſhould a ſtaircaſe, and without taking off his ſhoes, or his dreſs which was very wide. I deſired him, on attaining the ſummit, to meaſure with his turban the breadth of the level. When he came down we aſcertained the portion of his turban, which correſponded with that of the level, to be eleven cubits of the natural meaſure.

A man whom I ſaw, ſkilled in the art of meaſuring, aſcribed to this pyramid a perpendicular height of about three hundred and ſeventeen cubits, and to each of the

* See Note V. † See Note VI. ‡ See Note IV. § See Note VII.

ſides

ſides of the four triangular planes, which incline to this perpendicular, four hundred and ſixty cubits. I think there muſt be ſome error in theſe meaſures *, and that, if the latter be exact, the perpendicular height muſt be four hundred cubits; but, if heaven favour my intention, I will myſelf aſcertain the truth.

One of theſe pyramids is opened, and has an entrance by which the interior may be penetrated. This opening leads to narrow paſſages, to conduits extending to a great depth, to wells, and precipices, according to the teſtimony of individuals bold enough to enter; for many, excited by deſperate cupidity, and by chimerical expectations, have ventured into the interior of this building. They explore its deepeſt cavities, and finally arrive at a ſpot beyond which it is impoſſible to advance. As for the paſſage the moſt frequented, and that which is commonly followed, it is by a glacis which leads towards the upper part of the pyramid †, where a ſquare chamber is ſeen containing a ſarcophagus of ſtone.

The opening by which the pyramid is now entered, is not the door formed at the period of its erection, but a hole excavated with great trouble, and directed by chance, the making of which is aſcribed to the Calif Mamoun ‡. The major part of our company entered this opening, and aſcended to the chamber in the upper part of the pyramid: on their return they detailed the wonderful things they had ſeen; that the paſſage was ſo full of bats and their ordure as to be almoſt cloſed; that the bats were as large as pigeons, and that in the upper part openings were ſeen, and windows, deſigned apparently for the admiſſion of air and light. On a ſecond viſit, I myſelf, with ſeveral others, entered the interior conduit, and penetrated about two-thirds of its length; but, loſing my ſenſes, owing to the terror I experienced in the aſcent, I returned half dead.

Theſe pyramids are built of large ſtones from ten to twenty cubits long, by a breadth and thickneſs of from two to three: but moſt eſpecially worthy of admiration is the extreme nicety with which theſe ſtones are faſhioned and diſpoſed, one above the other. The courſes fit ſo exactly, that not even a needle or a ſingle hair can be thruſt between the joints. They are cemented together by a mortar, which forms a layer of the thickneſs of a leaf of paper. With the compoſition of this mortar I am totally unacquainted §. The ſtones are covered with writing, in that ancient character of which the meaning is now unknown. I have met with no one in Egypt, who either knew it himſelf, or had ever heard of any perſon by whom it was comprehended. So numerous are theſe inſcriptions, that, were thoſe only to be copied which are found on the ſurface of theſe two pyramids, they would fill ten thouſand pages ‖.

In ſome of the books of the ancient Sabeans, I have read, that, of theſe two pyramids, one is the ſepulchre of Agathodaimon ¶, the other of Hermes. Theſe, according to this authority, were two great prophets; but Agathodaimon is the more ancient, and the greater of the two. They further aſſert that theſe two pyramids were reſorted to by pilgrims from all countries of the earth.

On this ſubject I have treated at large in my great work, and have related what others have ſaid of theſe buildings: to that therefore I refer the reader ſolicitous of more minute details, confining myſelf in this to the repreſentation of that alone of which I have myſelf been witneſs.

Upon the ſucceſſion of Mâlik-Alaziz Othman Ben-Yooſoof to the throne of his father, he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon by certain perſons belonging to his

* See Note VIII. † See Note IX. ‡ See Note X.
§ See Note XI. ‖ See Note XII. ¶ See Note XIII.

court,

court, men who were ſtrangers to common ſenſe, to demoliſh theſe pyramids; he began with the red pyramid, the laſt and leaſt conſiderable of the three.

Hither the Sultan diſpatched ſappers, miners, and carriers, under the conduct of ſome of the principal officers and amurs of his court, with orders for its deſtruction. Accordingly they pitched their camp near the pyramid, where they collected from every quarter a vaſt number of workmen, who were maintained at a prodigious expenſe. Here they remained the ſpace of eight months, occupied wholly in putting into effect the commiſſion with which they were intruſted, removing every day, after oppreſſive labour, and almoſt utter exhauſtion of the ſtrength of those employed, at moſt but two or three ſtones. Some were appointed with wedges and levers to force them forward, while others, with cords and cables, pulled from the bottom. When at length one of them fell, it occaſioned a tremendous noiſe, which reſounded at a vaſt diſtance, ſhook the very earth, and made the mountain tremble. In its fall it buried itſelf in the ſand, and it required extraordinary efforts to diſengage it; after which notches were wrought for receiving wedges. By means of theſe the ſtones were ſplit into ſeveral pieces, each of which employed a waggon for its tranſport to the foot of the mountain, ſituate a ſhort diſtance thence, where it was left.

After remaining long encamped on this ſpot, and expending all their pecuniary means, as their toil and fatigue continually increaſed, while on the contrary their reſolution diminiſhed daily, and their ſtrength became exhauſted, thoſe of the commiſſion were forced ſhamefully to abandon the undertaking. So far from obtaining the promiſed ſucceſs and accompliſhing their deſign, all they did was to ſpoil the pyramid, and exhibit a manifeſt proof of their inability and weakneſs. This occurrence took place in the year 593 of the hejra (beginning November 1196 A. C.) Now, when the maſs of ſtones collected by this demolition is contemplated, one feels diſpoſed to conſider the pyramid ruined to its foundation; but on looking, on the other hand, at the pyramid, it ſeems as if it had ſuffered no injury, a part of its caſe on one ſide only having been detached.

Witneſſing one day the extreme difficulty experienced in dragging down a ſingle ſtone, I addreſſed one of the foremen who ſuperintended the work, and queſtioned him whether, if a thouſand pieces of gold were given him to replace one of theſe ſtones in the ſtate it was in before, he thought himſelf competent to the undertaking; his anſwer was, that were he offered that ſum many times told, he ſhould never be able to accompliſh the taſk, and this he affirmed with an oath.

In front of the pyramids, on the eaſtern bank of the Nile, is ſeen a number of immenſe and very deep excavations, communicating one with the other, of which ſeveral are of three ſtories. The name by which they are known is the town. A man on horſeback, with his lance erect, may enter them, and make excurſions for a day together without having traverſed the whole, ſo numerous and vaſt are they, and of ſuch great extent. It is eaſy in theſe to recognize the quarries whence the ſtone was drawn which ſerved for the ſtructure of the pyramids. As for the quarries whence the red granite was taken, they are ſaid to be ſituate at Kolzom and at Oſwan.

Near theſe pyramids are yet viſible the remains of ancient gigantic edifices, and a number of ſubterranean cavities of ſolid ſtructure; and ſeldom is any part of them found without inſcriptions in the ancient, but now unknown character.

At little more than an arrow's flight from theſe pyramids, is a coloſſal figure of a head and neck projecting from the earth. The name of this figure is Aboo'lhaul, and the

the body to which the head pertains, is ſaid to be buried under the earth. To judge from the dimenſions of the head of thoſe of the body, its length muſt be more than ſeventy cubits. On the face is a reddiſh tint, and a red varniſh as bright as if freſh put on. The face is remarkably handſome, and the mouth expreſſes much grace and beauty. One might fancy it ſmiling gracefully *.

A ſenſible man enquiring of me what of all I had ſeen in Egypt had moſt excited my admiration, I anſwered, the nicety of proportion in the head of the ſphinx. In fact, between the different parts of this head, the noſe, for example, the eyes and the ears, the ſame proportion is remarked, as is obſerved by nature in her works. Thus the noſe of a child is ſuitable to its ſtature, and proportioned to the reſt of its frame, while, if it belonged to the face of a full grown man, it would be reckoned a deformity; thus alſo the noſe of a grown man on the viſage of a child would equally be a diſfigurement. The ſame holds good with reſpect to all the other members; there are none but ſhould have a certain form and dimenſions, in order to bear relations to ſuch and ſuch a face; and where theſe proportions are not obſerved, the face is ſpoiled. Hence the wonder, that in a face of ſuch coloſſal ſize, the ſculptor ſhould have been able to preſerve the exact proportion of every part, ſeeing that nature preſented him with no model of a ſimilar coloſſus, or any at all comparable.

Among the monuments of antiquity in Egypt, thoſe muſt be comprized which are ſeen at Aïn-Shems, a ſmall town ſurrounded by a wall ſtill viſible, though demoliſhed. It is readily ſeen that theſe ruins belong to a temple; here are found frightful and coloſſal figures in hewn ſtone, more than thirty cubits long, the members of which all bear a juſt proportion. Of theſe, ſome are upright on pedeſtals, others ſeated in various ſingular poſtures, and in perfect order. The gate of the town is yet ſubſiſting. Moſt of the ſtones (at this place) are covered with figures of men and other animals, and with a multitude of inſcriptions in an unknown character. Scarcely a ſtone is found but bears either an inſcription, or ſome object engraven in baſſo or alto relievo.

In this town are found the two obeliſks, ſo much celebrated, called the needles of Pharaoh. They conſiſt of a ſquare baſe, ten cubits every way, of nearly an equal height, and repoſing on a ſolid foundation in the earth: from this baſe riſes a ſquare column of pyramidal form, a hundred cubits in height, which near the baſe is about five cubits in diameter, and terminates in a point. The ſummit is covered with a kind of cap, in the ſhape of a funnel, which deſcends about three feet from the apex †. The copper, from the action of rain and the lapſe of years, is eroded and become green, and a portion of the green eroſion has run down the needle of the obeliſk‡. The whole ſurface of the obeliſk is covered with the ſame kind of writing which we have before ſpoken of. I ſaw one of theſe two obeliſks which had fallen, and was broken in twain by the fall, owing to its exceſſive weight. The copper which covered the top had been taken away. Around theſe obeliſks are an innumerable multitude of others: theſe are but of half or a third of the height of the larger. Among theſe ſmall obeliſks few are ſeen formed of a ſingle ſtone: the major part are of ſeveral pieces. The chief of them have been thrown down; but of theſe the baſes remain in their place.

At Alexandria, on the ſea ſhore, I ſaw in the midſt of the buildings two obeliſks of greater ſize than the ſmall ones at Aïn-Shems which I have before noticed, but inferior to the two larger ‖.

* See Note XIV. † See Note XV. ‡ See Note XVI. ‖ See Note XVII.

As

As for the *berbis** of the Said, however much might be ſaid of their grandeur, the excellence of their ſtructure and their exact proportions, of their innumerable figures, their ſculptures in baſſo or alto relievo, the inſcriptions they preſent to the admiration of all beholders, their ſolidity and enormous ſize; theſe, are already ſo well known as to render any new deſcription ſuperfluous.

I ſaw at Alexandria the column (of the pillars), called *Amood-alſiwari*. It is of the red ſpotted granite which is ſo extremely hard. This column is of ſurpriſing dimenſion and height: I can readily give credit to its being ſeventy cubits high; it is five cubits in diameter, and ſtands on a baſe very large and proportioned to its height. On the ſummit of this column is a large capital, which, to have placed with the moſt nice preciſion, as it is, muſt have required a profound knowledge of mechanics and the art of raiſing great weights, together with ſurpriſing ſkill in practical geometry. A perſon worthy of belief aſſured me, that, having meaſured the circumference of this column, he found it to be ſeventy-five ſpans of the great meaſure †.

I likewiſe ſaw on the ſhore, where the ſea approaches the walls of the town, more than four hundred columns broken into two or three parts; the ſtone of them ſimilar to that of the column of pillars, and apparently of from a third to a fourth part of its ſize. According to the uncontradicted teſtimony of the whole of the inhabitants of Alexandria, theſe columns once ſtood around the column of pillars; but a governor of Alexandria, of the name of Karadja, who held command in this city under Yooſoof, ſon of Ayyoob (Saladin), thought proper to throw them down, break them in pieces, and caſt them on the beach, under pretence of checking the force of the waves, and ſecuring the walls of the city againſt their violence; and at the ſame time to prevent the ſhipping of any enemy from anchoring under the wall. It was the action of an untaught child, or of a man incapable of diſtinguiſhing right from wrong.

Round the column of pillars I likewiſe ſaw ſome pretty conſiderable remains of theſe columns, part of them entire, and others broken; it was ſtill evident, from theſe

* *Berbi*, or birba, is an Egyptian word, adopted by the Arabs to expreſs the ancient edifices, conſecrated by the Egyptians to the worſhip of their deities.

† Mr. de Sacy (Note l. Book 1. Chap. iv.) ſtates the meaſurement given here by Abd-Allatif on hear-ſay to be much too great; the largeſt diameter of Pompey's pillar not exceeding, according to Mr. Norry, eight feet four inches, its circumference will be no more than twenty five feet. Mr. de Sacy in this ſtatement, reckons the meaſure alluded to in the laſt paragraph to be nine inches (ſee Note lxiv. Book 1. Chap. xi.): but that he is miſtaken, will appear from the beginning of this paragraph itſelf. Abd-Allatif there ſays it is five cubits in diameter; now the great cubit of the eaſt, the *hachemique*, according to Biornerod, (Metrologie Univerſelle Paris, 1803,) is five-ninths of a metre; five cubits is conſequently 2,7777 metres, or eight feet ſix inches and a half French, which agrees ſufficiently with the meaſure given by Mr. Norry, of eight feet four inches.

Again, after having declared the diameter to be five cubits, or eight feet ſix inches and a half French, which gives for the periphery 15,708 cubits and decimals, or 26,967 French feet and decimals; at the cloſe of the paragraph he ſtates its circumference to be, as he had heard, ſeventy-five ſpans: now, if the meaſure to which Abd-Allatif alludes, was, as Mr. de Sacy conjectures, of nine inches, it would require that the diameter ſhould have been, inſtead of five cubits or eight feet ſix inches and a half, ten cubits and ſomewhat more than a half, or 17,95 feet and decimals. Preſuming therefore that Abd-Allatif could not have been guilty of ſo manifeſt an error, and contradiction; the ſpan by which he reckoned muſt have been much ſmaller than nine inches. To make it correſpond with the diameter of five cubits, it would be 4,298 French inches and decimals, which even is larger than the *palmus major*, a meaſure according to Biornerod but ,0868 decimal parts of a metre, or 3,1952 French inches, or than the common palm according to the ſame authority, which was but 2,70828 French inches and decimals.

The ſanciful error of Mr. de Sacy appears to ariſe from his mode of conſtruing the meaning of the author of the Kamous, who deſcribes the meaſure which Mr. de Sacy has tranſlated *empan*, or ſpan, to be the diſtance between the extremity of the thumb and the little finger: may not the author of the Kamous have meant by the extremity the point of inſertion of the finger and thumb, the diſtance between which will be about that which is preſumed to be adverted to by Abd-Allatif. TRANS.

remain

remains, that the columns were once covered with a roof which they ſuſtained *. Above the column of pillars is a cupola which it ſupports. I conjecture this to have been the portico in which Ariſtotle gave his leſſons, and after him his diſciples; that this alſo was the academy erected by Alexander when he built this city, and in which he depoſited the library conſigned to the flames, with the permiſſion of Omar, by Amrou-ben-Alas †.

The pharos of Alexandria is too well known to need deſcription. Writers, conſidered exact, aſſert its height to be two hundred and fifty cubits.

I have read a note written by a curious and exact perſon which expreſſed his having meaſured the column of pillars with its capital and baſe; it ſtated that he found the collective height of the whole ſixty-two cubits and a ſixth; that the column riſes from a ſmall mount, the elevation of which is twenty-three cubits and a half, which, added to the height of the column, gives, for the whole of its elevation (above the ſurrounding country), eighty-five cubits and two-thirds; that the height of the baſe is twelve cubits, and that of the capital ſeven cubits and a half. According to the ſame note this perſon had likewiſe taken the height of the pharos, and found its total elevation two hundred and thirty-three cubits. Of the three ſtories of which the pharos is formed; the firſt, which is ſquare, meaſures a hundred and twenty-one cubits; the ſecond is an octagon, and meaſures eighty-one cubits and a half; the third, of a circular form, is in diameter thirty-one cubits and a half. From the ſummit of the pharos riſes a chapel nearly ten cubits high.

Let us now paſs to other veſtiges of the ancient grandeur of Egypt: I would ſpeak of the ruins of the ancient capital of this country, ſituate in the territory of Gizeh, ſomewhat above Foſtat. This capital was Memphis; here it was the Pharaohs reſided, and this was the ſeat of empire of the kings of Egypt. Of this city, are thoſe words in the Alcoran to be underſtood which God ſpake to Abraham, alluding to Moſes: "He entered the city at the inſtant the inhabitants were giving themſelves up to ſleep." And again "Moſes departed from the city, full of fear, and looking about him." For Moſes dwelt in a village of the territory of Gizeh, but little diſtant from the capital called *Dimouh* ‡. The Jews have a ſynagogue there. The ruins of Memphis, at preſent, cover a ſpace of half a day's journey every way. This city flouriſhed in the days of Abraham, of Joſeph, and Moſes, and long before their time; and continued to proſper after them, till the reign of Nabuchodonoſor. This prince made a waſte of Egypt, in which condition it remained for forty years §. The motive which induced Nabuchodonoſor to turn his arms againſt Egypt, was the king of that country affording refuge to the Jews who fled from this conqueror, for he granted them protection, and refuſed to deliver them up to their enemy. In revenge Nabuchodonoſor marched againſt the King of Egypt, and deſolated the whole country. Alexander, in proceſs of time, having ſubjected it to his dominion, founded the city of Alexandria, and made it the capital of the kingdom. Alexandria maintained this rank to the period that, the muſulman religion being eſtabliſhed, this city was taken by the Mahometans, under the command of Amrou-Ben-Alas, who tranſported the ſeat of government to Foſtat. Afterwards Maïzz, coming from Magreb, founded the city of Cairo, and made it the capital of his new domains. From that period things have remained on the ſame footing. The whole of theſe events we have related in moſt ample detail in our great work. Let us now return to the deſcription of the ruins of Memphis, which is termed the *ancient Miſr*.

Notwithſtanding the immenſe extent of this city, and its very high antiquity; notwithſtanding the viciſſitudes of the different governments by which it has been ſwayed,

* See Note XVIII. † See Note XIX. ‡ See Note XX. § See Note XXI.

and in ſpite of the attempts of various nations to annihilate even its moſt minute traces, by tranſporting to other parts the different ſtones and materials of which it was conſtructed, by demoliſhing its buildings and mutilating the figures with which they were adorned; and finally, in ſpite of the addition which upwards of four thouſand years have made to ſo many cauſes of deſtruction, its ruins yet preſent to the ſpectator a combination of wonders which confound the underſtanding, and which, to deſcribe, the moſt eloquent would attempt in vain. The more the collection is conſidered, the greater admiration it inſpires; and every additional glance at the ruins is a ſource of freſh delight. Scarcely do they give birth in the mind of the beholder to one idea before this originates another ſtill more admirable; this inſtant he prides himſelf on his perfect comprehenſion of them, and again another inſtant his pride is lowered by the ſtaring conviction of the inadequacy of his conceptions.

Among the wonders of the ruins of Memphis muſt be placed the chamber or *niche*, called the green chamber * : it is formed of a ſingle ſtone, nine cubits high, by eight in length, and ſeven in breadth. In the midſt of this ſtone a niche has been hollowed out; it is formed by allowing two cubits thickneſs, as well to the lateral walls, as to the baſe and roof: the remainder compoſes the chamber. Without, as well as within, it is entirely covered with ſculpture in baſſo and alto relievo, and inſcriptions in ancient characters. Externally is ſeen a repreſentation of the ſun in that part of the heavens where it riſes; and likewiſe of a number of ſtars, ſpheres, men, and animals. The men are here repreſented in various poſtures and attitudes; ſome fixed, others walking, ſome with their legs ſtretched out, and ſome again with them at reſt; part of them have their garments tucked up in a ſtate for working, others are carrying materials; and, laſtly, ſome are giving directions relative to the work. It is manifeſtly evident that theſe repreſentations were intended to pourtray important matters, remarkable actions, extraordinary incidents, and, under the figure of emblems, to delineate ſecrets moſt profound. It is clear that all this was not effected for mere diverſion, that the efforts of art were not exhauſted upon ſimiliar works for the mere purpoſe of embelliſhment and decoration. This niche was firmly fixed on a baſe, conſiſting of large and maſſive ſtones of granite. But ſome inſenſate and ſtupid per[ſons], in the chimerical hope of diſcovering hidden treaſures, undermined this baſe, and thus deranged the poſition of the niche, deſtroyed its fixity, and changed the cent[re] of gravity of its different parts; which, by their preſſure one on the other, have c[aused] ſeveral ſlight cracks in the block. This niche was placed in a magnificent te[mple], built with enormous ſtones, united with the niceſt preciſion, and the moſt p[erfect] art.

On the ſame ſpot are ſeen pedeſtals fixed on enormous baſes. Stones which fo[rmed] part of the demoliſhed edifices cover the whole ſurface: in places large fragme[nts of] walls are yet ſtanding, conſtructed with great ſtones ſimilar to thoſe I have [before] deſcribed; in other places nothing remains but the foundations and heaps of ru[bbish]. I ſaw here the arch of a very lofty door-way, the two lateral walls of which were each formed of one ſingle ſtone, the upper arch, likewiſe a ſingle ſtone, had fallen before the door-way.

Notwithſtanding the nicety with which the ſtones of theſe edifices were diſpoſed and joined to each other, between them, the builders had in addition chiſelled holes, of a ſpan diameter by two fingers in depth, in which were diſtinguiſhed verdigris and eroded copper. In this I perceived their deſign of faſtening the ſtones, and binding them more firmly together, by placing copper between, and pouring lead over them.

* See Note XXII.

Vile and wretched individuals have fought after theſe bands of copper, and torn away a conſiderable quantity. In order to get to them, they have broken a number of the ſtones. Indeed, to obtain them, they have taken a deal of pains, and have left memorials of their meanneſs and ſordid cupidity.

As for the idols found among theſe ruins, whether their number or extraordinary ſize be conſidered, they ſurpaſs deſcription, nor can even a conception of them be formed; but moſt worthy of admiration is the nicety obſerved in their forms, their exact proportions, and their reſemblance to nature. We meaſured one of them, which, without its pedeſtal, was more than thirty cubits high: the breadth of it, from the right to the left ſide, was nearly ten cubits; and in front and behind it was broad in proportion. This ſtatue was formed of a ſingle piece of red granite; it was covered over with a red varniſh, which appeared only to receive new freſhneſs from its great antiquity.

Aſſuredly, nothing can be more marvellous, than the ſight of ſuch minute proportion, with reſpect to the different parts of the body, preſerved in a ſtatue of this coloſſal magnitude. No one is ignorant that all the members of the body, whether they be inſtrumental or conſimiles*, have not only certain appropriate dimenſions, but alſo certain proportions with reſpect to each other. From theſe dimenſions, and theſe relative proportions, reſult the beauty and elegance of the whole figure: if any thing be faulty in theſe requiſites there follows a deformity, more or leſs great according to the extent of the defect. Now, in theſe figures this congruity of all the parts has been obſerved with a verity that cannot be ſufficiently admired; firſtly, in the preciſe dimenſions of each member ſeparately taken, and afterwards in the proportions which the members reſpectively bear to each other.

In fact, if attention be paid, the breaſt in theſe ſtatues is ſeen to ſeperate itſelf from the neck at the point of the clavicle in the trueſt manner. Thence the boſom, ſhaped by the upper ribs, riſes gradually to the two paps, which are protuberant above the circumjacent region, and detach themſelves from the remainder of the breaſt, with a ſurpriſing exactneſs of proportion. The paps have a progreſſive riſe to the teats, which likewiſe are faſhioned with the juſteſt conformity to the ſize of theſe coloſſal ſtatues. Thence deſcending, you examine now the ſunken region of the ſternum, or breaſt-bone, now the interſtice formed by the falſe ribs at the point of the heart, and now the part where is noticed, the alternate riſing and fall of the ribs and their obliquity, all which are given as in the human frame. You next deſcend from where the ribs ceaſe to the ſoft region formed by the exterior integuments of the belly: you ſee the obliquity of the tendons and muſcles of the belly on the right and the left, their tenſion, and bomb-ſhaped form; the depreſſion of the parts in the umbilical region adjoining the hypochondria; the exact form of the navel; the tenſion of the ſurrounding muſcle; the depreſſion of the hypogaſtrium towards the pubis; the groin; the arteries and inguinal veins; and finally, the paſſage thence to the two bones of the haunches.

In a ſimilar manner you obſerve the ſeparation † of the ſcapula, its articulation with the os humeri, and that of the humerus with the fore-arm, the torſion of the vena cephalica, the ſalient extremities of the cubitus, and radius, at the part of their articulation with the carpus, the point of the elbow, the two extuberances which form the articulation of the fore-arm with the os humeri, and the muſcles of the fore-arm; laſtly, the ſoftneſs of the fleſh, the tenſion of the tendons, and other matters, which to detail would be tedious. Some of theſe figures are repreſented holding in their hand a ſort of cylinder, a ſpan in diameter, which appears to be a volume; and the artiſt has not forgotten to expreſs the lines and wrinkles formed on the ſkin of the hand, when cloſed,

* See Note XXIII. † The proceſſus acromion.

at the part adjoining the little finger. The beauty of countenance in theſe ſtatues, and their juſt proportions are the ne plus ultra of excellence in the art of ſculpture, and as perfect as can be expreſſed in ſtone: they want but the imitation of the fleſh and blood. The figure of the ear with its ſinuoſities, is likewiſe a counterpart of nature.

I ſaw two lions placed at a ſhort diſtance from, and oppoſite to each other; their aſpect inſpired terror; ſpite of their ſize which was coloſſal and infinitely greater than nature, their form, and its due proportions were exactly preſerved; they have now been broken and covered with earth.

We noticed rather a large fragment of the walls of the town, which were conſtructed with ſmall ſtones and brick. The bricks are large, of an oblong form*, and about half the ſize of one of thoſe bricks of Irak, of the time of Coſroes †. The ſame proportion even now exiſts between the bricks made in the two countries: an Egyptian brick is no larger than half the ſize of a brick of Irak.

The reflecting man, contemplating theſe veſtiges of antiquity, feels inclined to excuſe the error of the vulgar, who imagine that mortals, in thoſe diſtant ages in which they were conſtructed, lived to a more advanced period than is uſual in our days; that they were of gigantic ſtature; or that, by ſtriking a ſtone with a wand, they cauſed it to obey their orders, and to tranſport itſelf to wherever their will dictated. In fact, one is ſeized with a kind of ſtupor on picturing to oneſelf the great reſources of genius, the profound knowledge of geometry, the reſolution and patience requiſite for the completion of ſimilar works; the numerous different inſtruments, and uninterrmittent toil they exacted; the diligent attention which muſt previouſly have been paid to the members of animals, and eſpecially of man, to their preciſe dimenſions, their relative proportions, the mode of their articulations, and their poſition, and the diſtance at which they ſhould reſpectively be placed.

In man, for example, the inferior portion of the body is longer in a determinate degree than the upper, that is to ſay, the trunk; whereas, in all other animals the proportion obſerved is the reverſe. A man of exact proportion ſhould be eight ſpans high; the length from the hand to the bend of the elbow ſhould be two ſpans; the arm ſhould meaſure a ſpan and a quarter, the extent of the ſpan being that of the individual. All the other bones, whether great or ſmall; the bones of the leg, the vertebræ, the bones of the fingers, are alike ſubject to certain rules, as well for the dimenſions, whence their particular form reſults, as the proportions they reciprocally bear to each other. The ſame holds good in all the other parts of the frame, whether external or internal, as the depreſſion of the ſinciput below the ſummit of the head with elevation above all that ſurrounds it, the extent of the forehead, and of the two arches of the eyebrows, the ſinking of the two temples, the elevation of the two cheekbones ‡, the flat form of the cheeks, the blunt blade of the noſe, the ſoftneſs of the cartilage that forms the point of it, the opening of the noſtrils, the breadth of the iſthmus by which they are ſeperated, the thickneſs of the lips, the roundneſs of the chin, the cutting and rounded form of the two jaws, and many other particulars which it is almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe, and which can only be well comprehended by the eye, by diſſection, and diligent inſpection of the parts.

Ariſtotle, in his eleventh book on animals, employs one chapter in proving that, although ſome men have diſplayed much ſagacity and addreſs in acquiring a knowledge of the members of animals, and their reſpective proportions, the extent of their information on this head is very limited and mean, when compared with truth and nature; and if we place a value on this knowledge, imperfect as it is, the cauſe is to

* See Note XXIV. † See Note XXV.

‡ This I apprehend to be the meaning of *les deux pommettes*; which is the French expreſſion here. Tr.

be attributed to the conviction we feel of the weakneſs of our faculties, and the compariſon we draw between the man converſant in theſe matters and him who is not. Hence we admire the ant employed in removing a grain of barley, but ſuffer the elephant to paſs unregarded which carries a burthen of many hundred weight. The following is the ſubſtance of his words, according to my interpretation*: "It is matter of aſtoniſhment that we ſhould feel ſuch intereſt in acquiring the talent of repreſenting things in paintings, or in imitating them by means of the art of the ſculptor or founder, and that we ſhould ſucceed in comprehending the proceſs of theſe arts, yet at the ſame time feel no anxiety to fathom the works of nature, eſpecially where the poſſibility exiſts of our diſcovering the cauſes of them. We ought therefore to have no repugnance to the ſtudy of the nature of animals, of thoſe even which ſeem the moſt vile; but ſhould carefully guard againſt deeming it a toil, and thus imitating the conduct of children: for there are no works of nature but contain ſubjects of admiration. Hence we ſhould ſeek information on the nature of all animals, and hold for certain that there is not one which is deſtitute of ſome natural wonder, for none of them were formed without ſome purpoſe, by chance, or by a ſort of fortune. On the contrary, whatever has received exiſtence from nature was produced for ſome end, I mean to ſay, for the perfection of the whole: thus each has its ſtation, its rank, and diſtinguiſhing merit." Bleſſed be God, the moſt excellent Author of all things!

As for the interior of animals, the cavities of their bodies, and the wonders they enfold, the deſcription of which is found in the anatomical treatiſes of Galen and other authors, and in the work of that learned phyſician, *On the uſe of the parts*, the ſtudy of the ſmalleſt portion of theſe admirable works would be ſufficient to make an artiſt deſpair of being able to pourtray them; and in vain would he ſeek around for one who might aſſiſt him, or ſupply his defect of capacity: he muſt then acknowledge the truth of what God ſays in the Alcoran: *Man was created weak.*

I ſay, moreover, that the admiration excited in us by works of art, forms part of that we experience at thoſe of nature: for the productions of art, under a certain point of view, are the works of nature, ſeeing they are the effect and offspring of natural faculties. Thus the mechanic is worthy of our eulogies, who ſucceeds in removing an enormous weight; but would he not have much greater claim on our admiration could he form an automaton capable of itſelf to remove a weight, of whatſoever value it might be?

It is God who has created you, you and all that you effect. Bleſſed be he, whoſe dominion compriſes all things, viſible and inviſible, and who is lord of your ſouls! Do you not then comprehend the excellence of his grandeur? The light of his glory is every where diffuſed, and is hid by no veil whatever. He knows that which eſcapes the eye, and all that is concealed in the receſſes of the heart: for all that exiſts by him alone is put in motion, or retained at reſt, according as he wills; all things rejoice in ſeeing his beheſts reſpecting them fulfilled, and leap with gladneſs to approach His Holy Majeſty. They by their very multitude bear witneſs to his unity, and the changes they endure atteſt him everlaſting. There is nought but ſings his praiſe.

But it is time we returned to our ſubject. However great the number of the ſtatues of Memphis, they have experienced the ravage of time to ſuch a degree, that, if a very ſmall number be excepted, they are now all broken in pieces, and form only heaps of rubbiſh. I ſaw one ſtatue of very large dimenſions, from the ſide of which a mill-ſtone had been cut, two cubits in diameter, without its being much deformed by

* See Note XXVI.

the

the detraction, or experiencing any very viſible alteration. Likewiſe ſaw another, with one ſmaller ſtanding between its legs, and cut out of the ſame block: this, compared with the greater, ſeemed but a child, yet did it exceed in ſtature the height of the talleſt man. It was of ſuch exquiſite beauty and grace as rivetted the ſight, nor could I tire with admiring it.

At the period theſe ſtatues were formed, the worſhip of idols was univerſally ſpread over the earth, and reigned among all nations. For this reaſon is it that God, in the Alcoran, ſays, ſpeaking of Abraham: "Abraham formed a nation; he was obedient to God, a true believer, and not of the number of polytheiſts." Theſe words ſignify that Abraham was the only man of his time who profeſſed the dogma of the Unity, and that he thus formed in himſelf a nation apart, being diſtinguiſhed and ſeparated from the reſt of men, by a creed oppoſite to thoſe they profeſſed.

The children of Iſrael having witneſſed the homage paid by the Egyptians to theſe idols, the profound veneration they manifeſted for them, and the zeal they ſhewed in the worſhip of them; accuſtomed, moreover, by their long reſidence among theſe people, to witneſs thoſe ſuperſtitious practices, and meeting in Syria with nations ſimilarly addicted to the worſhip of idols, requeſted Moſes to give them gods like other people; this occaſioned Moſes to uſe this reproof: "You are a nation void of ſenſe." The chief of the Chriſtians, being either Egyptians or Sabeans, continued to preſerve a great predilection for (the worſhip of) the nation from which they draw their origin, and ſuffered themſelves to be readily drawn over to the ancient cuſtoms of their fathers: they in conſequence admitted images into their churches and temples, deſtined to the exerciſe of their worſhip. They even carried things to exceſs, and varied in a number of ways their abuſe of this cuſtom, carrying their madneſs ſo far as even to figure the divinity they adore ſurrounded with angels. All this was but a remnant of the practices of their anceſtors, which they preſerved; but with this diſtinction, that their anceſtors, far from repreſenting the Deity under any figure, had too grand an idea of him to imagine he could either be evident to the ſenſes, or even comprehended by the mind. The Chriſtians were led to this exceſs, and emboldened to adopt ſuch a cuſtom by the dogma they profeſs of the divinity of a created being. We have carefully diſcuſſed this matter in a treatiſe compoſed by us againſt the Chriſtians.

The different ſovereigns were careful at all times of preſerving theſe valuable relics of antiquity; and, though avowed enemies of the people by whom theſe ſtatues were erected, would not allow of their being damaged, or deſtroyed at pleaſure. Many advantages preſented by theſe monuments dictated this line of conduct.

In the firſt place, they regarded them as a ſpecies of annals which recalled the memory of paſt ages: ſecondly, they ſtood as witneſſes of the truth of the books of revelation; for mention is made, as well of theſe idols as the people who adored them, in the Alcoran: thus the ſight of what remains of them adds the teſtimony of proof to that of authority, and confirms the verity of tradition. Theſe monuments, moreover, are admonitions of futurity, by calling the attention to the lot reſerved for things of this world. Beſides, they preſent a ſketch of the hiſtory and conduct of the ancient inhabitants of the earth; we learn, in ſtudying them, to what eminence they had attained in the ſciences, what the extent of their genius, and other ſimilar circumſtances. Now theſe are matters, the knowledge of which is ſatisfactory to the mind, and of which it delights in forming an idea.

But in latter days men have been left to follow their inclinations unbridled, and none have attempted to curb them in their caprices: left thus to themſelves, their whims have been the rule of their actions, and knowing of no impediment to their

following the direction of their prejudices or paſſions, they have been carried away by the impulſe of their deſires, and have given themſelves up blindly to their guidance. On ſeeing monuments of coloſſal grandeur, the aſpect has filled them with terror; they have formed ſilly and falſe ideas of the nature of theſe veſtiges of antiquity. As the minds of theſe people were wholly occupied by the ſimple object of their wiſhes, the only thing which had charms for them, I mean to ſay, gold and ſilver, they experienced what a certain poet ſays of a drunkard:

"Every thing he ſees appears to him a goblet; whenever he beholds a man, he takes him for the boy who ſhould pour out the drink."

Thus every thing, which ſeemed to them to denote any thing, was in their eyes the token of treaſure concealed: did they ſee an opening in a mountain, they imagined it a road to ſome hoard: with them a coloſſal ſtatue was conſidered the guardian of the money depoſited at its feet, and the implacable avenger of any enterprize againſt its ſafety. They therefore reſorted to every kind of artifice to deſtroy and damage theſe ſtatues; they mutilated their faces, like wretches who thus expected to obtain their ends, and who feared by an open attack to draw down ruin on themſelves; they made openings, and dug holes in the ſtones, nothing doubting but they were ſo many coffers full of immenſe ſums; they likewiſe penetrated into the chinks in the mountains, like thieves who enter houſes by any other way than the door, and who eagerly ſieze an opportunity to effect their deſigns unperceived.

Among theſe rents are ſome which can only be entered upon hands and knees; to penetrate others, it is neceſſary to draw oneſelf along upon the bank; to enter others again, one muſt creep on the belly, the face cloſe to the ground: ſome of the laſt deſcription are ſo narrow, that only ſuch as are extremely thin can ſtep into them even by this method. Moſt of theſe openings are no other than natural rents in the mountains.

Among thoſe covetous men of whom I ſpeak, ſome, who were in tolerable circumſtances, have loſt all they poſſeſſed in theſe fruitleſs reſearches; others, poor and deſtitute of reſources, meet with opulent men, whoſe cupidity they excite, and whoſe hopes they inflame, as much by oaths, of which they are prodigal, as by ſecrets which they boaſt of having themſelves diſcovered, and certain indices they pretend to have ſeen: by theſe means they deſpoil the victims of their ſeduction at once of their reaſon and their money; and theſe unfortunate beings terminate with finding themſelves reduced to the moſt frightful miſery, as a recompence of their credulity.

There are, however, circumſtances which really contribute to ſtrengthen their covetouſneſs, and ſupport their conſtancy; they occaſionally diſcover, under ground, vaſt caverns of very ſolid conſtruction, containing an immenſe number of corpſes, depoſited there at ſome very diſtant period. The corpſes are enveloped in winding-ſheets of hempen cloth; for ſome of them, more than a thouſand yards have been employed. In the firſt place each ſeparate member, the hand for example, the feet, the fingers and toes, is envelôped ſeparately with bandages extremely fine. The whole body afterwards is ſwathed in a ſingle piece, ſo as to reſemble nothing but a great bale. The Bedouins, the Arabs eſtabliſhed on the cultivated lands, and all thoſe who employ themſelves in ſearch of theſe ſepulchral caves, carry away the winding-ſheets and every thing which continues to poſſeſs a ſufficient conſiſtency; theſe they employ in making dreſſes, or ſell to the manufacturers of paper, who uſe them in the fabric of paper for the grocers.

Some of theſe corpſes are incloſed in coffins made of ſtrong planks of the ſycamore-fig; others have coffins of ſtone, either marble or granite; and finally ſome are encloſed in jars of honey. A perſon of credit informed me, that being once occupied with others

others in ſearch of treaſures in the neighbourhood of the pyramids, they found a pitcher cloſely ſealed; on opening which, and finding honey, they ate of it. One of them remarked a hair that ſtuck to his finger; he drew it towards him, and a ſmall infant appeared, the whole of the limbs of which ſtill adhered to each other, and the body of which ſeemed ſtill to preſerve its original freſhneſs; it was decorated with ſome jewels and rich ornaments. On the forehead, eyes, and noſe of theſe corpſes, leaves of gold are ſeen, reſembling a thin ſkin. The like is noticed on the ſexual parts of women; and ſome bodies are wholly covered with ſimilar leaves of this metal. With others, gold is found, jewels, or precious ſtones. With the body, very frequently, the inſtrument is diſcovered by which the defunct was accuſtomed to earn his livelihood. I am told by perſons worthy of belief, that, by the ſide of a barber, they have found his razor and hone; with another body the inſtrument for cupping; and with others again, the tools of a weaver. All this gives room for ſuppoſing it was a common practice with theſe ancient people to inter with the dead the inſtruments of their profeſſions, or the things they were accuſtomed to uſe. I have been told that, among the nations of Abyſſinia, there are ſome who obſerve the ſame practice, and who look upon it ominous to touch, or uſe, any of the furniture of the dead. We had ourſelves a relation who ſettled in Abyſſinia, and who, excluſive of other gains, acquired two hundred ounces of gold. When he died, the people of the place obliged an Egyptian, who dwelt with him, to take away this gold, which he did, much againſt his will, and loading them with reproaches for the benefit he received.

It ſeems to have been common in remote times, to bury a ſmall quantity of gold with the dead. One of the cadis of Bouſir, a village adjoining the ſpot where the dead are depoſited, related to me, that, having opened three ſepulchres, on each corpſe was found a ſheet of gold ſo thin as not to be removeable, and that each of theſe bodies had likewiſe a ſmall ingot of gold in the mouth; that he took the three ingots, the collective weight of which was nine mithkals. Relations of this deſcription are too numerous to be admitted in this book.

In the belly and ſkull of theſe corpſes, is alſo found in great abundance, the ſubſtance called mummy. The inhabitants of the country tranſport it to the city, where it is ſold for a trifle. For half a dirhem I purchaſed three heads filled with this ſubſtance. One of the venders of this drug ſhewed me a wallet full of it; I ſaw there the breaſt and belly of a corpſe which likewiſe were full of it. I noticed that this matter had inſinuated itſelf into the bones, which were ſo perfectly impregnated as to ſeem themſelves a part of the mummy. I likewiſe remarked, on the external part of the ſkull, the traces of the ſhroud which had ſerved to envelope the body, and the marks of the threads of the cloth; theſe had made an impreſſion ſimilar to that given to wax laid on cloth to receive a ſtamp *.

This mummy is as black as pitch. I obſerved, when expoſed to the ſtrong heat of the ſun, that it melts, and adheres to any thing that touches it; caſt on coals, it boils up and emits a ſmoke, in ſmell reſembling bitumen or white pitch. The opinion moſt commonly received is, that this mummy is a mixture of white pitch and myrrh.

As for mummy, properly ſo called, it is a ſubſtance which runs from the ſummits of mountains, mixed with the waters which carry it down in their courſe; it afterwards coagulates like mineral pitch, and exhales a ſmell reſembling white pitch mixed with bitumen. According to Galen, mummy ſprings from the earth in the ſame manner as mineral pitch and naphtha †; others affirm it to be a variety of mineral pitch,

* See Note XXVII.

† See Note XXVIII.

and

and call it the *menſtrua of the mountains*. The mummy found in the hollows of corpſes in Egypt, differs but immaterially from the nature of mineral mummy; and, where any difficulty ariſes in procuring the latter, may be ſubſtituted in its ſtead.

The moſt ſingular curioſity of theſe tombs, is their containing different kinds of animals, birds, quadrupeds, and reptiles. Each body is enveloped in a greater or ſmaller quantity of cloth; with this it is entirely ſurrounded, and under ſhelter of the envelope, is kept in a ſtate of preſervation.

Perſons of credit have aſſured me, that having diſcovered under ground a room very exactly cloſed, upon opening it they ſaw a parcel, ſurrounded by bandages of hempen cloth, which fell in tatters. They unwound the bandages without being deterred by the great quantity of cloth of which the parcel was compoſed; and within found a calf, in excellent preſervation, which had been ſwathed with abundance of care and ſkill *. By another, I was aſſured of a hawk having been found in the ſame manner, the envelope of which was formed of ſo large a quantity of bands of cloth, that it occaſioned infinite trouble to unſwathe it. It was found not to have loſt its feathers †. Similar diſcoveries of cats, ſparrows, ſcarabæi or beetles were related to me, as well as of other animals, the enumeration of which would be tedious, and unworthy the pains.

An âmeer, a truſt-worthy man, related to me likewiſe, that when he was at Kous, ſome of his dependents, who made a profeſſion of ſearching for treaſures, came to inform him that an opening had taken place under their feet, preſenting an excavation which they ſuſpected to conceal ſome hidden treaſure. He accompanied them to the ſpot, attended by a body of ſoldiers, and, on ſearching it, diſcovered a large pitcher, the mouth of which was nicely cloſed with plaiſter. After it was with much difficulty opened, they found in it ſmall parcels, the ſize of a finger, ſurrounded by rags. They unwound the rags, which contained ſmall fiſh of the ſpecies denominated *ſeer* ‡. They were like the minute duſt which flies away before the ſlighteſt breath. The pitcher was tranſported to Kous, and depoſited in the cuſtody of the provoſt. In his preſence, and that of more than a hundred perſons collected on the occaſion, the whole of the parcels were unfolded, without any thing being diſcovered but theſe little fiſh.

At an after period, in the burial places of the village of Bouſir, I myſelf ſaw a multitude of curious things; which the limits of this work will not permit me to enumerate. Among them, I obſerved caves conſtructed with much art, in each of which were interred an innumerable collection of ſkeletons. Some were filled with the ſkeletons of dogs, others with thoſe of bulls; in others again were ſkeletons of cats. All of them were enveloped in pieces of hempen cloth. I likewiſe ſaw in theſe places of ſepulture ſome human bones, but ſo curious that they reſembled the white fibres which envelope the lower part of the leaves of the palm-tree ‖. The greater part, however, of the ſkeletons I ſaw, were firm, with all their parts ſtrongly adherent to each other. They ſeemed even to be more freſh than thoſe of perſons who had died in the courſe of the year 597, of which I ſhall ſpeak at the cloſe of this writing. This was more eſpecially the caſe with the ancient corpſes which had been plaſtered over with pitch or tar. Theſe were of the colour of iron, and were equally firm and heavy. I ſaw an innumerable quantity of the ſkulls of cattle and ſheep; and readily diſtinguiſhed the heads of the ſheep from thoſe of goats, and the heads of the cows from thoſe of bulls. The fleſh of the cattle adhered ſo perfectly to the envelope as to form

* See Note XXIX. † See Note XXX. ‡ See Note XXXI. ‖ See Note XXXII.

 but

but one ſingle piece of a blackiſh red, beneath which the bones appeared of a delicate whiteneſs; but ſome of the bones were red, and others black. The ſame was the caſe in the inſtance of human bones. There can be no doubt but the ſhrouds were moiſtened with aloes and pitch, and ſaturated with theſe ſubſtances before they were employed in enveloping the corpſes. Hence the ſhrouds communicated their colour to the fleſh, and preſerved it. When theſe aromatic ſubſtances penetrated to the bones, it likewiſe changed their colour to red or black. In different ſpots I found heaps of carcaſes of dogs, conſiſting each, poſſibly, of a hundred thouſand or more. All theſe carcaſes are taken away by men who obtain their livelihood by ſearching for treaſures; for there are numbers who have no other means of ſupport than rummaging the burial places, and taking thence whatever they find, ſuch as wood, pieces of cloth, and other things. Although I made a very minute ſearch in all thoſe places to which I was enabled to penetrate, I never once met with the head of a horſe, a camel, or an aſs. As this ſingularity ſtruck me greatly, I queſtioned the old men of the village of Bouſir on the ſubject; and they aſſured me, without even hearing me to an end, that they had themſelves made the ſame remark, and that in all their reſearches they had conſtantly failed of finding any. The coffins are chiefly of the wood of the ſycamore-fig. There are ſome which are ſtill firm and ſolid, while others are, as it were, reduced to aſhes. Certain cadis of Bouſir, related to me, among other remarkable ſingularities, that one day finding a ſtone coffin, and breaking it, they obſerved it to contain another: upon forcing this, it preſented them a wooden coffin, in which they diſcovered a lizard of the ſpecies termed *ſohliyya*; which is the *ſam-abras*, well enveloped in ſhrouds, and interred with much care.

At Bouſir we ſaw a number of pyramids. Of one, that was demoliſhed, there was but the kernel remaining. We meaſured it by its foundations, and diſcovered that it had been nothing inferior in ſize to the pyramids of Gizeh.

Whatever we have ſaid of the burial places of Bouſir, applies to thoſe of Aïn-ſhems, of the Berbis, and others.

It is fit I ſhould remark, that no mention is made, that I remember, of the pyramids, in the pentateuch, or any other (ancient) book. I do not perceive either that Ariſtotle makes mention of them; in his *Treatiſe on Politics*, he ſays, "As was the practice of the Egyptians in the edifices they conſtructed."* Alexander Aphrodiſius is the author of a ſmall chronicle in which he ſpeaks of the Jews, the Magi, and the Sabæans; he likewiſe ſays ſomething in this book of the hiſtory of the Egyptians. But Galen, I find, in one part of his works makes mention of the pyramids, and derives their denomination from *harm*, which ſignifies *decrepid old age* †. In his commentary on the treatiſe of Hippocrates, on *Different Airs and Places*, he likewiſe ſays, "He who would ſtudy aſtronomy, ought to go to Egypt, as the inhabitants of that country have applied themſelves greatly to that ſcience." Such is the ſenſe of his words. He alſo obſerves, in his book of *Anatomical Operations*, "Whoever wiſhes to comprehend thoroughly the diſpoſition of the bones, cannot do better than repair to Alexandria to examine the ancient corpſes there preſerved."

The primitive inhabitants of Egypt may be compared to the Nabathæans of Irak, Memphis to Babylon, the Grecian monarchs and the Cæſars of Egypt to the Perſian Kings and the Coſroes of Perſia, Alexandria to Madaïn, Foſtat to Bagdad. All theſe countries are now united by the profeſſion of Iſlamiſm, and acknowledge the dominion of the poſterity of Abbas.

* See Note XXXIII. † See Note XXXIV.

NOTES ON ABD ALLATIF'S RELATION.

NOTE I. p. 803.

THIS citadel, which was denominated the caſtle of the mountain, is, in the preſent day, the reſidence of the paſha, and the quarter occupied by the Janiſſaries and the Azaps. Its poſition is eaſt of Cairo, on leaving it by the gate of Zoweïla; it ſtands north of Kaïtbay, and ſouth of Karafa. A deſcription of this citadel and the buildings it contains, as well as a plan of the city of Cairo, is given by Niebuhr in his Voyage en Arabie, (tome 1. p. 92.) A plan of Cairo, and particularly of the caſtle, may alſo be ſeen at the cloſe of the deſcription given of the pyramids of Gizeh by the chief of brigade Grobert (pl. xii.)

Mr. Langlès, in the notes affixed to his edition of Le Voyage de Norden, confounds this caſtle of the mountain with the ancient caſtle or fort called Kaſr-alſhama, which belonged to the town of Foſtat, and exiſted previous to the conqueſt of Egypt by the Muſulmans' of Arabian authors; ſome confound it with Babelgaun (Babylon), while others, whoſe opinion appears to be better founded, make a diſtinction. The quarter of Foſtat, where this caſtle ſtood, is ſtill called the quarter of Kaſr-alſhama; and here are ſituated the church called the Moallaka, and the principal churches of the Chriſtians, as may be ſeen in Makriſi (Man. Ar. de la Biblio. Imp. No. 682. folio 159 and 160), and in Vanſleb (Nouv. Relat. d'Egypte p. 129. p. 237. and ſeq.) I ſhall not ſay more of the Kaſr alſhama, but revert to the citadel of the mountain. This place, and the well admired in it, are known by the name of Joſeph, one of the names of Salah-eddin, or Saladin, by whoſe order they were conſtructed. Yooſoof was the name of Salah-eddin, and that of his father Ayyoob, not Joſeph or Yooſoof as ſuppoſed by Mr. Langles (Voyage de Eg. et de Nub. tome iii. p. 309.) The following is the ſtatement of Makriſi reſpecting the foundation of the caſtle of the mountain. (Man. Ar. de la Biblio. Imp. No. 682. fol. 390 and 392.

"This citadel is built on a great eminence of the mountain; it leans on Mount Mokattam, and overlooks Cairo, Miſr, the Nile, and Karafa; it has Cairo on the north, Miſr, Karafa, and Birket Alhabeſh on the ſouth-weſt, the main courſe of the Nile on the weſt, and behind it on the eaſt, Mount Mokattam. The ſpot on which it is built formerly bore the name of Kobbat alhawa.

"The pavillion of fine air, afterwards the hippodrome of Ahmed-ben-Touloun, was formed above this ſpot. At a later period this place was converted into a cemetery, where ſeveral moſques were erected; and in this ſtate it remained until Mâlik-alnaſr Salah-eddin Yooſoof-ben-Ayyoob, the firſt of the kings of his race who reigned in Egypt, cauſed a citadel to be conſtructed under the direction of the eunuch Boha-eddin Kara Kooſh, in the year 562, (commencing October 1166.) From that, to the preſent day, this caſtle has conſtantly been the reſidence of the ſovereigns of Egypt. This is the eighth place made the ſeat of empire in this country. Before the deluge, the kings reſided in the city of Amſous. After the deluge Memphis was the royal city, until it was deſtroyed by Nabuchodonoſor. Alexander, the ſon of Philip, having aſcended the throne, and arriving in Egypt, where he built the city of Alexandria, this new city ſucceeded Memphis in the title of royal, and retained the prerogative until God eſtabliſhed Iſlamiſm, when Amroo-ben-Alas entered Egypt at the head of a Muſſulman army, made himſelf maſter of the citadel, and laid the foundation of Foſtat, which, from that period, became the reſidence of the âmeers, governors of this country. Things remained on this footing to the period of the extinction of the caliphs of the houſe of Omayya. The armies of the Abbaſees entering Egypt, and building without the city of Foſtat the quarter called Alaſker, the governors inhabited at one time Foſtat, at another Alaſker. Ahmed-ben-Touloun afterwards built the caſtle, the hippodrome, and the quarter called Alkataï near Alaſker; and Alkataï

became the reſidence of the âmeers of the family of Touloun: but after the extinction of this dynaſty, the âmeers dwelt anew in Alaſker, until the general of the armies of Moëzz, Jewhar, coming from the Magreb, laid the foundations of Cairo. From this time to the deſtruction of the power of the Fatemees, by the ſultan Salah-eddin Yooſoof-ben-Ayyoob, Cairo was made the reſidence of the caliphs and imâms of Egypt. Salah-eddin became ſole maſter of the country, built the citadel of the mountain, and made it his reſidence. After him Mâlik-alcamel Mohammed, ſon of Mâlik-Aladel Aboobekr-ben-Ayyoob, likewiſe reſided there, and his example was followed by the princes of his line. The Mamalukes Baharee, who ſeized on the ſovereignty, and ſucceeded the family of Ayyoob, have continued down to this time to reſide in this citadel.

"The following was the origin of the citadel. The ſultan Salah-eddin-Yooſoof, having terminated the ſway of the Fatemees, and conſtituted himſelf the ſole and abſolute ſovereign of Egypt, did not on this occaſion abandon the palace of the grand vizier, which he before had occupied at Cairo. Nevertheleſs he was not exempt from apprehenſion, as much on account of the partizans which the Fatemee caliphs ſtill retained in Egypt, as of Mâlik-aladel Nour-eddin Makmoud-ben-Zenghi, ſultan of Syria. He made proviſion before hand againſt any reverſe he might experience from the attacks of Nour-eddin, by ſending his brother Mâlik-almoaddham Shemſeddaula Fouran-ſhah into Yemen, to conquer a new kingdom, which might preſent an aſylum. Shems-eddaula completely ſubdued Yemen; and, on the other hand, God delivered Salah-eddin from all anxiety reſpecting Nour-eddin, who died the ſame year. Freed from dread in this quarter, Salah-eddin wiſhed to ſecure ſome ſtrong place in Egypt where he might fix his reſidence; for he had divided the two caſtles occupied by the Fatemees among his âmeers, who had taken up their abode in them. It is ſaid he determined on the ſite of the citadel of the mountain, from obſerving that meat, expoſed to the open air at Cairo, became putrid in twenty-four hours, while, ſuſpended on the ſpot where the citadel is conſtructed, it experienced no alteration until after the lapſe of eight-and-forty hours. He conſequently directed the raiſing of a citadel on this ſpot, and entruſted the execution of his orders to one of his âmeers, Karakooſh, an Aſadee. Karakooſh began this work, as well as the wall of Cairo, which likewiſe was confided to his care, in the year of the hejra 572. He deſtroyed the moſques, ſuppreſſed the tombs, and cauſed the ſmall pyramids at Gizeh, in front of the city of Miſr, the number of which was conſiderable, to be demoliſhed. The ſtones obtained from the demolition were employed in building the wall, the citadel of Cairo, and the arches of Gizeh. The ſultan intended the wall ſhould ſurround, in one incloſure, Cairo, Foſtat, and the citadel; but he died before the wall and the citadel were completed. Theſe works were neglected till the reign of Mâlik-aladel Seif-eddin-Aboobekr-ben-Ayyoob, who fixed his ſon Mâlik-alcamel Naſr-eddin Mohammed, in the citadel of the mountain, nominated him his lieutenant in Egypt, and appointed him his ſucceſſor. This prince put the finiſhing hand to the citadel, and erected the ſultan's palace in the interior, in the year of the hejra 604, (beginning July 1207.)"

Many other details might be extracted from Makriſi, reſpecting the buildings within the citadel, and the wall of Cairo, but they would here be ſuperfluous. I ſhall but obſerve further, that, on the plan of M. Niebuhr may be noticed, eaſt of the citadel, and upon the mountain, a ſmall building in ruins, which bears the name of Kobbat-alhawa, or the pavillion of fine air.

NOTE II. p. 803.

ABD ALLATIF ſays "the two wells," and not "the well," becauſe the well is divided into two parts by a reſting place and reſervoir. Many travellers have deſcribed the wells; for example Maillet, Pococke, Father Lucas, Niebuhr, Grobert, &c. The two firſt aſcribed its formation to Mohammed-ben-Kelaoon, but Mr. Niebuhr, better informed, and Mr. Savary, who ſtates this to have been the opinion of the inhabitants of the country, more juſtly aſcribe it to Salah-eddin, and conjecture it took its name of the Well of Joſeph, from that prince. Did any doubt exiſt it would at once be removed by the authority of Abd Allatif, who was a cotemporary writer. Shaw knew of this paſſage of Abd Allatif, but far from drawing thence a juſt concluſion, he attributes the well to the Babylonians. The error of Maillet and Pococke ariſes poſſibly from their having heard that it was the work of a ſultan named Mâlik-alhaſr, a name common as well to Saladin as to Mohammed-ben-Kilaoon.

Makriſi

Makrifi ſpeaks thus of the well: " The well of the citadel is of the number of thoſe things we admire. It was dug by Karakooſh. Ebn-Abd-Aldhaler ſays, this well is of wonderful ſtructure. Oxen, at the top, by moving in a circle, draw up the water from a reſervoir half the depth of the well; at the ſtation of this reſervoir, others by ſimilar means raiſe the water from the bottom to the reſervoir; there is a road cut by which the oxen readily deſcend to the ſpring: the whole of this is cut out of the rock without any building. The ſpot, where this well is ſeen, is ſaid to be in the ſame direction as the Pond of the Elephants (*birket alfil*); the water of the ſpring is ſoft. I have heard ſome old men of the country, affirm that when the well was dug, the workmen came to very ſoft water. Karakooſh and his men, deſirous of a more abundant ſupply, cauſed the opening in the rock to be increaſed, after which there iſſued a water ſomewhat ſaline, which injured the ſoftneſs of the previous ſpring. The cadi Naſr-eddin Shafi-ben-Ali, in his Treatiſe on Wonderful Structures, ſays, that the well is deſcended by a ſtair-caſe conſiſting of three hundred ſteps.

NOTE III. p. 803.

MAKRISI ſpeaks of theſe arches of Gizeh, quoting the author of the Treatiſe on the Wonderful Structures, but in the very words of Abd Allatif, from whom this writer doubtleſs borrowed his recital. Towards the concluſion he adds: " In the year of the hejra 708, (beginning June 1308) Malik-Almodhaffer Bibars Jaſchenghir ordered theſe arches to be repaired. In conſequence thoſe in ruins were removed, the damaged parts reſtored, and they regained their utility. When Karakooſh conſtructed theſe arches, he built, with the ſtones of the demoliſhed pyramids, a raiſed way, which began at the bank of the Nile in front of Foſtat, and reſembled a mountain projecting through the country the ſpace of ſix miles, till it joined the arches."

The arches alluded to here are at this day in exiſtence, as well as a part of the raiſed way; at leaſt, between Gizeh and the pyramids, there are arches and portions of a cauſeway, the remains of thoſe noticed by Abd Allatif. Mr. Niebuhr obſerved at this ſpot two bridges of ten arches each, and at each extremity and between the bridges a dyke or cauſeway of maſonry, partly conſtructed of brick and partly of hewn ſtone, fifteen hundred double ſteps in length. Nearer to Gizeh, the ſame traveller ſaw two other bridges, one of five the other of three arches. Theſe bridges and cauſeways had before been noticed by Mr. Norden, who recognized in them the work of Mahometans. Pococke, who alſo obſerved theſe works, was therefore much in error in taking the cauſeway noticed here for that mentioned by Herodotus, which coſt ten years of labour, and appeared to the Greek hiſtorian a work almoſt as admirable as the pyramids themſelves.

Theſe arches are likewiſe mentioned by Ebn-alwardi, who obſerves, " At Gizeh are the bridges; nothing ſimilar to this work was ever before effected. They conſiſt of forty arches in a right line." They have nothing in common with the bridge of boats which, at a certain epoch, joined the iſland of Roudha with the two banks of the Nile, as imagined by M. Chr. Mar. Fiä'n, who publiſhed, at Halle, in 1804, the Ægyptas. auct. Ibn-Alvardi (ſee p. 52.)

The cauſeway raiſed by Karakooſh, and which extended from the margin of the Nile, oppoſite to Foſtat, to the bridges mentioned, afforded, in all ſeaſons, a commodious road for the tranſport of materials, deſtined for the erection of the wall of Cairo, and the citadel of the mountain.

NOTE IV. p. 803.

ABD ALLATIF would have expreſſed himſelf with greater exactitude had he ſtated that the angles of the three pyramids are oppoſite to each other in a right line, extending from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt. (See Norden. edit. de Mr. Langlès t. 1. p. 113 and 114. and pl. xliii. Grobert Deſcrip. des Pyr. de Gizeh, pl. 1.)

NOTE V. p. 804.

IT ſeems that, at the epoch Abd Allatif compoſed his work, the three great pyramids had all of them their external coat entire, which induced him to conclude that the third pyramid was conſtructed

conſtructed wholly of red granite. In the deſcription of the pyramids of Gizeh by Mr. Grobert, this ſpecies of granite is deſcribed with much preciſion; but ſo many errors of the preſs have crept into this impreſſion that I deem it requiſite to inſert the deſcription here with the errors corrected.

" No. 4.—A beautiful roſe-coloured antique granite of the iſland Elephantis, detached from the coat of the pyramid, called Mycerinus.

" It is ſuppoſed to be the pyropœcilon of Pliny.

" It is the antique Egyptian granite, many monuments of which have been tranſported to Rome.

" It is formed of large fragments of feldſpar, of a roſe colour, and of two ſhades, which are predominant in the ſtone, and give it its colour; of gray or whitiſh quartz in ſmall quantity; and of a blackiſh ſchoerle, which in point of prevalence holds a medium between the two former.

" It is one of the moſt beautiful ſtones that is known: it receives a magnificent poliſh, &c. (Deſcr. des Pyr. d'Egypte, p. 99.)

" Its coating," (that of the third pyramid) ſays Mr. Grobert, " recently removed, lies at the foot of the baſe. It is of red granite, of the ſpecies found in the iſland Elephantis, oppoſite to Aſouan. The major part of the obeliſks of Egypt are of this granite. (Idem. p. 36.)

" The coating of the little pyramid has been ſtripped off at a very late period. The beautiful maſſes of granite of Elephantis, diſperſed, and lying in heaps at its baſe, ſtill each preſerve the length of the two facings faſhioned with the ſquare, which inconteſtably proves that its finiſhed ſurface was formed in tiers." (Idem. p. 97.)

Norden had related that the ſummit of the ſecond pyramid was coated with granite on the four ſides; (Voy. d'Egypte et Nubie. t. 1. p. 122.) but this aſſertion, which contradicts the Arabian authors, is refuted by Grobert, (p. 95. and p. 28.)

NOTE VI. p. 804.

A SIMILAR fancy, according to Makriſi, is expreſſed by another writer in the following terms: " All other things dread the effects of time, but time itſelf contemplates the pyramids with dread." If ſuch gigantic expreſſions need an excuſe, they will find one in the beautiful verſe of Delille. (Les Jardins Chant. IV.)

" Leur maſſe indeſtructible a fatigué le tems."
Their maſs, imperiſhable, has wearied time.

Can, adds Mr. de Sacy from another quotation; can Frenchmen fail to engrave it on the pyramids?

NOTE VII. p. 804.

MR. WHITE, in his notes, very opportunely remarks that the paſſage in Pliny where that writer, ſpeaking of the pyramids, ſays, (The pyramids) " are ſituated in a part of Africa, on a ſtony and barren mountain, between the city of Memphis and what we are accuſtomed to denominate the Delta, at a diſtance from the Nile of leſs than four thouſand paces, and at ſeven from Memphis, NEAR A VILLAGE CALLED BUSIRIS, THE INHABITANTS OF WHICH ARE WONT TO ASCEND THEM," ſuppoſes that, in the time of Pliny, the pyramids ſtill had their outward coating (perfect); for, obſerves this writer, " this would ſcarcely have been deemed worthy of note if the moſt perfect evenneſs in the works, the oppoſite of what at preſent is the caſe, did not render it (the aſcending them) a matter of much danger and difficulty.

The text of Mr. White is " res erat haud ſanè memorabilis, ſi non perfectiſſima operis lævitudo, contra quum nunc eſt, lubricum et difficile aſcenſum præbuerit." The ſame obſervation did not eſcape Mr. Quatremere de Quincy; and a like concluſion may be drawn from the words of Abd Allatif; hence then the pyramids preſerved their coating, at leaſt in a great degree, in the 13th century.

NOTE

NOTE VIII. p. 805.

THE meaſurement here given to the pyramid correſponds with that of Mohalli, an Arabian writer cited by Edward Bernard, except the dimenſions of the level at the ſection which Mohalli ſtates to be nine cubits every way. Joſeph Ben Altiphaſi, according to Kircher, in his work the Garden of the Wonders of the World, agrees exactly with the meaſure quoted by Abd Allatif.

Abd Allatif obſerves that theſe dimenſions appear to him erroneous, and that 400 cubits ſhould be taken for the height of the pyramid; but the computation of Abd Allatif is wide of the fact: for, admitting a regular quadrangular pyramid to have a baſe of 460 cubits, and all its angles to be alike, which will conſequently give 460 cubits for the length of all its ſides, the height of the pyramid will be $325\frac{26}{106}$ cubits: if the ſame pyramid be truncated by a ſection, the baſe of which is every way 10 cubits, the height will be reduced to $318\frac{19}{106}$ cubits, which is little diſtant from the height aſſigned of 317.

When Abd Allatif ſays, "The exact perpendicular height muſt be 400 cubits, he probably alludes to the apothème, which, if the pyramid were entire, would be $398\frac{37}{106}$ cubits, and truncated, as it is deſcribed to have been, $389\frac{61}{106}$ cubits, which comes very nigh 400 cubits." M. de Sacy.

Allowing 460 cubits to be the meaſure of each ſide of the baſe, as in the time of Abd-Allatif, when, preſumptively, the pyramids were yet unſtripped of their coating, and the ſand at the baſe had not accumulated ſo high as at preſent; and taking the haſhemik cubit, equal to $\frac{5}{6}$ of a metre, or $21\frac{857}{1000}$ inches Engliſh (Metrologie Univ. de Biornerod), the length of each ſide of the baſe will then have been 838, and the perpendicular height $579\frac{55}{106}$ Engliſh feet. Of ancient authors, Herodotus (lib. ii.) deſcribes their meaſure 800 feet long; Diodorus (lib. i.) 700 feet; Strabo (lib. xvii.) leſs than 60 feet; and Pliny (lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.) 883 feet. The length of the feet alluded to by the three firſt writers is not ſufficiently evident, and the meaſures being given in round numbers, they may not have been minutely exact; the Roman foot being to the Engliſh as 967 to 1000; the meaſure of Pliny, which from its being ſtated preciſely 883 Roman feet, may be deemed the correct length of the baſe in his time; is equal to $853\frac{66}{106}$ feet Engliſh, which is ſo little more than the meaſure given by Abd Allatif, eleven hundred years later, as to make it probable that the difference may have been occaſioned by the riſe within that lapſe of time, of the circumjacent ſand about the baſe. By modern writers different meaſures have been aſſigned to the pyramid; but, ſince the invaſion of that country by the French, a *very* exact account is afforded. That which is given below is extracted from La *Geographie* Mathematique, Phyſique et Politique of Mentelle et Le Brun, Paris 1803, *tome* 12. p. 112. In it, errors which had crept into the work of general Grobert, are corrected from communications made to the author by different learned men, who accompanied the French army, and from memoirs preſented to him by Buonaparte himſelf. The preſent length of the baſe is 716 feet 6 inches French, or in Engliſh meaſure 763 feet 8 inches.

The ſuppoſed length, before the removal of its external coating of marble, 734 feet 6 inches French, Engliſh meaſure 783 feet.

Meaſure of the angle made by the four faces with the horizon, 128 degrees.

Perpendicular height to the preſent platform, $474\frac{129}{205}$ feet, 501 feet Engliſh meaſure.

Preſumed height, when perfect, with the external coating on, to the ſummit of the angle, $505\frac{162}{283}$ feet French, Engliſh meaſure 538 feet.

Preſent number of the layers of ſtone from the baſe to the truncated ſummit 203 feet.

Perpendicular height of the opening by which the pyramid is entered, 41 toiſes 5 feet, or Engliſh meaſure 267 feet 5 inches.

Length of the gallery, which, in a ſloping direction, forms a right angle with the ſide, 12 toiſes 3 inches, or 77 feet Engliſh meaſure.

Length of the ſecond gallery, which forms, with the interior horizontal platform, an angle of 27 degrees, 40 toiſes 5 feet, or 261 feet Engliſh.

At the upper extremity of this gallery is a chamber, of a ſquare form, which ſtands in the center of the pyramid, the ſides of it fifteen feet, (ſeventeen Engliſh); the height ſeventeen, (Engliſh, eighteen feet one inch and a half).

But

But it muſt be obſerved, that above the apparent floor, at the height of three feet, is a ſecond, which protects the other.

At about a fourth-part of the length from the point of departure in the ſecond gallery, there is another gallery, which advances horizontally to the center of the pyramid, and which leads to an apartment 19 toiſes, or 67 feet ſquare.

At the point where this gallery begins is a well, at firſt perpendicular, but afterwards ſloping gently: the well is ſcarcely more than two feet wide, and is partly filled with rubbiſh, the depth to the obſtruction in it, from the ſurface, is 195 French feet, or 208 feet Engliſh. The firſt bend, that is to ſay the upper bend of the well, or meklas, is 132 feet (140 feet Engliſh) below (this ſhould certainly be *above*) the baſe of the pyramid. Tranſlator.

NOTE IX. p. 805.

IN the foregoing note is ſtated that the paſſage forms a right angle with the ſide of the pyramid, and that the angle of the ſide with the horizon is 128°. The ſlope of the glacis noticed by Abd Allatif, previous to arriving at the horizontal paſſage, muſt therefore make an angle of 52° with the horizon. Tranſlator.

NOTE X. p. 805.

IT ſeems to me very doubtful that the firſt opening of the great pyramid was effected by the caliph Mamoun. I heſitate to credit this from the terms uſed by Denys, of Telmahre, the jacobite patriarch of Antioch, who accompanied Mamoun into Egypt, in ſpeaking of the pyramid, which was already open when viſited by him. Mr. Wahl obſerves, that ſome orientaliſts attribute the firſt opening in the pyramid to the caliph Mahmoud, and others to Haroon Al-raſhid; but cites no authority. In ſtating my doubt, I muſt not conceal that the opening in the pyramid is by common tradition aſcribed to Mamoun, and ſtands ſupported by the teſtimony of Maſoudi, who wrote about a century after the expedition of the caliph. According to Makriſi, this fact is related by Maſoudi, in the work entitled *Hiſtory of the Paſt Times and the Things deſtroyed by Fortune;* in it is ſaid, "That Abd-allah Mamoun, ſon of Haroon Al-raſhid, having arrived in Egypt, and viſited the pyramids, was inclined to demoliſh one in order to diſcover of what it was compoſed; that, on its being repreſented to him that he never would be able to ſucceed in the undertaking; he replied, "I will abſolutely have an opening made:" and that on this occaſion, in order to ſatisfy him, the entrance ſeen at preſent was effected; that, for the purpoſe of making it, fire, vinegar, &c. were uſed." This paſſage indeed exiſts in the manuſcript in the Imperial library: but as no other Arabian author, that I remember, makes mention of an expedition of Haroon Al-raſhid into Egypt, I conſider it highly probable that this is an error of our manuſcript.

Ebn Haukal, the cotemporary of Maſoudi, is ſatisfied with ſtating that one of the caliphs of the Abbaſſee family, whom he conjectures to be Mamoun, or Motaſem, had in contemplation to effect the deſtruction of the pyramids; but renounced the project from calculating that the whole of the revenues he drew from Egypt, would be inſufficient to defray the incidental expence. May we not conjecture that the pyramid was opened before Mamoun; and that this prince, from having giving orders that the interior ſhould be further explored, has had the opening of the pyramid attributed to himſelf?

NOTE XI. p. 805.

ACCORDING to Mr. Grobert, "all the ſtones of the pyramids are cemented together; the mortar uſed exactly reſembles that made in Europe; the ſurfaces of the ſtones are as nicely ſquare of each other as can be expected from their great age. That they had holes wrought on their ſurfaces is yet to be diſcerned; but no veſtiges announce that the outward coating was faſtened by intails or grooves."

Abd Allatif poſſibly ſpeaks of the ſtones of the outermoſt coat.

"One cannot ſufficiently admire," ſays likewiſe Mr. Denon, "the exactitude of the ſtratification of the pyramids, the unchangeableneſs of their form, or their ſtructure; and theſe to-

preſerved in maſſes of ſuch magnitude, ſo gigantic, as to make one conſider them the link which joins the coloſſal works of art to thoſe of nature."

NOTE XII. p. 805.

HERE, aſſuredly, we muſt recognize poſitive teſtimony; nor can I here refrain from repeating what I have ſaid in my notice of the edition of Mr. White. After due reflection on the ſtyle of Abd Allatif, on his conſtant maintenance upon all occaſions of the character of an impartial obſerver, and faithful hiſtorian, his evidence cannot be called in queſtion on a matter of ſo much weight as this, and reſpecting which his affirmation is ſo explicit. It is moreover ſtrengthened by that of many other Arabian writers of greater antiquity, and even though the declaration of our author ſhould be charged with a little exaggeration, ſtill cannot I allow the negative proof, which ſome would deduce from the ſilence on this ſubject of the moſt reſpectable hiſtorians, to weigh againſt the authority of an ocular witneſs, and one ſo worthy of being believed. The value of this teſtimony is further augmented by theſe words, which ſome lines further on are expreſſed by Abd Allatif, in ſpeaking of the traditions current on the primitive deſtination and the origin of the pyramids: "on this ſubject I have treated at large in my great work, and have related what others have ſaid of theſe buildings; to this, therefore, I refer the reader ſolicitous of more minute details, confining myſelf in this preſent work to the repreſentation of *that alone of which I have myſelf been witneſs.*"

I have obſerved that ſeveral other Arabian writers, anterior to Abd Allatif, agreed with him reſpecting the hieroglyphic inſcriptions on the pyramids; ſome of them I ſhall cite.

"The pyramids," ſays Maſoudi, an author of the beginning of the fourth century of the hejra, and who wrote in Egypt, "are very lofty edifices, and of marvellous conſtruction: their ſurface is covered with inſcriptions in the characters of ancient nations and kingdoms, which no longer exiſt." What this writing is, or its ſignification, are alike unknown. (Man. Arab. of the Imp. Lib. No. 598, c. 102).

Ebn-Khordadbèh, a traveller and author of a geographical deſcription of muſſulman countries, wrote in the third century of the hejra: in a paſſage cited by Makriſi, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "All the ſecrets of magic, and all the receipts of the medical art, are inſcribed on the pyramids, in the *Muſnad* character.

The ſame Makriſi quotes another writer, who ſays, "We ſaw the ſurfaces of theſe two great pyramids covered with writing from the ſummit to the baſe: the lines were cloſe, perfectly even, and oppoſite one to the other; they were written in characters uſed by thoſe who conſtructed theſe edifices; the letters are now wholly unknown, nor can their ſenſe be divined (Man. Arab. of the Imp. Lib. No. 652, folio ٧٠).

Ebn-Haukal, a traveller and author of the fourth century of the hejra, in a ſimilar manner atteſts, that the exterior of the great pyramids was full of inſcriptions, in a character which he denominates *Græco-Syriac*, at leaſt if there be no fault in the manuſcript belonging to the Leyden library which I have now before me, or ſimply *Greek* according to the quotation of Makriſi.

Guillaume de Baldenſel, who travelled to the Holy Land and Egypt in the 14th century, atteſts his having ſeen, on the two largeſt pyramids, inſcriptions in divers characters; "in which," he ſays, "I diſtinguiſhed writings in different idioms;" and he details an inſcription in ſix Latin verſes. Guill. de Baldenſel Hodæpor. in Terr. Sanc. apud Canis. in Lect. Antiq. t. v. part xi. p. 113.

The learned Greaves, (Miſc. Works of M. J. Greaves, b. i. p. 125,) in his Pyramidographia, calls in queſtion the veracity of the writings of the Arabs reſpecting theſe inſcriptions; but the authorities before him were not of equal validity to thoſe I have quoted. Herodotus (lib. xi. chap. 125.) mentions an inſcription engraven on the pyramid of Cheops, which ſeems not to correſpond with the multitude of inſcriptions noticed by the Arabs; but he may have ſpoken of this particular one, on account of the ſingularity of its intent. I know not whether or no with the learned French tranſlator of his works, we ought to deduce from his obſerving "the inſcription is in Egyptian characters," that this inſcription was moſt probably in the vulgar character, and not in hieroglyphics. Poſſibly this writing was in the vulgar, and the others in the ſacred character. To reconcile the ſilence of the Greek and Latin writers on the ſubject of the inſcriptions on the pyramids with the teſtimony of the Arab writers, Mr. White makes a judicious

judicious obſervation which I tranſcribe: (the tranſlation from the [illegible] is as follows:) "Such abundance of hieroglyphical characters were ſeen in every part of Egypt that they would fail of exciting admiration in the obſervers, and be deemed unworthy of hiſtorical relation. Owing to this it is that in the deſcriptions of the obeliſks, which from the ground to the very ſummit are covered with hieroglyphics, this circumſtance has remained unnoticed by the greateſt part of the ancients."

I muſt not however diſguiſe that, according to the teſtimony of travellers, the moſt elevated part of the outermoſt coating of the ſecond pyramid, which yet ſubſiſts, preſents no hieroglyphics. This only proves that the entire ſuperficies of the pyramids was not covered with theſe characters. It is moreover added, that no remains of hieroglyphics are diſcovered either among the numerous fragments diſperſed at the foot of the pyramids, or on the pieces of granite or marble, which formerly made a part of their external coating, and which are now to be ſeen at Gizeh, and elſewhere, where they ſerve as lintels, threſholds, and door piers. May it not be allowed to queſtion whether theſe obſervations have been made with all the nicety requiſite to give ſtrength to this negative contradiction? Mr. de Sacy.

The queſtion of Mr. de Sacy is doubtleſs well founded. The aſſertion of thoſe who diſpute the truth of the pyramids having once been covered with hieroglyphics, that none are found at Gizeh, or elſewhere, may be true, as reſpects the preſent day, but was not the caſe two centuries back. Pietro della Valle, in the relation of his travels, (tome i. lettre xi. p. 335. Paris, 1745.) after deſcribing the pyramids, and proceeding to relate his viſit to the depoſitaries of the mummies in their neighbourhood, ſays, "We paſſed the night in a houſe of this village (Sakkara): in the evening a conteſt aroſe among the inhabitants about who ſhould receive us; when, from the good opinion I entertained of a houſe, over the door of which there was an hieroglyphic inſcription, I ſelected that, concluding that its owner who had choſen this ornament was, without doubt, more intelligent than his neighbours." Tranſlator.

NOTE XIII. p. 805.

IN the text ſtands Agadimoun. Jablonſki has, in my opinion, proved to demonſtration, that Cneph or Cnouphi, and Agathodaimon are no other than the Egyptian and Greek denominations for the ſame deity. He has given an etymology, according to which Agathodaimon appears to be a literal tranſlation of Cnouphi.

NOTE XIV. p. 807.

I SHALL not dilate much reſpecting the ſphinx, or the mutilations which it has experienced ſince the time of Abd Allatif. A detail on this ſubject may be ſeen in the notes and illuſtrations affixed by Mr. Langlis to his edition of the travels of Norden: but I cannot refrain from citing two authors of modern date, whoſe teſtimony, after the evolution of ſix hundred years, ſo fully confirms the recital of our author.

"This monſtrous and truly coloſſal ſtatue," ſays Mr. Grobert, "was painted yellow; and the colour is preſerved even to our time in the parts not broken."

The other paſſage is much more important, from its minuteneſs, and the name of its author, an unexceptionable judge on ſimilar ſubjects. It is Mr. Denon, who thus expreſſes himſelf:

"I had not ſufficient leiſure to obſerve the ſphinx, which is well worthy of being copied with the niceſt attention, a manner which it has never been before. Although its proportions be coloſſal, the outlines which are remaining are equally ſupple and correct; the expreſſion of the head is mild, benevolent, and tranquil; the character African; but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, poſſeſſes a ſoftneſs in the apparent motion of them, and a nicety of execution truly admirable; they are actually fleſh and life. At the period a monument like this was formed, the art of ſculpture muſt certainly have been in a high ſtate of perfection. If in this head be wanting that which by convention is conſidered ſtyle, I mean the erect and impoſing form which the Greeks have given to their deities, yet do we find and admire in this figure, that truth and ſimplicity, that expreſſion of nature elevating into what we conceive of ſupernatural, or rather that ſoftening of the majeſty of divinity into the gentleneſs of nature, which is foreign to this ſtyle, and is not found in the productions of the artiſts of Greece: finally we have

have been accuſtomed to contemplate with amazement merely the huge dimenſions of this monument, but the aſtoniſhing perfection it diſplays is ſtill more deſerving of admiration."

At the commencement of this note I refer to the notes and illuſtrations of Mr. Langlès, affixed to the Travels of Norden into Egypt and Nubia, in which, from Makriſi, he points out the epoch of the mutilation of the ſphinx. I ought to add, that the adventure there related was known to Van Sleb, who thus ſpeaks of it, (Relat. dello, Stato preſen. dell' Egitto, p. 206.) *Gli e ſtato rotto il naſo da un certo Moro, di xhe ſogliono raccontare un' iſtoria, con verſi belliſſimi in' lingua Arabica, che per brevità tralaſcio, non credendo la vera.* The noſe of it was broken by a certain Moor, of whom a tale is related, in moſt beautiful verſe in the Arabic tongue, which for brevity ſake I omit, not believing it true.

The ſame madmen who mutilated the ſphinx, likewiſe mutilated the lions with which Mâlik Aldhaher Bibars Bondokdari had adorned the bridge he cauſed to be conſtructed at Cairo, and which was called the Bridge of the Lions. Theſe lions were ſtill ſeen there in the time of Makriſi; but their heads had then been mutilated, as well as the face of the ſphinx, by Sheikh Mohammed, ſurnamed the "Faſter of his Age," who fancied by this to render himſelf more acceptable to God.

There are ſeveral etymologies of the true name of the ſphinx, which, according to Makriſi, Soyouti, and others, is belheet; but the one which alone to me ſeems admiſſible is that of M. Ign. Roſſi, who derives it from the Coptic, *bel* the eye, and *heet* the heart, taking the latter as an adjective, and thus giving for its ſenſe, "a man who has his heart in his eyes, or is without diſguiſe;" as in French they are accuſtomed to ſay, "his heart is on his lips," to expreſs a frank and open man. How this characteriſtic applies to the ſtatue, will be ſeen in the diſtinction ſo well eſtabliſhed by Mr. Zolga, (Etym. Ægypt) between the Egyptian ſphinx and that of the Grecian mythology. The former is to be regarded no otherwiſe than as an emblem of ſtrength united to underſtanding, of the union of the virtues which render man worthy of approaching the Deity, and of entering his temples; in ſhort, of enlightened wiſdom and true courage.

NOTE XV. p. 807.

ST. EPHREM, in his commentary on the thirty-third chapter of Iſaiah, makes mention of theſe obeliſks: "This houſe of the ſun," ſays he, "is the city of Heliopolis in Egypt, where the worſhip of demons, and the adoration of idols were moſt ſedulouſly obſerved. In this place were ſome enormous columns worthy of admiration. Each of them was *ſixty cubits high*, and the baſe on which they ſtood ten cubits. The cap on the *head of* every column was of white copper, and weighed a thouſand pounds and *upwards*. On theſe columns were the figures of men and animals, wont to be adored by the idolaters of thoſe days: the columns were likewiſe loaded with inſcriptions in the characters of the prieſts, which inſcriptions related the myſteries of paganiſm."

NOTE XVI. p. 807.

EBN-KHORDAHBEH, (Man. Arab. Bib. Imp. No. 682, folio 126.) a writer of the third century, quoted by Makriſi, had previouſly made the ſame remark. "At Aïnſhems in Egypt," ſays he, "are two columns, the remains of a great number which there were at one period at this place: at the ſummit of each is a collar (cap) of copper. From one of the two, and from beneath this cap diſtils water: this water deſcends nearly to the middle of the column, but no farther. The water continues to diſtil day and night: the part of the column wetted by it, is green and damp; the water does not reach the ground. This is a work of Hooſhenk."

Mohammed, ſon of Abd-alrahheem, gives a deſcription of this obeliſk in the Tohfat-alhalbab, and the paſſage is repeated by Makriſi; (Man. Ar. Bib. Imp. No. 954, fo. 18. and No. 682, fo. 126.) it runs as follows in the Tohfat-alhalbab: "At a place called Aïn-ſhems in Egypt, there is a ſquare column, nearly a hundred cubits high, and formed of a marble, the colour of which reſembles that of the ſhell of Venus, and is tranſparent. This column is one ſingle piece, and terminates at top in a point. It ſtands on a baſe of marble, which looks like a houſe. On its ſummit is a coating of copper, as handſome as gold, on which is repreſented the figure of a man ſeated, and looking towards the eaſt. From beneath this coping

water diſtils, which runs along the ſtone the ſpace of ten cubits, as nearly as can be aſcertained by the eye. This water has generated, and caused to vegetate on the ſtone, a ſpecies of water moſs, which is viſible. At all times, in ſummer as in winter, the water is ſeen to glitter on this verdure, and this I have myſelf remarked; the inhabitants affirm that it continues thus conſtantly, in ſummer as in winter, but that the water never deſcends to the ground. This column is one of the wonders."

After copying Abd Allatif's relation word for word, Makriſi adds, "Mohammed-ben-Ibrahim Jâzi (or rather Jâzeri) ſays in his chronicle:" On the 4th of Ramadan this year of 656, (beginning Jan. 1258) fell one of the needles of Pharaoh, which are in Egypt, at a place called Mataria, part of the ſuburbs of Cairo; within it was found nearly two hundred weight of copper, and from its ſummit copper was taken of the value of 10,000 dinars."

To the foregoing I have to add the teſtimony of one of my friends, Mr. de Hammer, who himſelf obſerved the phenomenon of the trickling pillar.

"I think it incumbent on me," ſays this learned man in a letter addreſſed to me, "to make you acquainted with a phenomenon which I myſelf obſerved in Egypt in 1801, and which I do not recollect to have any where ſeen mentioned by European travellers.

"In the month of Auguſt I viſited Heliopolis and its obeliſk. I could not approach the obeliſk nearer than from thirty to forty paces, in conſequence of its being ſurrounded by water of ſome depth, occaſioned by the overflowing of the Nile. I was therefore obliged to content myſelf with a diſtant view of it; and was moſt aſtoniſhed at ſeeing, at about a third part of its height, water filtering through the ſtone, and trickling down the obeliſk, without my being able to perceive in the ſtone either joint, hole, or opening of any deſcription. This phenomenon appears to me to be produced ſimply by the nature of the capillary tubes of the ſtone; for being fixed on the ſoil without any foundation, it may draw up the water and ſuffer it to eſcape by its lateral ſurfaces." The only paſſage I have hitherto found which relates to this phenomenon is the following, extracted from a work on Egypt, entitled *Ketab al-ſhemeen almeen Dhoom*, which is in the Imperial library at Vienna. "At Aïnſhems are two columns, called the Needles of Pharaoh; they are placed immediately upon the ſurface of the ground, without any foundation; their height is fifty cubits, and on the ſummit of each is a kind of cap made of copper. When the Nile riſes, water trickles from theſe two columns."

The learned Zoega (de Orig. et Uſu Obel. p.602.) conjectures, that the obeliſk ſtill ſubſiſting at Heliopolis, and that at Rome, whither it was tranſported by Auguſtus, and placed in the Campus Martius, make part of the four obeliſks erected at Heliopolis by Sethos or Sithoſis, who is the ſame with Siſoſtris.

NOTE XVII. p. 807.

THESE are the obeliſks, or Needles of Cleopatra. It appears that, in the time of Abd Allatif, that which is now fallen was ſtanding. For an account of them ſee Denon *Voy. dans la Haute Eg.* t. i. p. 62. Norry *Relab. de l'exbé. d' Egy. p.* 35. Zoego *de r. & uſu Obel. p.* 606.

NOTE XVIII. p. 809.

I SHALL not ſay much on the conſequence of this important paſſage, and the leſs from its having been treated at large by Mr. Langlis, in his Notes on the Travels of Norden, and by Mr. White * in the learned work he has publiſhed under the title of "Ægyptiaca;" I ſhall not either lay much ſtreſs on the authority of different other Arabian writers, ſuch as Makriſi and Soyouti, who both atteſt the ſame, as theſe may be ſuſpected of having copied the paſſage of Abd Allatif, or of Aboo'l-ſorour, from whom Schultens firſt extracted the fact we diſcuſs. But I ſhall here requeſt attention to the value of the teſtimony of a judicious writer, who relates his having himſelf ſeen the wreck of theſe columns, and found his account of their deſtruction and the epoch at which it occurred, on the uncontradicted recital of all the inhabitants of Alexandria. I muſt add, that this event, which happened in the reign of Saladin, could have taken place, at moſt, but thirty years before Abd Allatif travelled into Egypt; and alſo, that the very name of the column (amoud alſawari, or the column of pillars) ſpeaks power-

* Dr. White of Oxford. Trans.

fully

fally in favour of his narration. I am ready to believe that the number of four hundred columns is rather an exaggeration; and likewise that Karadja will only have confirmed the ruin of an edifice already much injured by time, difpoſing of the wreck of it in a manner worthy an ignorant Muſſulman: ſtill the truth of the relation is not, on this account, either leſs poſitive or leſs incontrovertible. The only thing to be deſired for more firmly eſtabliſhing the fact, is, that it might have the teſtimony of ſome Muſſulmen writers of a date anterior by one or two centuries to Abd Allatif, who, in deſcribing the city of Alexandria, ſhould have noticed theſe porticoes as ſubſiſting in their time.

This deſideratum is in a meaſure ſupplied by Mr. White in a paſſage which he quotes from the abbreviator of Edriſi, (Egypt, p. 88.) who ſtates that the column in diſcuſſion ſtood within a building in the middle of the city: "the columns of which are yet ſtanding, as well as the piers of the doors. This building forms a parallelogram: on each of its ſhorter ſides are ſixteen columns; on each of the longer ſixty-ſeven. Towards the northern ſide is a large column ſurmounting a capital, and reſting on a baſe of marble, &c." Edriſi, of whoſe works this author only gave an abridgment, wrote about the year of the hejra 546, (beginning March 1153) conſequently near fifty years earlier than Abd Allatif: his teſtimony, therefore, confirms what our author relates of the demolition of this edifice, in the time of Salaheddin.

I am able to cite other authorities not leſs poſitive than the preceding. The firſt, afforded by a writer, whoſe name is unknown to me, but whoſe work, found in a very imperfect ſtate in the Imperial library, is improperly miſtaken for one of Edriſi. The anonymous author of this work wrote in the year 460 of the hejra, as he himſelf avers in ſeveral places. The following are his words in deſcribing Alexandria: "The ſame author (I am ignorant of whom he ſpeaks, as there is a blank in the manuſcript) ſays, the great palace at Alexandria is at preſent in ruins: it ſtands on a large hill fronting the gate of the city; the length of it is five hundred cubits, and the breadth about half as much. Nothing of it ſubſiſts at preſent but the columns, the whole of which are now ſtanding, as well as the portal, which is of greateſt ſolidity, and moſt elegant ſtructure. Each pier is formed of a ſingle ſtone, as is the threſhold. The columns of the palace exceed in number a hundred, and are all of them nearly ten ſpans in thickneſs. In the northern part of this palace ſtands a large column thirty ſix ſpans thick (here the periphery is meant); it is of ſuch height that a ſtone cannot be thrown to its top. It ſupports a capital of very ſolid ſtructure, which evinces its having once ſupported ſome edifice. Its baſe conſiſts of a red ſtone, ſquare and remarkably hard: each ſide of this baſe meaſures twenty two ſpans, and its height is eight. The column ſtands on a pivot inferred in the earth: when the wind blows with violence, ſtones are placed beneath the column, which by the force of its motion are ground to duſt." (Man. Arab. Imp. Lib. No. 580, fo. 61.)

A ſecond authority is that of the author of the Tohfat-alhalbab, who viſited Alexandria in the year of the hejra 511. His remarks on the column of Pompey, and the edifice of which it formed a part, are given in the following words: "The genii conſtructed at Alexandria, for Solomon, a large hall, which is one of the wonders of the world. It is formed of columns of red marble, with ſhades of different colours, ſhining like the ſhell of Venus of Arabia the Happy, and poliſhed ſo as to reſemble a mirror: on looking at theſe columns, ſuch is the gloſſineſs of their ſurface, a man ſtanding behind can be ſeen reflected. Theſe columns are in number about three hundred; each of them is thirty cubits in height, and reſts on a marble baſe; and on the ſummit of the column is a capital, likewiſe of marble, and very ſolidly fixed. In the middle of this hall is a column of marble, a hundred cubits in height, each of ten cubits; (either theſe words are miſplaced here, or there is ſomething omitted); it is formed of marble of various colours, as are the other columns. The genii, in order to form the roof of this hall, which was the hall of audience of Solomon, had hewn and faſhioned one green ſtone of a ſquared form; but when informed of his death, they caſt it on to the bank of the Nile, in the moſt diſtant part of Egypt. Among the columns of this hall is one which moves of itſelf, and inclines towards the eaſt and the weſt at the inſtant of ſunriſe or ſunſet. Every body perceives this motion of the pillar without being able to aſſign a cauſe. This is a marvellous thing."

Theſe authorities, notwithſtanding the fables with which they are mingled, and the exaggerations they may contain, ſuffice to remove any doubt, that the column of Pompey owes its Arabian name of the "column of the pillars" to the porticoes by which it was ſurrounded, and which were

ſtanding,

standing, at least part of them, in the time of Salaheddin: this opinion also was adopted by Mr. Gmelin, or by one of the learned men who contributed with [illegible] additions given to the German abridged translation of Bruce's Travels, and by Mr. [illegible], in his edition of the *Description de l'Egypt ancienne*, of Th. J. Dittmar.

To the authorities extracted from the Arabian writers, I can [illegible] from adding one of much greater antiquity, to which sufficient attention appears [illegible] have been paid, but which was not overlooked by Mr. Zoega. It is taken from the works of the Rhetor Aphthonius.

Aphthonius, after describing the site of what he denominates the *acropolis* of Alexandria, the elevation of the ground, the different roads leading thither, the hundred steps which were ascended in order to arrive there, and the propyleum with which the entrance of it was decorated, thus continues:

"On entering the citadel you find a site bounded by four equal sides; so that the shape of the building on it is that of a brick mould. In the middle is a court surrounded by columns, and to this court porticoes succeed; the porticoes also are separated by columns of equal size. (I here omit some words of dubious import). Each portico terminates at the angle of termination of another portico; and there is a double column, which at the same time belongs to one and the other portico, being the last of the one and the first of another. Within the porticoes cabinets are constructed: some, which serve for containing books, are open to those inclined to the study of philosophy, and present to all the city ready means of acquiring wisdom, others are consecrated to the worship of the ancient deities. These porticoes have a roof adorned with gildings, and the capitals of the columns are of copper gilt. The court is embellished with different ornaments, each part having its own; in one quarter are seen the combats of Perseus. In the middle of the court rises a column of extraordinary dimensions, which serves as a point of direction to the buildings; for on arriving, you would not know whither you were going did not this column serve to direct you on your way. Round the capital of the column are placed the elements of all existence."

There is some difference between the description of Aphthonius and that of the Arabian authors, but the difference is of little importance. I imagine that the rhetor, in the last phrase, indicates the elevated dome on the capital of the column, on which was represented either the principal deities to which all things created owe their existence, or the emblems of the elements. The æra in which Aphthonius flourished, is, as Fabricius remarks, posterior to the time of Aristides and Hermogenes, whom he cites, and consequently at the earliest, the third century of the vulgar æra. The precise period at which he wrote, from different observations in his works, appears to me to be between Constantine and Julian, and after the year 387, in which the temples were destroyed, and idolatry abolished in Egypt, by the laws of Theodosius, and the extravagant zeal of Theophilus.

We now know that the column of Pompey was consecrated to the Emperor Diocletian by a prefect of Egypt, probably Pomponius, as is evident from the Greek inscription on the pedestal of the column, about the year 302; but it does not follow that this date was that of the erection of the column; for as Mr. Zoega has made appear, there is no sufficient reason for assigning so late a date to its erection, as that at which Egypt became a province of the Roman empire.

If it be asked which among the ancient monuments of Alexandria it is that Aphthonius describes, and to which the porticoes and colonnades belonged that were standing in the time of Salaheddin, the ruins of which also were seen by Pococke round the column of Pompey, I shall not hesitate in answering the Serapeum, or Temple of Serapis. For Strabo places this within the line of the canal cut from the lake Mareotis to join it with the port Cibotos; and this position perfectly corresponds with the site of the column, as pointed out by Aphthonius, by Abd Allatif, and Russin, however it differs from the position given it by d'Anville. Why Aphthonius fails of noticing the building by the name of Serapeum may possibly be accounted for by the worship of Serapis having been abolished at the time he wrote.

That the porticoes described by the Arabian writers are the same described by Aphthonius and Russin, I have no doubt, but, though I conjecture such to be the case, I dare not affirm them to be those of which Hipparchus speaks as cited by Ptolemy (Ch. Pomp. Mag. Construc. Lib. xiii. lib. iii. p. 60.)

"By

"By theſe obſervations," ſays Hipparchus "it clearly appears that the differences of the years have been infinitely ſmall. As to the ſolſtices, I am inclined to believe that both Archimedes and myſelf have made a miſtake, as well in our obſervations as our calculations, of a quarter of a day. The irregularity of the annual revolutions may be exactly diſtinguiſhed by the obſervations made on the circle of copper at Alexandria, in the portico called the quadrangular, and which ſeems to be deſigned to indicate the day of the equinox, as on that day its concave ſurface begins to be illuminated on the oppoſite ſide (to that which was illuminated before the equinox); and farther on, "This is what may be ſeen in the circles of copper which we have in the palaſtre, and which appear to be placed in the level (plane) of the equinoctial circle; for by obſerving diligently, we remarked in their poſition, and eſpecially that of the largeſt and moſt ancient, ſo great a difference, that ſometimes their concave ſurfaces were illuminated twice on the ſame equinoctial days."

If the quadrangular portico mentioned by Hipparchus be the ſame deſcribed by Aphthonius, may we not conclude that the capital of the column of Pompey ſupported a ſmall obſervatory, and that there it was the circle was placed, on which the obſervations of the equinoxes were made by Hipparchus. This column, probably, might not be inſulated, but joined to ſome part of the ſurrounding building which allowed acceſs to it; this circumſtance, indeed, were it the fact, would explain the ſilence of Strabo reſpecting its exiſtence. The obſervation of Aphthonius, that on the capital were ſeen the "elements of all things," may allude to certain figures relating to aſtronomy repreſented on it; the ſigns of the zodiac for example, or the conſtellations. According to ſome Arabian authors, this capital ſuſtained a ſtatue of bronze, which was melted and converted into money, in the caliphat of Walid, ſon of Abd almâlik. Abd Allatif relates his having ſeen on the capital a *kobba*, that is to ſay, a cupola, or ſomewhat of a vaulted form. Pococke remarked that it ſeemed intended to ſupport a ſtatue, as a hollow was faſhioned at the top, no doubt, for receiving ſomething. Mr. Norry, ſpeaking of this capital, ſays, "A circle of two metres and two centimetres in diameter, and depreſſed the depth of ſix centimetres, ſuggeſts the idea that it once ſupported a ſocle, on which perhaps ſtood the image of the hero for whom the column was erected."

By the repreſentation affixed to the relation of Mr. Norry is ſeen, that the platform of the capital in its narroweſt part, meaſures nine feet three inches (Eng. 9 f. 10¼ in.) diagonally ſixteen feet three inches, (Eng. 17 f. 6¾in.) The circle traced on the capital, being of the diameter deſcribed, would have been large enough for a ſmall obſervatory, and it might have been ſecured againſt any injury from the weather by a ſmall dome, in which the requiſite openings ſhould have been made.

Great circles, deſigned for aſtronomical obſervations, and placed thus on high columns, or very lofty edifices, ſuch as the Tower of the Pharos, may have given riſe to what Arabian writers, always inclined to the marvellous, relate of the large mirror placed on the Pharos of Alexandria, by means of which veſſels leaving the ports of Greece were diſtinguiſhed.

NOTE XIX. p. 809.

Many celebrated writers diſpute the fact, related by Aboulfaraj in his Arabic hiſtory of the Dynaſties, of the deſtruction of the library of Alexandria by order of the caliph Omar; to repeat and appreciate all that has been written on which ſubject would exact a long diſſertation. The grounds on which the doubt is founded may be ſeen in a German diſſertation publiſhed at Gottingen in 1792, by Mr. Ch. Reinhard, and in remarks of Mr. de Sante Croix, (Mag. Encyc. An. v. t. iv. p. 433). One of the objections to the recital of Aboulfaraj was the ſilence of other writers among the Arabians on a ſubject of ſuch importance. But this objection is weakened by the teſtimonies of Abd Allatif and Makriſi, though the relation of the latter is, very likely, but a copy of that of Abd Allatif. I ſhall, however, produce ſome new authorities, united I conceive, to prove that if the fact as reported by Aboulfaraj, preſents many details which cannot ſtand the teſt of criticiſm, it yet is highly probable to be deduced from an hiſtorical baſis, and that Amrou really condemned to the flames, by the order of Omar, a numerous collection of books which were at Alexandria at the time of the conqueſt of this city by the Arabs.

The first authority I shall adduce is furnished me by Haji-Khalfa. A modern writer it is true, but one whose vast erudition cannot be contested. These are his words, in the prolegomenes of his bibliographic dictionary. "In the early times of islamism, the Arabs cultivated no other study than that of their own language, the legal decisions contained in their code, and physic for some individuals among them who were proficients in physic, because this science is indispensably necessary to man in general. Their neglect of the sciences had for its end the preservation of the purity of their faith, and the fundamental dogmas of islamism, and the prevention of any diminution of the zeal of its votaries, or any attack on the faith, resulting from the pursuit of those sciences cultivated by the Greeks, before the new religion should be established on a permanent base. It is even said their scruples were carried so far, that they burnt all the books which fell into their hands, in the countries they conquered. Even the pentateuch and the gospel were forbidden to be read, in order that a uniformity of doctrine might be maintained, and that the whole bent of the mind should be restricted to the reception and putting in practice of what is contained in the Koran, or founded on the example of the prophet."

Haji-Khalfa adds, that an individual having presented to Abd-allah, the son of Abbas, a book which he had written, Abd-allah received it, and effaced the writing by dipping it in water, and explained his reason by observing, that if Mussulmans accustomed themselves to write, they would lose the habit of retaining things which required to be remembered; and that what was reduced to writing was subject to be altered by interpolations, suppressions, and changes, an inconvenience which was avoided where a matter was once engraved on the memory.

The same author furnishes me with a fact very analogous to what is related of the destruction of the library of Alexandria; and here he but repeats the words of Ebn-Khaldoon, a writer of the eighth century of the hejra, whose assertions are of considerable weight. The passage in the bibliographical dictionary of Haji-Khalfa, under the head of Philosophical Knowlege, is as follows:

Ebn Khaldoon, in his Historical Prolegomenes, expresses himself in these terms: "The intellectual sciences, which are natural to man, seeing he is endowed with the faculty of reflection, belong not exclusively to any nation whatever: on the contrary we perceive that all people who have applied themselves to the acquisition of them, have all alike felt those truths which they make evident, and have proposed those questions to which they give rise. They have their existence in human nature from the very beginning of civilization. These sciences it is to which are given the name of philosophy and wisdom. No nations have more closely addicted themselves to the study of them than the Persians and the Greeks. They were much honoured by the Persians, and it is even said they were transmitted by them to the Greeks when Alexander, after conquering Darius and putting him to death, seized upon his dominions, and became master of the books of the Persians, and their scientific labours. But when the Mussulmans subjected the provinces of Persia, and many books of that nation fell into their hands, Saad, son of Aboo-Wakkas, wrote to Omar for permission to diffuse them among the Mussulmans. The answer of Omar was: "Throw them into water; for, if what they contain is capable of directing (towards truth) God has already directed us by means much superior to these; if, on the contrary, what they shew is suited to lead astray, God has preserved us from it." These books were then thrown into water or fire, and thus perished the sciences of the Persians. As for the Greeks, empire among them first belonged to the Ionians; then sciences were likewise much cultivated among them, and sustained by the most celebrated characters of that nation; so that their learned men may be esteemed the pillars of philosophy. Those called the Peripatetics, of the number of whom are the Stoics, distinguished themselves eminently in the culture of the sciences. When empire passed from them to the Cæsars, and these became Christians, they renounced these sciences in pursuance of the dogmas of the religion they professed; in consequence they were preserved in those books alone which treat of them, and which remained buried in their libraries. At length came islamism."

The passage of Ebn-Khaldoon which I have cited above, does not exist in the manuscript fragment of the historical prolegomenes of that author in my possession, but in them I find another text which is relevant to the same subject. It is this: "Philosophers among the human species have existed in abundance; the works on the sciences, which have not reached us, are

more numerous than thoſe which have been tranſmitted to the preſent day. What have become of the ſcientific works of the Perſians, that Omar ordered to be deſtroyed at the period of the conqueſt of that country! where are thoſe of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Babylonians! where are thoſe of the Egyptians which preceded them! The works of one ſingle people alone have come down to us, I mean of the Greeks."

From the authorities I have given, joined with thoſe of Aboulfaraj, Abd Allatif, and Makriſi, it cannot be doubted that the early conqueſts of the Muſſulmans were fatal to the books of the conquered countries, nor that Alexandria ſhared the ſame fate. The library they conſigned to the flames was not aſſuredly that eſtabliſhed by the firſt Ptolemies, nor the ancient library of the Serapeum, nor, perhaps, that of the ſibaſteum, or the temple of Auguſtus; but a new collection, doubtleſs much inferior to the preceding, formed for the ſervice of the ſchool of Alexandria, and which might have been placed in the ſame book-caſes, or cabinets mentioned by Aphthonius.

In the addition to the notes Mr. de Sacy ſubjoins, what in this note I have ſaid relative to the deſtruction of the books of the Arabs by the Perſians, is further confirmed by a paſſage of the hiſtorian of the Perſian poets, Douletſhah, and by the teſtimony of Leo Africanus, who poſitively ſays, in ſpeaking of the Perſians: "and all their books at length were burnt by the command of the Mahometan caliphs, becauſe they feared that the Perſians, ſo long as they poſſeſſed the books which contained the ſciences relative to natural objects (le ſcienze naturali) the laws, and the worſhip of idols would not become good, and Catholic Muſſulmans."

NOTE XX. p. 809.

DIMOUH is a denomination common to many villages of Egypt; that in queſtion belongs to the territory of Gizèh. Makriſi, in the chapter of his hiſtorical and topographical deſcription of Egypt and Cairo, entitled, of the Synagogues of the Jews, ſays:

"Of the number of Jewiſh ſynagogues in Egypt, is that of Dimour in Gizèh. It is the principal object of the veneration of the Jews in that country; for they all implicitly believe that it ſtands on the ſpot where Moſes, ſon of Amram, had his reſidence at the epoch he delivered to Pharaoh the commands of God, and where he continued to dwell during the whole time of his ſtay in Egypt, from the period of his return from the country of Madian, to the inſtant of his quitting the land with the children of Iſrael. The Jews alſo ſay, that the edifice now ſeen at Dimouh, was built forty years after the final deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus, and more than five hundred years before the inſtitution of Iſlamiſm. In this ſynagogue is a rizlakht tree of immenſe ſize. The Jews have no doubt of the exiſtence of it in the time of Moſes. They ſay that that prophet, having planted his ſtaff here, God cauſed it to become a tree; that it continued in all its beauty, covered with green branches, and with a trunk even, thick, and perfectly ſtraight, and that it grew towards heaven until the time that Malik-Alaſhraf-Shaban, ſon of Hoſeïn, built, below the citadel, the college which bears his name. The prince, before whom the extreme beauty of this tree was praiſed, gave directions for its being cut down to be uſed in the conſtruction of the college. When the people came the next morning to execute the orders of the prince, the tree was found to have become crooked, and no longer preſented other than a hideous aſpect. It was therefore left, and in this ſtate remained a conſiderable ſpace of time. At length, it ſo happened that a Jew committed fornication with a Jewiſh woman beneath the tree. From that inſtant its branches drooped towards the ground, its leaves fell, and it withered, ſo that not a ſingle green leaf remained. In this ſtate it is ſeen at preſent. On a certain day in the year, the Jews, with their families, reſort to this ſynagogue on a pilgrimage; the day is that on which the law is promulgated in the month Suvan, and this pilgrimage ſtands inſtead of one to Jeruſalem." (Man. Ar. Im. Lib. N°. 682. fol. 544.)

Benjamin of Tudela, mentions the ſynagogue, but the deſcription he gives of its ſite is but little exact. His words are "in this place, without the city, (he ſpeaks of the ancient capital, moſt probably Memphis,) is the ſynagogue of Moſes our maſter, a building of great antiquity." (Itin. D. Benjamin Not. C. l'Empereur p. 119, 120.)

NOTE XXI. p. 800.

THIS tradition given here relative to [illegible] on which it seems difficult to reconcile the testimony of ſcripture with that of Herodotus, deſerves notice. It might be imagined even from the expreſſions in which the recital of Abd Allatif is conveyed, and the mention he makes of forty years as the duration of the deſolation of Egypt, that he obtained what he relates on this ſubject from the Jews, or the Chriſtians, who founded this fact entirely on the authority of the prophets: but Abd Allatif is not the only Muſſulman writer by whom mention is made of the conqueſt of Egypt by Nabuchodonoſor; and we may ſafely affirm that this was a tradition widely ſpread in Egypt, and the truth of which was queſtioned by no one. I might here add the teſtimony of divers Muſſulman authors, ſuch as Maſoudi Aboo'lfeda, Nowaïri, and Makriſi, but ſhall content myſelf with adducing the paſſage of this laſt, who thus expreſſes himſelf in the chapter in which he ſpeaks of Memphis and its kings: "Next reigned Nekas.—This prince dying was ſucceeded by his ſon Koomis (or Foomis, no doubt, Pſammis): he reigned ſome time over Egypt. At length Bokht-naſr waged war againſt him, put him to death, and laid Memphis in ruins, together with many other cities of Egypt; he carried the inhabitants into captivity, without leaving a ſingle perſon behind; ſo that Egypt remained forty years in a ſtate of devaſtation, and deſtitute of inhabitants."

NOTE XXII. p. 810.

THIS properly ſpeaking is a monolithic chapel, or chapel conſtructed of a ſingle ſtone. Herodotus has handed down to us the deſcription of two monolithic chapels which he had ſeen, the one at Buto, in the temple of Latona, the other at Saïs in that of Minerva. Theſe two monuments of Egyptian grandeur have been made the ſubject of a curious memoir by M. le Compte de Caylus, inſerted in the Collection of the Academy of Belles Lettres. The monolithic chapel ſeen by Abd Allatif was of very inferior ſize to the two works of this deſcription deſcribed by Herodotus (lib. II. c. 155. and 175.) Makriſi, in that chapter of his hiſtorical and topographical deſcription of Egypt, in which he treats of Memphis, and the kings who made that city the ſeat of their empire, likewiſe ſpeaks of this monolithic chapel, near which "there were at one time," ſays he, "two great ſtatues. Within the chapel was a ſtatue of Aziz: this was of gold, and had for eyes two precious ſtones of immenſe value: the chapel, and the two ſtatues in its vicinity were broken in pieces after the 600th year of the hejra (beginning September 1203.)" Some lines lower, he ſays in a more preciſe manner: "There was at Memphis a houſe of ſtone, the ſtone of that hard granite which defies the chiſſel; it was formed of a ſingle block; upon it were figures in ſculpture and writing; on the front were figures of ſerpents which preſented their breaſts. This houſe was of ſuch a ſize, and ſo weighty, that the efforts of many thouſand men to remove it would prove ineffectual. The Sabeans relate that this was a temple dedicated to the moon, and that it formed one of the ſeven temples of a ſimilar kind at Memphis which were conſecrated to the ſeven planets. The âmeer Seïf-eddin Sheïkhoo Omaree broke this green houſe after the year 750 (beginning March 1449); and pieces of it are to be ſeen in the convent he founded, and in the jami which he cauſed to be built in the quarter of the Sabeans, without the city of Cairo." The author of the Tohfat-alalbab likewiſe ſpeaks of it: "I have ſeen," ſays he, "in the palace of Pharaoh, cotemporary with Moſes, a very large [illegible] ade of a ſingle block, as green as myrtle, on which were repreſented the celeſtial ſpheres [illegible] ſtars. Never had I beheld before any more admirable object." Mr. Denon has given [illegible] and a perſpective of one of theſe monolithic monuments.

NOTE XXIII. p. 811.

[illegible] definition of *conſimiles* and inſtrumental, as afforded by Avicen in Plempius's tranſla- [illegible] given by Mr. de Sacy. By *conſimiles* is meant to be expreſſed thoſe parts which com- [illegible] rs in their denomination, as fleſh, the face, &c.; by inſtrumental the organic parts, [illegible] the hand, the foot, the eye, mouth, ear, &c.

NOTE

NOTE XXIV. p. 812.

THE form of the unbaked bricks of which the pyramid of Dakſchour was built, is given by Pococke (Vol. I. p. 53.) Some of them are thirteen inches and a half long, ſix and a half wide, and four thick; others fifteen inches long, by ſeven, and four and a half.

NOTE XXV. p. 812.

IT appears that Abd Allatif alludes here to the bricks employed at Ctiſiphon, and the monuments built under the dynaſty of the Saſſanides, reſpecting which Mr. Ives may be conſulted. (Voyage to Ind. p. 289.) However, the traveller whom I quote here, in his detailed deſcription of the arc of Coſroes, Tak Kiſſera, aſcribes but a foot ſquare, and three inches of thickneſs to the bricks, with which that arc was conſtructed; this alſo, according to Niebuhr, (Voy. en Arab. Vol. I. p. 235.) is the meaſure of the bricks in the ruins near Helle. Poſſibly ſome, in the time of Abd Allatif, might have exiſted of double the dimenſions of thoſe of Mr. Niebuhr.

NOTE XXVI. p. 813.

THE paſſage of Ariſtotle, cited here by Abd Allatif, is given by Mr. de Sacy for the purpoſe of exhibiting the inaccuracy of the Arabic verſion quoted by Abd Allatif, but is, in the tranſlation, omitted, as it may be found in the 1ſt Book of his Hiſtory of Animals.

NOTE XXVII. p. 816.

MR. VILLOTEAU, one of the members of the commiſſion of ſciences and arts in Egypt, and author of Reſearches on the Analogy of Muſic with the Arts which have for their object the imitation of Speech, has communicated to me an extract of the journal kept by him on his excurſion while in Egypt, in company with the commiſſion of ſciences and arts, to the ancient monuments on both ſides the Nile from Cairo to the iſland of Philé, at preſent called Jézirèt-Aſſuèn, or the Iſland of the Temple. This extract, which relates to the mummies, deſerves mention, and the reader, I truſt, will be gratified with its peruſal.

"On the thirteenth Vendemaire of the year ix (ſept. October 1800) we left Cardinak for the other bank of the Nile, and encamped oppoſite to the village of Gourney.

"Scarcely had we pitched our tents in this ſpot ere we ſaw men advancing towards us with dead bodies on their ſhoulders; when nearer we perceived that theſe bodies were mummies which they were bringing to us; in fact, they laid them on the ground and offered to ſell them. One was the corpſe of a woman in excellent preſervation; we were ſolicitous of examining in what manner it had been embalmed and ſwathed. In conſequence, after taking off the covering, compoſed of an upper and lower part, the opening of which had been united by means of a lace in front, we unwound with much care a great number of folds, ſome of which went round the legs and the feet, others round the thighs, the body, the arms, and the head: we then more clearly diſtinguiſhed the form of the extremities, that is to ſay, the head, feet, and hands, while that of the cheſt and body yet remained imperfectly evident.

"In proportion as we came nearer to the ſkin the bandages were more ample, and the extremities more diſtinct. At length we perfectly diſtinguiſhed the nails of the hands and feet, the noſe, the mouth, the eyes, &c. We afterwards came to a ſpecies of envelope that covered each part, ſo that we raiſed in one ſingle piece the part which covered the face; this piece minutely preſerved the form of the ſubjacent parts. The other parts, in proportion, were more thickly covered; but thoſe in which the embalmer had ſhewn his ingenuity in re-eſtabliſhing the injured form, ſoon preſented no other than black and withered members. The form and colour of the nails, expoſed on the folds, diſappeared.

"Nevertheleſs all the parts of the body, though withered, preſerved in a very ſenſible manner the natural form. The hair, the eyes, the noſe, and mouth, were in ſuch nice preſervation that one readily diſtinguiſhed the character which the aſſemblage of features would give to the face. The hair was black, without any mixture of grey hairs, although the defunct appeared to have died

died at an advanced age; all we could diſtinguiſh was that it had a reddiſh hue towards the roots. It was thick set, long, and divided in braids turned up on the head and rather in disorder; unmarked are imagine that in those days as now, the women suffered their hair to hang down in numerous tresses to the waist. The eye-lids, eye-brows, and eye-lashes, were still in their natural state; the eyes only appeared a little changed on account of their being dried, and from the pupil having receded in a slight degree. The nose was, with very little difference, in its natural state, and of a regular and pleasing form. The dried tongue within the mouth resembled a shred of parchment. The lips were thin, the mouth small: the teeth seemed to have been worn with age, and to have lost their edge; but they were all perfect and did not appear to have been injured. It is even now remarked that, throughout Egypt, the natives have very fine teeth, and preserve them entire to a greatly advanced period. The head was a pretty regular oval. This individual had been opened on the left side of the belly, to allow of the entrails being withdrawn, and for the introduction of aromatics. A sufficiency of these was extracted to certify that they were all of a resinous quality. The sexual parts, although dried, had perfectly preserved their figure. This woman had her arms and hands extended along the side.

"A man, whom we unwound in the same manner, had his arms crossed on the breast. We noticed that these two different postures of the arms were constantly observed in the mummies of men and women.

"The next morning we went to see the famous colossal statues, which, according to many of the ancients, yielded a sound at the instant the rays of the rising sun shone upon them. The inhabitants call the one Shama, the other Thama: the first, say they, is the husband, the other, the wife.

"At four in the evening we visited several grottos, and entered the caverns of the mummies. These grottos, which are nearly half way up the mountain, north of Memnonium and the colossal statues, are painted in the most pleasing and lively colours. They are loaded with ornaments, allegorical figures, and hieroglyphics, painted or engraven on a covering, formed, as in most of the other places we visited, of a sort of plaister.

"The caves of the mummies into which we descended, are, from the rubbish, difficult to enter. They can only be penetrated, in most parts, by crawling on hands and feet: in certain places a man of common size can creep along but with great difficulty; and it would be impossible for a man anywise corpulent to force a passage.

"After dragging ourselves over arms, legs, bones, and carcases of mummies, in a state more or less damaged, we reached at length the cave where they are deposited. There are seen mummies heaped on each other in a disorderly manner to a considerable depth; some of them appeared to have suffered from fire, by what accident I know not. This made me reflect on the danger with which we should have been menaced if the least spark should have fallen from the lighted torches with which we, as well as our domestics, were provided. Surrounded on all sides by mummies full of very combustible resinous substances, we should have become the victims of a frightful conflagration which nothing could have extinguished.

"I had an opportunity of judging of the activity of the fire of these combustibles by the rapidity with which the flame communicated itself to several mummies which we had caused to be dragged out upon opening one of the caves. A sailor of our company having had the imprudence to light his pipe near this spot, and a spark from it, carried by the wind, alighting on one of these mummies, in an instant a fire was kindled which lasted several days, and did not cease until all the combustible matter was consumed.

"After having entered three or four of these caverns without being able to find a single mummy entire, much less with its coffin, as we conjectured we might from several pieces brought to us by Arabs in the morning; we gave over the search, persuaded it would be in vain. Deceived thus in our hopes, probably owing to our guide, who was one of those men that gain their living by finding out and selling mummies, and who alone are acquainted with the caves which have been the least raked into; we resolved on employing these Arabs to make researches by themselves. But whether they were disinclined to let us see that they had not directed us right, or whether there really was in this canton no mummy in a state of perfect preservation, I never was able to procure one in its coffin."

NOTE

NOTE XXVIII. p. 816.

I MUCH doubt whether Galen ever expreſſed what is here attributed to him by Abd Allatif, but rather imagine, as I find nothing ſimilar in the index in omnes Galeni libros of A. M. Braſavolus, that Abd Allatif has either extracted it from ſome treatiſe wrongly attributed to Galen, or quoted the paſſage from memory; and aſcribed to Galen what he had ſeen extracted from Dioſcorides or Ariſtotle. Galen indeed (Op Hippoc. and Gal. t. xiii. p. 108, 109, 247, 317.) ſpeaks in different places of the bitumen of Judæa, and that of Apollonia in Epirus, which he diſtinguiſhes from that of Judæa, and which is denominated by Dioſcorides piſſaſphaltum.

The following is the paſſage of Ariſtotle, as cited by Ebn-Beitar (Hib. de. Mir. Auſcult. exp. a Beckman p 139. 280).

"Moumia Dioſcorides, in his firſt book, ſays, is found in the country called Apollonia: it falls from the Acroceraunian Mountains (now Monte di Chimæra) along with the water, by which it is thrown on the ſhore: by this time it has coagulated and become firm: it yields a ſmell reſembling white pitch mixed with bitumen, and mingled therewith an ungrateful ſmell. The virtues of moumia are the ſame as thoſe of white pitch and bitumen combined.

NOTE XXIX. p. 817.

Paul Lucus in the relation of his travels, in 1714, (t. 11. p. 99.) mentions his having ſeen in the catacombs of Bouſir, which he denominates Abouzire, a number of heads of cattle, and a caſe which encloſed an entire beeve embalmed. Haſſelquiſt ſpeaks of one found by Father Sicard, and which, he ſays, was ſent to Paris by that miſſionary. Theſe embalmed beeves are probably, as was conjectured by P. Lucas and Mr. White, the entombed apis.

The French naturaliſts attached to the expedition to Egypt, remarked in the catacombs of Sakkara, towards the north, a place full of the bones of beeves; which gave them reaſon to conclude that this portion of the catacombs was ſet apart for the ſepulture of the ſacred bulls, or other embalmed beeves; and that if theſe bones were cleared away, embalmed bulls might be found in an entire ſtate: but they had not ſufficient leiſure to purſue the ſearch. Their obſervations on the bones enabled them, however, to aſcertain that the horned cattle of ancient Egypt were of the ſame ſpecies as our common domeſtic beeves.

NOTE XXX. p. 817.

"It ſometimes happens," ſays Haſſelquiſt, "that in theſe urns are found a bird, the feathers, head, legs, feet of which, and even the appropriate colours, are ſo well preſerved, that its ſpecies is readily known. The ſtork or ibis, and the crane are the only ones, as I am informed, which are to be found.

NOTE XXXI. p. 817.

I am aſſured that theſe fiſh are ſmall bunnis (cyprinus Niloticus): but it is clear that theſe little fiſh are diſtinguiſhed into two ſpecies; one of which is called ray, the other abſaria or beſaria. On this ſubject I conſulted by letter Mr. Michael Sabbagh, a well-informed man, and worthy of credit. This is the ſubſtance of his anſwer:

"After ſalutation and preſenting my reſpects, I have to acknowledge the honour of your letter. As to the queſtion you put to me relative to thoſe ſmall fiſh of which Makriſi ſpeaks, you muſt know, Sir, that the moment the Nile begins to diminiſh, the inhabitants of Egypt cloſe the openings of the ponds, which have been filled by the overflowings of the river on its increaſe; they then throw into the ponds a paſte of the name of backma, made with linſeed. Within a month afterwards, the ponds are filled with an inconceivable multitude of theſe ſmall fiſh. Theſe are what are called abſaria. The fiſh reſemble the ſmall fry eaten at Paris, and of which I have myſelf partaken, dreſſed in the Egyptian manner. This name comprizes ſeveral fiſh of different kinds; but among them is one in particular called ray: the diſtinguiſhing marks of this fiſh are a white colour, brilliant as poliſhed ſilver, with the extremity of the tail marked red.

This is the species which the inhabitants of Cairo salt, and denominate seer. In the upper part of the Saïd, this fish becomes of larger size, and grows to the length of a span, or even more. Here they salt it, and transport it hence to Cairo. In the Saïd, the prepared fish is called roshal, and at Cairo, melouha (salt-fish). I must add that, for the besari, I have met with it in many countries; but for the particular species called ray, I have heard from the most distinguished and learned characters at Cairo, that it is found only in the Nile. I myself have never seen any ray in other countries, although I have eaten besari caught in numerous rivers of Syria, Aleppo, and even of this country.

"I am much surprised that Makrisi should not have distinguished and characterised the difference between the ray and the besari. Possibly in his time attention was not paid to their difference; but at present the ray alone is salted; the besari is eaten fresh, and is even said not to be adapted for salting. It is also said that the internal part of the ray is very good, but of the besari the reverse. And this, in fact, is the truth, for I have noticed that the cooks in preparing the besari, take out its entrails with great nicety, whereas the ray is eaten without being opened. The ray is also constantly dearer than the besari. The ponds yield no other fish but these. This, Sir, is the substance of what I have to inform you."

NOTE XXXII. p. 817.

"The leaves," says Mr. Reynier, in his observations on the palm-date tree and its culture, "have at the base of their stalks (petioles) appendages or stipulæ which embrace the bud, and serve as coverings for the germinating leaf, and in season to those of the flowers: the developement of these appendages precedes that of the leaves: the leaves afterwards lengthen in bundles, in which all the young are placed one over the other, without, at this period, having assumed any colour. The appendages are now white, of the consistence of very tenacious leather, and covered with a remarkably smooth skin, through which a web is perceived resembling a net, and formed of the interweaving of the fibres, of which it is composed. As soon as the leaf altogether developed makes its appearance without, its appendages become brown in those parts exposed to the light, the epidermis dries, and falls in shreads, and the fibres left naked and hardened by the action of the air, preserve themselves awhile in that condition; but if not gathered, in the end perish. Below, the use to which these fibres are applied will be noticed. What is the utility of these appendages in the organization of the date-tree? Are they designed merely as a covering to preserve the bud; do they comprise a provision of vessels, necessary to the developement of a leaf of such great dimensions, but no longer of service afterwards for its preservation? This is what I have not been able to discover.

"The leaves of the palm-date are cut towards the end of winter, at the instant when the sap becoming active rapidly unfolds the leaves which protrude from the bud. The appendages at the base of the stalks have also their utility; of them cordage of various diameter is formed applicable to different uses, and even to the service of vessels navigating the Nile."

Mr. Reynier, at first, described these stipulæ or fibrous appendages in somewhat different terms. This first passage I shall transcribe, as the comparison of the two details will give a more perfect idea of the matter.

"The leaves, before they unfold themselves, are surrounded by remarkable expansions, of a coriaceous substance, and smooth surface, which, encasing themselves (s'emboitant) one in the other, serve to shelter the rudiments of the leaf, least formed in the center. They are formed before the leaves, and these, when they begin to appear, are bent together in a bundle, in which all the young leaves lay one against the other; at this period the envelope has acquired its full growth. This expansion is differently organised in the remainder of the plant: its fibres form a reticulation or net work. Before the appearance of the leaf, they are white, and of the consistence of very tough leather; after the leaf unfolds, this white covering disappears, and there remains only a net of brown fibres on the base of the stalk. In this state they are carefully collected for making cordage, for which purpose their tenacious nature and great pliability render them admirably well adapted."

NOTE

NOTE XXXIII. p. 818.

No doubt Abd Allatif had only an extract before him, or a bad tranſlation of the policy of Ariſtotle: for in this, that philoſopher ſpeaks diſtinctly of the pyramids, in a paſſage which, moſt probably, is the ſame alluded to by Abd Allatif.

"This," ſays he, "again, is another reſource of tyrants to impoveriſh thoſe they command, in order that they may not be obliged to maintain a guard (for the ſecurity of their perſons, and that their ſubjects having ſupport only from day to day, ſhould have no leiſure to plot conſpiracies). The pyramids of Egypt, the offerings of the Cypſelides, the temple of Jupiter Olympus raiſed by Piſiſtratus, and the works conſtructed at Samos by Polycrates, preſent us ſeverally with ſpecimens of this policy."

NOTE XXXIV. p. 818.

The paſſage alluded to by Abd Allatif is at the end of the fifth book on the Regime of Health He ſays there: "Thoſe who have reached that age are called haram, a word derived from ahram, the pyramids, in which they have ſoon to take their ſtation."

END OF VOL. XV.

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